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Lingard's History of England

LINGARD'S
HISTORY OF ENGLAND

LINGARD'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND

NEWLY ABRIDGED AND BROUGHT
DOWN TO THE ACCESSION OF
KING EDWARD VII

BY

DOM HENRY NORBERT BIRT, O.S.B.

WITH A PREFACE BY
ABBOT GASQUET, D.D.



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TO THE READER

THIS abridgment of Dr. Lingard's "History of England," is, of course, primarily intended for the use of schools. For many years the epitome, made in 1854 by Mr. James Burke, was used in most of our Catholic Schools as the text-book in English History, and it passed through several editions. When the publication of this volume was being considered by the publishers it was thought that it would be sufficient to reprint one of these editions, with such additional matter as was necessary to carry the story of our nation down to recent times. Dom H. Norbert Birt undertook to prepare the volume for the press, and I to assist him by advice and general supervision. The work had hardly begun, however, when it became obvious to both of us that the first idea of republishing the abridgment made half a century ago would, for many reasons, be a mistake. A comparison of it with the original history made it apparent that whilst some of Dr. Lingard's descriptions, etc., embodied by Mr. Burke could with advantage be curtailed, other matters, such as his treatment of constitutional questions, had been curtailed to proportions now wholly inadequate, especially in consideration of the importance attached to these portions of English History. It became necessary, therefore, to take the great work of Dr. Lingard, rather than the epitome of Mr. Burke, as the basis of the revision. The present volume, consequently may be regarded as a new abridgment made by Dom Birt, from the larger History under the general guidance of the

former abridgment. The editor has also taken every care to notice any new light upon the facts of our history or any new presentment of them which has resulted from historical research since Dr. Lingard first wrote his work, and which are to be found embodied in the latest text-books, like, for example, that of Professor Oman. In the few instances where it has been necessary on this account to add to Dr. Lingard's statement of facts, he has not hesitated to do so, in order to bring this abridgment up to the level of modern requirements. Dom Birt has also introduced several new features which did not exist in the former abridgment, such as maps, and tables showing the descents of our sovereigns, and marginal notes, in order, with the complete index, to afford all possible assistance to students in their work.

Besides this, in as brief a manner as was possible, Dom Birt has continued the story of the nation from the coming of William and Mary in 1688, at which point Dr. Lingard concluded his labours, to the accession of our present sovereign, Edward VII. In this continuation he has aimed at stating the main facts in the history of this period which every Englishman might be expected to know, rather than at writing a full account of it in any literary sense. He has drawn the sketch mainly under the guidance of the lives of our sovereigns contained in the "Dictionary of National Biography."

My part has been confined to consultation, advice and revision. Hence, having had so little share in the work, I have no hesitation in commending the volume as a faithful reproduction of the important features of Dr. Lingard's immortal work. The abridgment preserves the great historian's words and style wherever it has been possible to do so consistently with its main purpose of keeping the book within the narrower limits of a text-book for schools.

To some extent, if not, indeed, in great measure, even as a text-book for students, the value of this epitome must of course depend on the value of the original work. It may perhaps appear to some that, however wonderful Dr. Lingard's achievement may have been at the time in which he wrote, his presentment of the facts of English History can hardly be up to date at the present time. As against this possible view it may be useful to mention that quite recently a professor in the history schools at Oxford declared that he knew of no better full history to which to recommend students than that of this great Catholic historian. Five editions of the work appeared in the author's life-time, the first in 1819-1830, and the fifth in 1849-1851, which last was revised by the author himself; since his death many other editions have appeared here and in America. The writer of his life in the "Dictionary of National Biography" says of this work: "His accounts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are still useful; and the work remains an authority for the period of the Reformation, as representing the views of an enlightened Catholic priest concerning the events which led to the abolition of the papal jurisdiction in this country." Even at the time he wrote, his presentment of the facts of English History was regarded by the Protestant public as eminently fair and straightforward, as may be understood from the fact that he was constantly visited at Hornby, in his retirement, by such men as Scarlett, Pollock, and Brougham; and from the grant made to him in 1839 of £300 by Lord Melbourne from the Queen's privy purse. That the main lines of the history stand the test of criticism at the present day is the best praise that can be given to a work of this kind composed as it was amid the many difficulties of research to which all and in particular all Catholics were exposed in the first half of the last century.

It may not be uninteresting to state a few particulars about the life of the writer of a history which has so successfully stood the test of time and of a later and more critical age. John Lingard was born at Winchester, in 1771. At an early period he was brought to the notice of Bishop Challoner ; and Bishop Talbot, Bishop Challoner's successor, sent the boy to the English College at Douai, which he entered as a student in 1782. In 1793 he escaped from Douai with other fellow-students, when the college was taken possession of by the mob. In 1795 he was ordained priest at York, and became vice-president and professor at Crook Hall, near Durham, afterwards in 1808, removed to Ushaw. In 1805 he made his first appearance as an author in a series of letters to the *Newcastle Courant*. In the following year he published the first edition of his "Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church." On retiring from Ushaw he withdrew to the secluded village of Hornby, nine miles from Lancaster, where the rest of his life was spent in literary labours, and where he composed his history, which according to his original intention was to be merely a short "abridgment for the use of schools." He gained great favour with both Protestants and Catholics by his writings ; and it appears more than probable that in 1826 Pope Leo XII. intended to create him Cardinal. He died at Hornby on 17th July, 1851, and his body lies in the cloister of the college cemetery at Ushaw.

FRANCIS AIDAN GASQUET.

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LONDON, W.C.

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A HISTORY OF ENGLAND



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A HISTORY OF ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

ROMAN BRITAIN. B.C. 55—A.D. 449

IT is to the pen of a Roman general that we are indebted for our first acquaintance with the history of Britain. Julius Cæsar had in three years conducted his legions from the foot of the Alps to the mouth of the Rhine. From the coast of the Morini he could descry the white cliffs of the neighbouring island, and the conqueror of Gaul aspired to the glory of adding Britain to the dominions of Rome. On the 20th of August in the fifty-fifth year before the Christian era, Cæsar sailed from Calais with the infantry of two legions, and, in a few hours, cast anchor before the spot now occupied by the town of Deal. The beach was gained after a short struggle with the natives, whose untaught valour yielded to the arms and discipline of the Roman soldiers. Cæsar's camp was however soon afterwards attacked, and, though the assault was unsuccessful, the Roman general felt that his position was insecure, and having received an illusory promise of submission from a few of the natives, he hastened with his army back to Gaul, and spent the following winter in active preparations for renewing the attempt to subjugate Britain.

In spring the Roman army, consisting of five legions and two thousand cavalry, sailed from Gaul in eight hundred ships. The Britons retired to the woods, whither Cæsar pursued them. The natives defended the country with vigour, but avoided a general engagement with the Roman army. At length, however, they were tempted by apparently favourable circumstances to attack Cæsar with their entire force. Being defeated, many of the British tribes returned to their homes, and Cassibelaunus, king of the Cassii the chief of the allies, was left to support the whole pressure of the war.

This chieftain, by repeated victories over his neighbours, had acquired high renown among the natives ; but, in opposing Cæsar, he had to contend not only with the foreign enemy but with the jealousy and resentment of his own countrymen. After a severe struggle he was defeated, and sued for peace. Cæsar willingly listened to the application for peace, as he wished to return to Gaul before the autumnal storms set in. A treaty binding Cassibelaunus to pay tribute to Rome was accordingly entered into, and Cæsar with his army crossed over to Gaul in September. The citizens of Rome celebrated with joy the victories of their favourite general : but the expedition had as yet produced only petty results, for although the Britons had promised to pay tribute to Rome, Cæsar was not master of one foot of British ground.

It is proper that we should here give some account of the manners and customs of the ancient Britons, as far as they can be gleaned from the works of Cæsar and other writers, who employed their industry in the investigation of this subject shortly after the Roman invasion.

Manners and customs of the Britons.

It appears that, about the commencement of the Christian era, the population of the whole island comprised above forty tribes, of which a few possessed a pre-eminence of power. Those tribes which are described by Cæsar, dwelt near the Thames, and were of Belgic origin. Though far removed from the elegance and refinement of the Romans, these tribes might almost claim the praise of civilisation in comparison with the inhabitants of some other portions of the island. Their dress was of their own manufacture : a square mantle covered a vest and trousers, or a deeply-plaited tunic of braided cloth ; the waist was encircled with a belt ; rings adorned the second finger of each hand, and a chain of iron or brass was suspended from the neck. Their huts resembled those of their Gallic neighbours ; a foundation of stone supported a circular wall of timber and reeds, over which was thrown a conical roof pierced in the centre for the twofold purpose of admitting light and discharging smoke. In husbandry they possessed considerable skill, they had discovered the use of marl as a manure ; they raised more corn than was necessary for their own consumption ; and, to preserve it till the following harvest, they generally stored it in the cavities of rocks. But beyond the borders of the southern tribes, these faint traces of civilisation gradually disappeared. The midland and western nations were unacquainted with either agriculture or manufactures. Their riches consisted in the extent of their

pastures and the number of their flocks. With milk and flesh they satisfied the cravings of hunger, and clothed in skins they bade defiance to the inclemency of the seasons. But even sheep were scarcely known in the more northern parts; and the hordes of savages who roamed through the wilds of Caledonia often depended for support on the casual produce of the chase. They went almost naked, and sheltered themselves from the weather under the cover of the woods, or in the caverns of the mountains.

The superior civilisation of the southern tribes was attributed, by historians, to their intercourse with the strangers whom the pursuits of commerce attracted to their coast. When the Spanish ores began to be exhausted, the principal supply of tin was sought from the mines of Britain. The first who exported this metal from the island were certain Phœnician adventurers from Cadiz. They endeavoured to conceal their knowledge of the situation of the source of so valuable a branch of commerce, but the Phœnicians of Carthage succeeded in discovering the "Cassiterides, or Tin Islands," as Britain was called. The Greek colonists of Marseilles came next, and by successive navigators the trade was at last thrown open to different nations. In return for tin, the Britons received salt for the preservation of provisions, earthenware for domestic use, and brass for the manufacture of arms and ornaments. The enterprise of the foreigners quickened the industry of the natives, and if we may credit a contemporary and well-informed writer, the British exports at the commencement of the Christian era comprised corn, cattle, gold, silver, tin, lead, iron, skins, slaves, and dogs.

A strange practice, that of painting the body, seems to have prevailed in many parts of the island. For this purpose, the southern tribes employed a blue dye extracted from woad. Connected with this custom was the still more barbarous practice of tattooing, so long in use among the more northern Britons. At an early age, the outlines of animals were impressed with pointed instruments in the skin; a strong infusion of woad was rubbed into the punctures, and the figures expanding with the growth of the body retained their original appearance through life.

The religion of the natives was that of the Druids, who adored under different appellations, the same gods as the Greeks and Romans. On the oak they looked with peculiar reverence. This monarch of the forest, from its strength and durability, was considered as the most appropriate emblem of the divinity. The tree and its productions were deemed holy; to its trunk was bound the victim destined for slaughter, and of

Religion.

its leaves were formed the chaplets worn at the time of sacrifice. If it chanced to produce the mistletoe, the whole tribe was summoned ; two white heifers were immolated under its branches ; the principal Druid cut the sacred plant with a knife of gold, and a religious feast terminated the ceremonies of the day. The Druids were accustomed to dwell in huts and caverns amid the gloom of the forest. There, at the hours of noon or mid-night, when the deity was supposed to honour the sacred spot with his presence, the trembling votary was admitted within a circle of lofty oaks, to prefer his prayer and listen to the responses of the minister. In peace they offered the fruits of the earth ; in war they devoted to the god of battles the spoils of the enemy. In the hour of danger human sacrifices were deemed the most efficacious. The Druids professed to be the depositaries of a mysterious science far above the comprehension of the vulgar. Their schools were opened to none but the sons of illustrious families. Such was their fame that the Druids of Gaul, to attain the perfection of the institute, did not disdain to study under their British brethren. The Druids professed to be acquainted with the native power and providence of the divinity ; with the figure, size, formation, and final destruction of the earth ; with the stars, their position and motions, and their supposed influence over human affairs. To medicine, as far as it was connected with the use of a few plants, they also had some pretensions. They taught the immortality of the soul, but to this great truth they added the absurd fiction of transmigration. The Druids exercised the most absolute dominion over the minds of their countrymen. By their authority, peace was preserved ; in their presence passion and revenge were silenced ; and at their mandate contending armies consented to sheathe their swords. Civil controversies were submitted to their decision, and the punishment of crimes was reserved to their justice. Religion supplied them with power ; for disobedience to them was followed by excommunication. A particular class among the Druids was distinguished by the title of bards. The bard was both poet and musician. Every chieftain retained one or more in his service, who attended in his hall, eulogised his bounty and valour, and sang the praises and the history of their country. The bard accompanied the chief and his clan to battle ; to the sound of his harp they marched against the enemy, and in the heat of the contest they animated themselves with the hope that their actions would be renowned in song, and transmitted to the admiration of posterity.

The form of government adopted by the British tribes has

scarcely been noticed in history. In some tribes, the supreme authority appears to have been divided amongst several chieftains; in most, it had been entrusted to a single individual; but in all, the people continued to possess considerable influence. With respect to the succession, there are instances in which the father had portioned his dominions amongst his children, and others in which the reigning prince left the crown to his widow who both exercised the more peaceful duties of royalty, and with arms in her hands conducted her subjects to the field of battle. In the absence of any fixed notions of succession, it is probable that power would frequently supply the place of right, and the weaker state fall a victim to the ambition of a more warlike neighbour. The Britons were torn by intestine factions, and it was this rancorous hostility amongst themselves which hastened their subjugation to the power of Rome.

Form of
government.

Such were the Britons, who by their bravery baffled the attempts of the first and most warlike of the Cæsars. From the time which elapsed between Cæsar's final return to Gaul from Britain and the reign of the Emperor Claudius (about a century) the Britons retained their independence. Augustus thrice announced his intention of completely annexing Britain to the Roman Empire. On one occasion an embassy from the inhabitants averted this danger; on the others it was prevented by more pressing demands upon the attention of the Romans at home. Augustus, however, levied some duties on the trade between Britain and Gaul. Tiberius pretended that the empire was already too extensive, and sought to justify his own indolence by the policy of Augustus. In opposition to the conduct of Tiberius, his nephew and successor, Caligula, exhibited to the world a farce worthy of that childish prince. Cymbeline, the most powerful of the successors of Cassibelaunus, banished his son Adminius, who repaired to Rome, and, as if Britain had been his patrimony, surrendered the island to Caligula. The emperor hastened with a large army to Gaul, arrayed his legions on the coast near Boulogne, rowed out to sea in the imperial galley, returned precipitately, and gave the signal for battle. The soldiers inquired where was the enemy, but Caligula informed them that they had that day conquered the ocean, and commanded them to collect its spoils, the shells on the beach, as a proof of victory. He then returned to Rome to give himself the honours of a triumph.

The empty pageantry of Caligula was soon succeeded by the

real horrors of invasion. Instigated by a British chief, who had been expelled from his native country, the Emperor A.D. 43. Claudius sent four legions to Britain under the command of Aulus Plautius. The Britons made a determined resistance under the command of Caractacus, son of Cymbeline, but gave way before the emperor, who having arrived from Rome, put himself at the head of the troops. Claudius, on leaving Britain, invested Plautius and Vespasian (afterwards emperor) with the command of the Roman army, and returning to Rome entered that city in triumph. Caractacus continued to resist the Roman generals, but being defeated by Ostorius Scapula, who had succeeded Plautius, his family fell into the hands of the enemy, and he himself was delivered up in chains to the Roman general by his step-mother, under whose protection he had hoped to elude the vigilance of his pursuers. The British prince was led captive through the streets of Rome, and as he passed through the imperial city, he expressed his surprise that men who possessed such palaces at home should deem it worth their while to fight for the wretched hovels of Britain. Claudius who (with his empress) was seated on a lofty tribunal, felt an honourable pity for his fallen foe, who walked after his captive family and seemed to be by no means dispirited by misfortune. The emperor restored him to liberty, and is said to have even invested him with authority in Britain.

The Roman generals had still a brave enemy to contend with, for the Silures and other tribes who dwelt in the west, maintained their ground with firmness against the invaders. The legions of Rome, however, pushed their arms victoriously even to the Isle of Anglesey. This island was the principal residence of the Druids, to whose influence was attributed the obstinate resistance which Britain offered to Rome. The defeat of the British at Anglesey gave a shock to the power of the Druids, from which it never recovered. Their altars were overthrown, their sacred groves fell beneath the axes of the legionaries, and their priests and priestesses were consumed in the flames, which they had prepared for the destruction of their expected captives.

When the Roman general was in Anglesey, a formidable insurrection broke out in Britain. Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, who inhabited the eastern counties, being an ally of Rome, left the emperor joint heir with his own daughters. The Roman procurator, however, seized on all the property, and when Boadicea, the widow of the king, ventured to remonstrate she was scourged as a slave. Incensed by her wrongs, Boadicea resolved upon

revenge, and she found the British tribes ready to take the field against the power of Rome. The disaffection was general, for the insults and oppressions of the Romans were beyond endurance. The Britons, led by Boadicea, marched on London, already a populous and opulent mart. Suetonius Paulinus, the Roman general, hastened from Anglesey to quell the insurrection in the east, but being unable to protect London, he evacuated that town, which the Britons soon reduced to ashes. Verulam (now St. Albans) soon afterwards experienced the same fate, and historians say, that seventy thousand persons fell before Boadicea's army. Suetonius at last felt himself compelled to turn his face to the enemy, and after a long and fierce battle, the Roman arms prevailed; a large number of the Britons were slain, several escaped, but Boadicea, though many offered still to cling to her fortunes, refused to survive the defeat she had met with, and terminated her eventful career by suicide.

Rebellion of
Boadicea.

The reputation of preceding Roman governors was obscured by the more splendid, and more lasting, fame of Cneius Julius Agricola, who extended the Roman sway throughout the greater portion of the island. He reformed the civil administration, established a more equitable system of taxation, listened with kindness to the complaints of the natives, and severely punished the tyranny of inferior officers. At his instigation, the chieftains left the forests and came to dwell near the Roman stations, where they learned to admire the refinements of civilisation, and acquired a taste for improvement. Agricola resolved to distinguish his government by adding largely to the power of the Romans in Britain, and marched with a large army into the north. The Caledonians, under the command of Galgacus, endeavoured to defend the passage of the Grampians, but without success. Agricola was victorious, and soon afterwards (his period of governorship having expired) being succeeded by Lucullus, he returned to Rome and retired into private life.

A.D. 78-85.

The Roman power continued for a long time after this period firmly established in Britain. The tribes which had submitted made no attempt to recover their independence, and the Caledonians humbled by their last defeat were content to roam without molestation in their native forests. The successors of Agricola, instead of conducting the legions in the field, were employed in protecting the public tranquillity, in settling the details of the provincial government, and in assimilating the state of Britain to that of the other countries which had been incorporated in the empire.

After about thirty years, however, from the departure of Agricola the state of Britain had become so precarious in consequence of the frequent invasions of the Caledonians, that the emperor Hadrian placed himself at the head of the Roman troops in the island. He recovered some territory which had been lost, and

Walls of Hadrian and Antoninus. built a fortification sixty miles in length from the Solway Firth to the mouth of the Tyne. During the reign of his successor, Antoninus, the northern tribes were repeatedly in arms, and Lollius, the governor of Britain, erected another fortification from the Forth to the Clyde, which, in honour of the emperor, he named the *vallum* of Antoninus.

Some years afterwards the emperor Severus, although in advanced life and in declining health, took the command of the

The Emperor Severus, A.D. 208-210. Roman army in Britain for the purpose of endeavouring to subdue the northern tribes, who still continued to harass that portion of the island which had submitted to the power of Rome. He marched with a large army as far as the Firth of Cromarty, but gained no substantial advantage over the Caledonians. He returned to York, having lost a large part of his army, and set himself to devise means for the security of the southern provinces. With this view he built a solid wall of stone, a little to the north of the *vallum* of Hadrian, which was of earth. This wall was twelve feet high. It wound its course along valleys and over mountains, and some of its remains are viewed at the present day with feelings of astonishment.

For more than seventy years from the reign of Severus, who died at York, Britain seems to have enjoyed comparative tranquillity. After this period of rest, the incursions of the Franks and Saxons began to harass the shores of Britain, and the distracted state of the empire prevented the emperors from sending large forces to defend the British Roman possessions in the island. Diocletian, however, sent some ships to restrain these northern nations, and gave the command of the Roman fleet, with the title of "Count of the Saxon shore," to an experienced officer named

Carausius. Carausius. It soon appeared that this officer was bribed by the enemy, and steps were taken to punish him. Carausius, however, induced the fleet to espouse his cause, and, sailing into a British harbour, he assumed the name of Augustus with the title of emperor, and set Rome at defiance. Constantius hastened to the British seas to oppose him, and succeeded in wresting from his sway Boulogne and other parts

of Gaul, of which he had made himself master. Carausius soon afterwards fell a victim to treachery, being murdered by his minister, Allectus, who assumed his position. Constantius prepared to dethrone Allectus from his usurped sovereignty, and after some time spent in the necessary arrangements, sailed with a large fleet for the coast of Kent. On reaching Britain, he learned that Allectus was dead. Proceeding up the Thames he entered London, which had been rebuilt. He restored the imperial authority in Britain, resided in the island, and under his sway the natives enjoyed the benefit of a mild and equitable administration, till their happiness was disturbed by religious persecution.

At the distance of so many ages, it is impossible to discover by whom Christianity was first preached in the island. Some writers have ascribed that province to St. Peter, others have preferred the rival claim of St. Paul; **Christianity in Britain.** but both opinions, improbable as they are in themselves, rest on the most slender evidence—on testimonies, which are many of them irrelevant, all ambiguous and unsatisfactory. It is, however, certain that at a very early period there were Christians in Britain: nor is it difficult to account for the circumstance, from the intercourse which had long subsisted between the island and Rome. Within a very few years from the Ascension of Christ, the Church of Rome had attained great celebrity; soon afterwards it attracted the notice and was honoured with the enmity of Claudius and Nero. Of the Romans whom at that period choice or necessity conducted to Britain, and of the Britons who were induced to visit Rome, some would, of course, become acquainted with the professors of the Gospel, and yield to the exertions of their zeal. Both Pomponia Græcina, the wife of the proconsul Plautius, the first who made any permanent conquest in the island, and Claudia, a British lady, who had married the senator Pudens, are, on rather probable grounds, believed to have been Christians. But whether it was owing to the piety of these, or of other individuals, that the doctrine of Christianity was first introduced among the Britons, it appears to have made proselytes, and to have proceeded with a silent but steady pace towards the extremity of the island. The attention of the Roman officers was absorbed in the civil and military duties of their stations; and while the blood of the Christians flowed in the other provinces of the empire, the Britons were suffered to practice the new religion without molestation. There is even evidence that the knowledge of the Gospel was not confined to the subjects of Rome. Before

the close of the second century, it had penetrated among the independent tribes of the north.

It might have been expected that the British writers would have preserved the memory of an event so important in their eyes as the conversion of their fathers. But their traditions have been so embellished or disfigured by fiction, that without collateral evidence, it is hardly possible to distinguish in them what is real from what is imaginary. After deducting from the account of Nennius and his brethren every improbable circumstance, we may believe that the authority conferred by the Emperor Claudius on Cogidunus, was continued in his family; that Lucius ("*Leves maur*," or *the great light*), one of his near descendants, was a believer in the Gospel; that he sent to Rome Fagan and Dervan, to be more perfectly instructed in the Christian faith; and that these envoys, having received ordination from Pope Eleutherius, at their return, under the influence of their patron, increased the number of the proselytes by their preaching, and established the British, after the model of the continental churches. But independently of such authority, we have undoubted proof that the believers were numerous, and that a regular hierarchy had been instituted before the close of the third century. For, by contemporary writers, the Church of Britain is always put on an equality with the Churches of Spain and Gaul; and in one of the most early of the western councils, that of Arles, in 314, we meet with the names of British bishops, Elborius of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelphius of Lincoln.

It has been observed that the British Christians had hitherto escaped the persecutions to which their continental brethren were repeatedly exposed. But in the beginning of the fourth century, Diocletian and Maximian determined to avenge the disasters of the empire on the professors of the Gospel; and edicts were published, by which the churches in every province were ordered to be demolished, and the refusal to worship the gods of Paganism was made a crime punishable with death. Though Constantius might condemn, he dared not forbid the execution of the imperial mandate; but he was careful at the same time, to show by his conduct his own opinion of religious persecution. Assembling around him the Christian officers of his household, he communicated to them the will of the emperors, and added that they must determine to resign their employments, or to abjure the worship of Christ. If some among them preferred their interest to their religion, they received the reward which their perfidy deserved; here Cæsar dismissed them from his service,

observing that he would never trust the fidelity of men who had proved themselves traitors to their God. But the moderation of Constantius did not restrain the zeal of the inferior magistrates. The churches in almost every district were levelled with the ground : and of the Christians, many fled for safety to the forests and mountains ; many suffered with constancy both torture and death. Gildas has preserved the name of Julius and Aaron, citizens of Caerleon-upon-Usk ; and the memory of St. Alban, the protomartyr of Britain, was long celebrated both in his own country and among the neighbouring nations. But, within less than two years Diocletian and Maximian resigned the purple ; Constantius and Galerius assumed the title of emperors ; and the freedom of religious worship was restored to the Christian inhabitants of the island.

Constantius was married to Helena—whom our national historians represent as the daughter of a British prince—but when he was raised to the dignity of Cæsar, he was compelled to repudiate Helena for Theodora, the daughter-in-law of Maximian. Helena, however, had already borne him a son in Britain, known in history as Constantine the Great. The young **Constantine.** prince was educated at Rome, but hearing that his father was ill he fled to Britain, and reached York a few days before Constantius expired. His father recommended him to the soldiers, and he assumed the title of Cæsar. When Constantine became the acknowledged head of the Roman Empire, he placed Britain under the jurisdiction of the governor of Gaul, who appointed a deputy to reside in the island. Under Constantine and his immediate successors, Britain enjoyed more than fifty years of tranquillity ; the aggressions of the barbarians were repressed, and industry and commerce were encouraged.

At length, however, the great fabric of the Roman power was shaken to its foundation, by the hordes of barbarians who, issuing from the east and north, depopulated the fairest provinces, and poured like a torrent into the flourishing plains of Italy. The troops were recalled from distant places to defend the heart of the empire. The Picts and Scots (who inhabited the localities hitherto occupied by the Caledonians) availed themselves of the defenceless state of southern Britain and harassed the natives with frequent incursions for a long period of time. The Picts were probably the same nation as the Caledonians, though under another name. The Scots were emigrants who crossed over to Caledonia from the north of Ireland, and subsequently gave a

**Romans
abandon
Britain.**

name to the northern division of Britain. These tribes maintained a hostile attitude towards the southern British for a long period. Sometimes, as for instance under Theodosius, who was called the deliverer of Britain, they were driven into their mountain fastnesses with great loss. They never, however, were totally defeated, and consequently when the British lost the protection of the Roman soldiers, the Picts and Scots were emboldened to attack them. When the British applied to Rome for aid, the Emperor Honorius told them to provide for their own safety. The natives then threw off all allegiance to the Roman emperor, deposed the Roman magistrates, took up arms, and succeeded in driving the Picts and Scots out of their territories. Several independent chieftains set up governments in Britain; but for some time, at this period, we lose accurate sources of historical information. The dissensions between the chieftains seem to have lead to a continuance of civil war. Pestilence and famine aided the Picts and Scots in their renewed attack on a disorganised people, and at length one of the British kings, Vortigern, had recourse to an expedient which had ultimately the most important effects on the history of the island. This prince, learning that a Saxon fleet was cruising in the channel, made terms with its commanders, two brothers named Hengist and Horsa, who agreed to aid him in fighting his battles and to depend for their reward on future arrangements. They landed at Ebbsfleet, and were quartered in the island of Thanet. This memorable event took place in the year 449; from which era, historians date the total cessation of the influence of the Roman Empire on the affairs of Britain, and the earliest dawn of Saxon power in the island.

CHAPTER II

THE ANGLO-SAXONS. 449—901

FOR six years, Hengist and Horsa served Vortigern with fidelity: the Picts were taught to respect, and the Britons were eager to reward their valour. Hengist obtained leave to send for reinforcements from his own country. Several Saxon chieftains arrived in Britain; and, at length, the number of their followers became an object of apprehension to the Britons. The refusal, by the Britons, to supply provisions to the Saxons was the occasion of an open rupture. A battle was fought at Aylesford on the Medway. In this engagement Vortigern lost a son, and Hengist lost his brother, Horsa. A second battle was soon fought, in which the Britons were defeated, and fled to London. The British power was not yet broken, however, for the natives for many years maintained a severe struggle with the Saxons. Hengist lived till the year 488, and then left the peaceable possession of Kent to his son Oisc.

Hengist and
Horsa, 449.

The British writers attribute the loss of Kent to an attachment which Vortigern entertained for Rowena, the daughter of Hengist. These authors state that Vortigern married Rowena, and bestowed on Hengist the kingdom of Kent. Vortimir, however, the son of Vortigern, expelled the Saxons, and Hengist wandered for five years upon the ocean. At the death of Vortimir, his father, who was still alive, recovered the power which he had lost, and Hengist demanded the restoration of the territories of which Vortimir had deprived him. Three hundred deputies were appointed to settle the question, but during the conference all the British deputies were assassinated except Vortigern. He was detained in captivity, and in order to ransom him, the natives yielded to Hengist the south-eastern portion of Britain. Such is the British narrative, but it is contradicted by strong evidence, and seems to have been invented by the natives to account for the settlement of the Saxons, without admitting conquest.

While Hengist and his successors were content with Kent, **Ælla, and a new band of adventurers landed in the year 477, the kingdom under the command of Ælla and his three sons, of the South who, after several severe battles with the natives, Saxons, 477. succeeded, after thirteen years' warfare, in founding the kingdom of Sussex, or of the South Saxons.**

Cerdic, with another band of Saxons, landed in the south-west, and by repeated victories extended the Saxon power in that part of the island, and founded the kingdom of Wessex, or of the West Saxons. A chief named Erkenwin landed on the north bank of the Thames, and founded the kingdom of Essex, or of the East Saxons.

Within one hundred and fifty years from the arrival of Hengist, the natives had retired before their enemies from the coast to the mountains, and had left about half of South Britain in the possession of the Saxons. Eight new kingdoms had been formed: Kent, Sussex, Essex, East Anglia, Bernicia, Deira, Wessex, and Mercia. Sometimes the Saxon kingdoms are only considered seven; as Bernicia and Deira became united. These were in the north. Mercia comprised the interior of the island, as far as the mountains of Wales. East Anglia comprehended Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and Ely. We have already explained the situations of the other Saxon kingdoms. The Britons maintained a vigorous resistance, led by several distinguished chieftains, of whom Arthur has obtained the foremost place in renown, though of his history scarcely anything is accurately known. Some of the Britons, to escape from the Saxons, crossed over to Armorica, which still retains the name of Bretagne.

Although the Saxon sovereigns were independent of each other, yet it generally happened that one monarch exercised a preponderating influence, and he was designated by **Bretwalda.** the title of Bretwalda, or "Britain-wielder." Seven Saxon kings had this honour: they were Ælla of Sussex, Ceawlin of Wessex, Ethelbert of Kent, Redwald of East Anglia, Edwin of Northumberland (comprising Bernicia and Deira), Oswald of the Bernician portion of Northumberland, and Oswio, the brother of Oswald.

The most distinguished of the monarchs entitled Bretwalda was Ethelbert, king of Kent, who reigned for fifty-six years. In his reign Pope St. Gregory the Great sent St. Augustine to convert the Saxons to Christianity. Augustine, with forty companions, landed on the Isle of Thanet. Ethelbert (whose queen,

Bertha, a Frenchwoman, was a Christian) received the missionaries under an oak-tree in an open field. Before Augustine, were borne a silver cross and a banner representing the Redeemer; behind him, his companions walked in procession, while the air resounded with the anthems which they sang. Ethelbert received them courteously, permitted them to preach, but was not then converted. He even went so far as to promise to support the missionaries at his own expense. They excited the admiration of all who came to visit them: the people approved of a religion which inspired such piety. The king viewed these feelings of his subjects with pleasure, and on the feast of Pentecost, in the year 597, he professed himself a Christian, and received the sacrament of baptism. On the following Christmas, ten thousand of his subjects followed the royal example. The pontiff was highly pleased with the success of Augustine, and wrote to Ethelbert, sending him presents. The king allotted Canterbury and the surrounding district to the missionaries, and Augustine became prelate. At this period also the see of Rochester was founded, and Ethelbert built suitable places of worship, besides converting the Pagan temples into Christian churches. Augustine employed much of his time in endeavouring to restore amongst the British tribes the ancient discipline of the Church. The British Christian bishops met Augustine in Worcestershire, and conferred respecting some differences which existed in discipline between them and Rome. The points in dispute had reference to the time of celebrating Easter, and to the mode of administering baptism. The conference did not end satisfactorily. It is pleasing, however, to reflect, that there does not appear to have been even the smallest difference in doctrine between the tenets of the Christian bishops and the religion taught by Augustine.

Ethelbert published during his long and useful life many important laws, in order to regulate the administration of justice. A pecuniary fine was appointed to each crime, and a criminal was compelled to make compensation to the violated justice of the country, as well as to the family of the injured party. The fine called *were* was the sum at which the life of each person was rated; that which was known as *mund* was intended to protect individuals from insult, by providing for the security of each, according to rank.

In addition to the history of the monarchs denominated "Bretwalda," the Anglo-Saxon annals are taken up with numerous

Ethelbert,
king of Kent,
and the mis-
sion of St.
Augustine,
597.

details respecting those kings who did not obtain that distinctive appellation. The sovereigns of Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex occupy the leading position. There is not much in this portion of English history to interest the student, presenting, as it does,

was acknowledged by their contemporaries, and to whose writings and exertions Europe was principally indebted for that portion of learning which she possessed from the eighth to the eleventh century. Bede was a native of **Bede and Alcuin.** Sunderland, and was educated by the monks of Jarrow, on the banks of the Tyne. He studied every science which survived the ruin of the Roman empire, and has astonished every reader of his works with the depth and variety of his attainments. His principal production was the "Ecclesiastical History of the Nation of the Angles." Bede died at Jarrow, in the year 733. Alcuin was a native of York; his literary reputation attracted students to him from Gaul and Germany, and subsequently led to his being invited to the court of Charlemagne, where he passed the principal portion of his life. His works consisted mostly of poems, essays on scientific and theological subjects, and letters to the leading characters of the age.

After numerous and protracted struggles, between the Saxon princes, for superiority, Egbert, king of Wessex, triumphed over all opponents, and united the several Anglo-Saxon nations into one great and powerful monarchy. **Egbert, king of Wessex.** This was about the year 828. At this period, Egbert having obtained the sovereignty of almost the whole of England, saw himself assailed by a foreign and most dangerous enemy. The Danes who inhabited Jutland and the islands of the Baltic lived by piracy, and had frequently made descents upon the coast of England. They effected a landing on the banks of the river Dart, in the year 834, and plundered the country. In the following year they landed in Cornwall, and obtained the support of the Britons. A battle ensued between the Danes and Egbert (*Hengistesdun*), in which the Saxon king was victorious. This was the last exploit of Egbert, who soon afterwards died (836), after a long, glorious, and fortunate reign. Egbert is always mentioned as the first king of England, as he was the first who united the Anglo-Saxon monarchies under one crown.

Egbert was succeeded by his son Ethelwulf on the throne of Wessex: the conquered province of Kent, Essex, and Surrey, were formed into a subordinate kingdom, **Ethelwulf, 838-857.** and entrusted to the government of Athelstan, the brother of Ethelwulf.

The incessant and desultory invasions of the Northmen occupied the king's attention during the whole of his reign; but in 851, Ethelwulf met them at Okeley, and in the battle that ensued the victory remained with him. He also assisted the

Mercians against the Welsh. He made a pilgrimage to Rome, and while absent from home, his son Ethelbald conceived the design of seizing the throne for himself. At the return of Ethelwulf a civil war would have broken out had not the moderation of the king consented to a partition of his dominions. He resigned to Ethelbald the kingdom of Wessex (856), and contented himself with the provinces which Athelstan, who had lately died, had governed with the title of king. He survived this compromise but two years. By his will he left the kingdom of Kent to his second son Ethelbert, and the kingdom of Wessex to Ethelbald, Ethelred, and Alfred, his other sons, in the order of seniority. Ethelbald, Ethelbert, and Ethelred, each in turn succeeded to the

Ethelbald,
856-860.

Ethelbert,
860-866.

Ethelred,
866-871.

throne, but their reigns furnish no events of striking importance. It is worthy of mention, however, that in 864 the Northmen landed at Southampton, and sacked and burnt the city of Winchester. In 866, these marauders, under Ingwar and Hubba, again invaded England on the east coast, plundering, burning, and wasting wherever they penetrated; and by 870, they had made themselves practically masters of the whole of Northumbria and East Anglia. It was now Ethelred's turn to bear the brunt of their onslaught. Guthrun, who had assumed the sceptre of East Anglia, invaded Wessex; and Ethelred, sensible that his crown was at stake, met the enemy at Escesdune (Ashdown Hill), and routed the Northmen after a most obstinate engagement. During the year 871 he joined battle with the invaders no less than six times; but at Merton he was wounded, and surviving but a few days, was buried at Wimborne, and was succeeded by his brother Alfred, who, although but a youth, had distinguished himself by his prowess in battle against the Danes.

With the name of Alfred, posterity has associated the epithet of "the Great." The kings, his predecessors, are chiefly known to us by their actions in the field of battle; it is the praise of Alfred that he was not only a warrior, but also the patron of the arts and the legislator of his people. *Their* history has been compressed into a few pages, but *his* merits will deserve a more full and detailed narration.

Alfred was born at Wantage, in 849, the youngest of the four sons whom Osburga, the daughter of Oslac, bore to Ethelwulf. The beauty, vivacity, and playfulness of the boy endeared him to his parents, who affected to foresee that he would one day prove the chief ornament of the race of Cerdic. It was this partiality which induced the king to send him, when only in his fifth year,

with a numerous retinue to Rome, to be crowned by the pontiff, and afterwards, when the royal pilgrim himself visited the apostolic city, Alfred was selected to accompany his father.

The Anglo-Saxons of this period had degenerated from the literary reputation of their ancestors. The thanes, dividing the time between their occupations of war and the pleasures of the chase, despised the tranquil pursuits of knowledge, and directed the attention of their children to those exercises which impart habits of strength, agility, and courage; Osburga, however, had the merit of awakening in the mind of Alfred that passion for learning by which he was so honourably distinguished from his contemporaries. Holding in her hand a Saxon poem, elegantly written and beautifully illuminated, she offered it as a reward to the first of her children whose proficiency should enable him to read it. The emulation of Alfred was excited, he ran to his master, applied to the task with diligence, performed it to the satisfaction of the queen, and received the prize of his industry.

But soon, by the death of both parents, the education of the young prince devolved on his elder brothers, to whom the pursuits of literature were probably objects of contempt. His proficiency under their care was limited to the art of reading, from which he could derive no other immediate advantage than the perusal of a few Saxon poems and books of devotion, written in the vernacular idiom. It proved, however, to him an acquisition of considerable importance, for it laid the foundation of his subsequent improvement; it urged his curiosity to explore those treasures of history and science which were locked up in the obscurity of a learned language, and it enabled him at a later period to apply with success to the study of the Latin tongue; but his health was then impaired by disease, his mind occupied with the cares of government, and in the company of his friends he often lamented that indulgence which had permitted him to throw away the years of his youth in pursuits and diversions from which he had reaped nothing but ignorance and regret.

When, upon the death of his brother, the unanimous voice of the West Saxons called Alfred to the throne, in 871, he at first declined that honour. His objections having been overruled, the Archbishop of Canterbury placed the crown upon his head. He was soon called upon to contend with the Danes, who had been for some time organising their forces. Alfred induced them to quit the West Saxon territories for a valuable present. The king of Mercia also hoped to purchase the forbearance of the powerful

Alfred
crowned,
871.

Northmen, but when they had received his gifts they treated him with derision, and burnt down the monastery of Repton. The whole of the Anglo-Saxon territories soon became subject to the invaders, except the districts north of the Tyne and south of the Thames. Wherever they came their path was marked with the evidence of their cruelty; the abbey of Lindisfarne was reduced to ashes, while the bishop and monks fled to the mountains; at Coldingham the nuns perished in the flames. In 876 the Danes under Guthrun invaded Wessex; Alfred opposed them, but observing their strength, thought it wiser to negotiate with the enemy. They broke through the most solemn engagements, and marching rapidly in the night time, they took possession of Exeter.

Alfred, unable to cope with the Danes on land, resolved to oppose them on the sea. He therefore speedily equipped a few ships, and manned them with some foreign adventurers. He soon succeeded in capturing a Danish ship of war, which circumstance elevated his hopes. Alfred obtained some other advantages over the enemy, and the Danes retired into Mercia. They soon, however, appeared again in Wessex, and Alfred being taken by surprise (for Guthrun had adopted the unusual course of a winter campaign, when Alfred's troops were not under arms), fled to a secluded retreat in Somersetshire, which was afterwards known as Ethelingey, or Prince's Island. It is said that he was entertained one day, at this period of his life, in the cottage of a swine-herd, and that his hostess desired him to watch some cakes which she was baking on the hearth; Alfred's mind was deeply occupied with other matters, and the cakes were burnt, for which he was severely reprimanded by the woman.

Alfred in his retirement carefully watched for some opportunity to expel the Danes. His hopes were roused by the tidings that a Saxon chief, Odun, had gained a victory over the Danes, and had captured their standard, on which was worked a raven, and to which they attached a superstitious importance. The spirit of the Saxons revived, and Alfred, by means of trusty messengers, invited his countrymen to meet him on a certain day, in Selwood Forest. On the appointed day the summons was cheerfully obeyed, Alfred was hailed as the avenger of his country, the wood echoed with their acclamations, and every heart beat with the confidence of victory. Preparations were made without delay for an engagement with the Danes, who, under the command of Guthrun, were at no great distance. It is said by some historians that Alfred, disguised as a harper,

**Defeat of
the Danes.**

visited the Danish camp, where he observed their negligence, and learned their ulterior objects. This story is disbelieved by many writers. The battle was fought near Ethandune (now called Brixton), and both armies displayed the most signal courage. The Danes were defeated and fled. Guthrun soon afterwards surrendered, and (according to treaty), with thirty of his officers, embraced Christianity, Alfred being his sponsor. Guthrun retreated to Mercia, and afterwards to East Anglia, and though solicited by the Danes to renew the war with Alfred, he remained faithful to his engagements with that monarch.

The retreat of Guthrun gave to Wessex a long respite from the horrors of war, and fifteen years of comparative tranquillity left Alfred at leisure to attend to the improvement and civilisation of his people. The army claimed his first care; the desultory but incessant attacks of the Danes had demonstrated the necessity of organising a force which should be ready to take the field at the first alarm, and to march to any part of the coast that was menaced with an attack; but at the same time the scarcity arising from the frequent suspensions of agricultural labour, showed the impolicy of collecting together the great mass of the population. Alfred adopted an improved plan, which, while it was calculated to oppose a formidable force to the descents of the Northmen, secured a sufficient supply of hands for the cultivation of the soil. The defence of the towns and cities was entrusted to the courage and fidelity of the inhabitants, under the direction of the king's Gerefa, or reeve; of the rest of the free population the males were divided into two classes, to each of which was allotted in rotation a regular term of service. They were commanded by the king or the ealdorman of the county; and instead of pay, received from the national stores a proportionate supply of provisions.

The utility of fortifications had been sufficiently demonstrated by the example of the Danes, and the successful defence of Kynwith. By the orders of Alfred, a survey was made of the coast and navigable rivers, and castles were built in places the best fitted to prevent the landing, or to impede the progress of an enemy. Yet in this undertaking, of which the necessity was so apparent, he had to encounter numerous difficulties, arising from the prejudices and indolence of his people. In many instances the execution of the royal orders was postponed, in others the buildings were abandoned as soon as the foundations had been laid. But occasional descents of the Danes came in aid of the king's authority; those who had lost their property by their

Alfred's
Reforms.
The Army.

negligence were eager to repair the fault by their industry, and before the close of his reign Alfred had the satisfaction to see more than fifty castles built according to his directions.

The first attempt which the king made to create a navy has been already mentioned. His success stimulated him to new exertions, and to acquire knowledge and to do honour to the naval profession, he often accompanied his squadrons in their expeditions. On one of these

Birth of the Navy.

occasions he met four sail of Northmen; two were captured by boarding, and their crews put to the sword; the commanders of the other two, terrified by the fate of their companions and their own loss, threw down their arms, and on their knees solicited mercy. On another occasion, the Saxon fleet surprised and captured thirteen sail in the river Stour; every man on board was massacred, but the same evening the victors, in their return, were intercepted by a Danish squadron, and completely defeated. As soon as the king became acquainted with the arts of attack and the modes of defence practised by the northern nations, several improvements suggested themselves to his superior sagacity. He ordered ships to be built of larger dimensions than those of the Danes; their decks were higher, and their length double. The increased elevation gave his mariners an advantage over their enemies, who were compelled to direct their strokes upwards, and the greater bulk of the vessels added to their stability in the water, while the Danish ships were agitated by the slightest motion. That their celerity might not be retarded by the additional weight, he augmented the number of the rowers, and gave to all his vessels thirty, to several more than thirty, oars on a side. This fleet was so judiciously disposed in the different harbours that the marauding squadrons of the barbarians found it difficult to approach, or to abandon the shore with impunity.

From measures of defence against a foreign enemy, the king turned his attention to the domestic economy of the country.

Alfred's legislation.

During the long period of Danish devastation, the fabric of civil government had been nearly dissolved. The courts of judicature had been closed, injuries were inflicted without provocation, and retaliated without mercy, and the Saxon, like the Dane, had imbibed a spirit of insubordination and a contempt for peace, and justice, and religion. To remedy these evils, Alfred restored, enlarged, and improved the salutary institutions of his forefathers, and from the statutes of Ethelbert, Ina, Offa, and other Saxon princes, composed a code of law adapted to the circumstances of the

time and the habits of his subjects. But legislative enactments would have been of little avail had not the king ensured their execution by an undertaking of no small difficulty, but which by his vigilance and perseverance he ultimately accomplished. The Saxon jurisprudence had established an ample gradation of judicature, which diverged in different ramifications, from the king's court into every hamlet in the kingdom; but of the persons invested with judicial authority very few were qualified for so important an office; almost all were ignorant, many were despotic; the powerful refused to acquiesce in their decisions, and the defenceless complained of their oppression. Both had frequent recourse to the equity of Alfred, who listened as cheerfully to the complaints of the lowest as of the highest among his subjects. Every appeal was heard by him with the most patient attention; in cases of importance he revised the proceedings at his leisure, and the inferior magistrates trembled at the impartiality and severity of their sovereign. If their fault proceeded from ignorance or inadvertence they were reprimanded or removed, according to the magnitude of the offence; but neither birth, nor friends, nor power, could save the corrupt or malicious judge; he was made to suffer the punishment which he had unjustly inflicted; and, if we may believe an ancient authority, forty-four magistrates were, by the king's order, executed in one year for their informal and iniquitous proceedings. This severity was productive of the most beneficial consequences; the judges were careful to acquire a competent degree of knowledge; their decisions became accordant to the law; the commission of crime was generally followed by the infliction of punishment, and theft and murder were rendered as rare as they had formerly been prevalent. To prove the reformation of his subjects, Alfred is said to have suspended valuable bracelets on the highway, which no one ventured to remove; and, as a confirmation, we are told that, if a traveller lost his purse on the road, he would at the distance of a month find it lying untouched in the same spot. These are probably the fictions of a later age, but they serve to show the high estimation in which Alfred's administration of justice was held by our forefathers.

The decline of learning in the Saxon states had been rapidly accelerated by the Danish invasions; the churches and monasteries, the only academies of the age, had been destroyed, and at the accession of Alfred, Wessex could hardly boast of a single scholar able to translate a Latin book into the English tongue. The king, who from his early years had been

Learning.

animated with the most ardent passion for knowledge, endeavoured to infuse a similar spirit into all who aspired to his favour. For this purpose, he invited to his court the most distinguished scholars of his own and of foreign countries. Plegmund and Werfrith, Ethelstan and Werwulf visited him from Mercia; John, of Old Saxony, left the monastery of Corbie for an establishment at Ethelingey; Asser, of St. David's, was induced by valuable presents to reside with the king during six months in the year; and an honourable embassy to Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, returned with Grimbold, the celebrated provost of St. Omer. With their assistance Alfred began, in his thirty-ninth year, to apply to the study of Roman literature, and opened schools in different places for the instruction of his subjects. It was his will that the children of every free man, whose circumstances would allow it, should acquire the elementary arts of reading and writing; and that those who were designed for civil or ecclesiastical employments should moreover be instructed in the Latin language.

It was a misfortune which the king frequently lamented, that Saxon literature contained no books of science: "I have often wondered," said he, "that the illustrious scholars who once flourished among the English, and who had read so many foreign works, never thought of transferring the most useful into their own language."

**Alfred's
literary
work.**

To supply the deficiency, Alfred himself undertook the task. Of his translations, two were historical and two didactic; the first were the "Ecclesiastical History of the English," by Bede, and the "Epitome" of Orosius, the best abridgment of ancient history then extant; both works calculated to excite and gratify the curiosity of his subjects. Of the others, one was meant for general reading, "The Consolation of Philosophy," by Boethius, a treatise deservedly held in high estimation at that period, and the second was destined for the instruction of the clergy, the "Pastoral of Gregory the Great," a work recommended both by its own excellence and the reputation of its author. Of this he sent a copy to every bishop in his dominions, with a request that it might be preserved in the cathedral, for the use of the diocesan clergy.

In the arrangement of his time, his finances, and his domestic concerns, Alfred was exact and methodical; the officers of his household were divided into three bodies, which succeeded each other in rotation, and departed at the end of the month, the allotted period of their

**Domestic
organisation.**

service; of each day he gave one-third to sleep and necessary refreshments, the remainder was divided between the duties of his station and works of piety and charity. His treasurer was ordered to separate his revenue into two moieties; the first he subdivided



into three parts, of which one was destined to reward his servants and ministers, another to supply presents for the strangers who visited his court, and the third to pay the numerous bodies of workmen whom he employed. For he erected palaces in different

parts of his dominions; repaired and embellished those which had been left by his predecessors, and rebuilt London and several other towns which the Danes had reduced to heaps of ruins. In all these undertakings we are told that he displayed an improved taste and considerable magnificence. The other moiety of his revenue was parcelled out into four portions. One was devoted to the support of his school, his favourite project. Another was given to the two monasteries which he had founded, one at Shaftesbury for nuns, at the head of whom he placed his daughter Ethelgiva; another at Ethelney for monks, which he peopled with foreigners, because the Danish devastations had abolished the monastic institute among his own subjects. The third portion he employed in relieving the necessities of the indigent, to whom on all occasions he was a most bountiful benefactor. From the fourth he drew the alms which he annually distributed to different churches. They were not confined to his own dominions, but scattered through Wales, Northumbria, Armorica, and Gaul. Often he sent considerable presents to Rome; sometimes to the nations in the Mediterranean and to Jerusalem: on one occasion to the Indian Christians at Meliapor. Swithelm, the bearer of the royal alms, brought back to the king several oriental pearls and aromatic liquors.

Alfred's prosperity was not destined to be unclouded in his latter years. In 893, the long peace which he had enjoyed was interrupted by Hastings, the most renowned of the sea-kings. This invader landed in Kent with a large force; Alfred marched against Hastings, and after much labour and time succeeded in defeating him.

Alfred died on the 28th of October, in the year 901, leaving two sons and three daughters. He divided his lands amongst his sons, daughters, nephews, cousin, and wife; and left sums of money to the clergy, to the poor, and to the endowment of the church in which he would be interred. He strictly forbade his heirs from depriving of liberty those whom he had made free, directing that they should be permitted to serve any master they might choose.

CHAPTER III

THE ANGLO-SAXONS (*continued*).—THE DANES. 901-1042

ALFRED was succeeded by his second son Edward, but his cousin, Ethelwald, opposed his claim. The witenagemot, the great national assembly, overruled the pretensions of Ethelwald, and he took up arms. The northern Danes assisted him, and he marched with a considerable army against Edward. In one of the battles which ensued Ethelwald was killed, and Edward was left at rest to direct his attention to two objects which he had much at heart. These two objects, the union of Mercia with Wessex, and the subjugation of the northern Danes, he in the course of some years effected. Entering Mercia at the head of an army, he took the reigning sovereign, the princess Elfswina, prisoner, sent her a captive to Wessex, abolished in Mercia all traces of separate government, and moulded the whole of the Saxon territories into one kingdom. Pursuing the same policy of conquest, he succeeded in subjugating almost all the Danish tribes to his control, and ultimately reduced the greater portion of England to his sway, while the Scots acknowledged him for their chief, and the princes of Wales paid him tribute. He died in 925, having established many religious foundations, the most important of which was the monastery of Winchester.

Edward the
Elder,
901-925.

Edward left his crown by will to his son, Athelstan, who is called by historians the first monarch of England, because he extended his power over the whole of the island. He was crowned at Kingston, by Athelm, Archbishop of Canterbury. When Sightric, the Danish king of Northumberland died, Athelstan invaded his territories, and the Danish princes fled. One of them, Anlaf, soon afterwards having collected Scotch and Irish troops, returned and gave battle to Athelstan at Brunanburgh, in Northumbria, where he was completely routed, and Athelstan became monarch of all England. One of his sisters was married to Hugh, father of the founder of the royal line of

Athelstan,
925-941.
Battle of
Brunan-
burgh.

Capet, in France. Athelstan died in 941, regretted by his subjects, and admired by surrounding nations. He was generous to the poor; he erected numerous churches; his charities were extensive, and he laboured hard to secure for all his subjects the blessing of an impartial administration of justice.

Athelstan was succeeded by his brother, Edmund, who reigned six years, and was assassinated at a feast by Leof, an outlaw.

**Edmund,
941-946.**

The reign of Edmund was marked by war with the Danes, who had taken arms on the death of Athelstan, whose vigour had kept them in check. The war was varied in success, but ultimate victory fell to Edmund, and he transferred a large portion of the north of England to Malcolm, king of Scots.

The children of Athelstan being too young, his brother, Edred, was chosen king. His reign was principally distinguished by the final subjugation of Northumbria, which province rose in arms at this period for the last time, and was again subdued. Edred divided Northumbria into shires, and gave to one of his generals, Osulf, the title of Earl of Northumberland. Much of the merit which historians attribute to Edred is due to his having followed the advice of his favourite ministers, Chancellor Turketul and Dunstan, the abbot of Glas-tonbury. Turketul resigned the office of chancellor, and became abbot of the monastery at Croyland. Edred died after a reign of ten years, his constitution having been much enfeebled for a long time by a painful disease, from which he was scarcely ever free.

The elder of Edmund's two sons, Edwy, who had in 945 been passed over as being too young for the throne, was now chosen king by the unanimous voice of the national council.

**Edwy, 955-
959.**

Although not more than seventeen years of age, Edwy's character was already marked by the violence of his passions. It is related that on the day of his coronation he abruptly left the company of the nobility and clergy, to keep an appointment with his favourite, Ethelgiva, and her daughter, both of whom are accused by historians of having sought to ingratiate themselves by dishonourable means with the young king. The nobles were indignant that their monarch should leave them for such company, and at their request Abbot Dunstan and the Bishop of Lichfield persuaded, or as some say, compelled the king to return to the banquet. Edwy retained a feeling of revenge for the affront thus put upon him, and, at the instigation of Ethelgiva, persecuted Dunstan, who fled from his rage to Flanders.

Edwy married, but as he did not abandon Ethelgiva, the Archbishop of Canterbury sent her out of England; she returned soon afterwards, and was taken by the Mercians, who had revolted, and she was put to death. Edwy, who fled from the Mercians, took refuge in Wessex, and his brother, Edgar, being chosen king of Mercia, it was agreed upon that civil war should not be prolonged, but that the two brothers should reign at the same time, the Thames being the boundary of their respective dominions. Edwy died suddenly in 959, and the thanes of Wessex having offered the throne to Edgar, the two kingdoms were again united under the same monarch.

One of the first measures of Edgar was to recall Dunstan from exile. The abbot was appointed to the vacant see of Worcester, subsequently to that of London, and finally was made Archbishop of Canterbury. Edgar has received the title of "peaceful;" as, during the sixteen years of his reign, he was never compelled to unsheathe the sword against either a foreign or domestic enemy. He frequently, however, displayed his military resources, for the purpose of checking any tendency to war which the Danes might possess. Every year he sailed round the island with a fleet of 360 ships, and this periodical parade had the effect of intimidating the northern chieftains. From the Welsh he exacted an annual tribute of the heads of 300 wolves, instead of money, and thus he rapidly caused the entire extirpation of that ferocious race of animals. Kenneth, king of Scots, visited Edgar for the purpose of asking the province of Lothian for the Scottish crown, and succeeded in his application. Edgar exhibited in the internal administration of his kingdom an example worthy of imitation; he reformed abuses, dealt out equal justice to rich and poor, and removed any grievances of which the people complained. He also devoted much of his attention to ecclesiastical affairs, and, assisted by the prelates, effected many improvements in church discipline. Edgar was not crowned until he had been thirteen years on the throne; the ceremony was performed at Bath with great splendour. Edgar died in 975, two years after his coronation. He was twice married; and of his second wife, Elfrida, the following story is told by the historian, William of Malmesbury, but by many the narrative is only deemed to be a mere romantic fable. This writer narrates that Elfrida was possessed of unparalleled beauty and accomplishments, and that Edgar commissioned Ethelwold, the son of his foster-father, Athelstan, to visit Elfrida's father, and report his opinion of the daughter. The heart of Ethelwold was

captivated; he forgot his duty, wooed and married Elfrida; and, on his return, informed the king that although she might grace the house of a subject, she did not become the splendour of a throne. But the secret was quickly betrayed; it reached the ears of the king, and he announced to his dismayed favourite that he intended to visit the bride. Ethelwold now disclosed the whole transaction to his wife, and entreated her to conceal her beauty from the eyes of the king; but Elfrida had ceased to love; and he appeared to her in the light of an enemy who had deprived her of a crown. She received the king in her gayest attire, and employed all her art to engage the affections of her royal guest. Edgar was convinced of the perfidy of Ethelwold, and though he disguised his feelings for a time, he soon afterwards, when they were hunting together, ran his spear through his body, and married Elfrida.

The two sons of Edgar were children at the time of their father's death; Edward, who was the elder of the two, was only thirteen, Ethelred was only seven. A strong party, at whose head was Elgiva, the mother of Ethelred, opposed the accession of Edward; but aided by Dunstan, the latter was chosen king. The young

**Edward the
Martyr,
975-978.**

prince did not sway the sceptre for more than about four years. One morning as he was hunting, he stopped at Corfe Castle, the residence of his stepmother, Elgiva, and while drinking on horseback he was stabbed by an assassin. He put spurs to his horse, but soon fell from the saddle through weakness, and being dragged along by the stirrup, was killed.

At the age of ten years, Ethelred, the son of Edgar and Elgiva, succeeded to the throne. His reign was long and unfor-

**Ethelred the
Unready,
978-1016.**

fortunate. He never possessed the affection of his subjects, and the northern pirates having discovered that there was no sympathy between the people and the king, soon renewed their depredations. The horrors of invasion were aggravated by several years of scarcity, by a contagious disease amongst the cattle, and by a form of dysentery most fatal to the human species. For many years the war between the Danes and Saxons raged throughout the land with varying success. To rid himself of his inveterate enemies, Ethelred planned and executed a measure which will cover his name with everlasting infamy. His officers in the several towns and counties received secret orders from him to make arrangements in their respective localities for a general massacre of the Danes on a certain day. The time fixed was the 13th of November,

**St. Brice's
Day.
Massacre of
the Danes.**

1002, the festival of St. Brice. On that day a massacre of the Danes took place, aggravated by every insult and barbarity which national hatred could suggest. The Danish chief, Sweyn, on hearing of the massacre, in which one of the victims was his own sister, resolved on vengeance; **Sweyn of Denmark.** and, in the following year, landed in England with a large force. For four years war raged throughout England. Sweyn, having by numerous acts of fearful retaliation, quenched his thirst for vengeance, consented to grant the Saxons peace, on receiving thirty-six thousand pounds of silver.

As it was soon felt that the enormous sums given to the Danes had never purchased more than a temporary cessation of hostilities, Ethelred resolved to equip a large fleet for the permanent defence of the coast. Accordingly a very large armament was collected at Sandwich, and the king in person took the command. Differences, however, soon broke out amongst the officers, one of whom separated from the fleet, taking with him twenty ships. A violent tempest destroyed a portion of the fleet, and the armament became useless. The Danes immediately reappeared on the coast, and recommenced their old system of plunder and massacre. Flushed with success, the Danes resolved on attempting not merely coasting depredations, but the conquest of the island. Several towns submitted to Sweyn; and Ethelred, in despair, fled to Normandy in 1014. Sweyn soon died; Ethelred returned, and being welcomed by the Saxons, who had regained some of their old spirit, he reascended the throne. Cnut, the son and successor of Sweyn, fled from England, but in the following year returned with a very large force. Ethelred was then confined to bed, and, as his constitution was broken, he sank under this fresh stroke. His protracted and calamitous reign ended in 1016.

When Ethelred died, his son Edmund was proclaimed king. He opposed Cnut with courage and boldness. A treaty was agreed to. England was divided between Cnut and Edmund, but both kingdoms were obliged to pay **Edmund Ironside,** the tax known as *Dane-gelt*. Edmund soon died, 1016. having reigned only seven months. Cnut then became sole monarch of the entire kingdom.

The first object of Cnut was to strengthen his position on the throne. He feared the competition of Edward's children, and therefore sent them away to his half-brother, Olave, **Cnut,** king of Sweden. One of these children, Edmund, 1016-1035. died in his youth; the other, Edward, married Agatha, daughter of the Emperor of Germany. Cnut married

Emma, the widow of Ethelred; he laboured hard by paying attention to the administration of the laws and by impartial conduct, to win the affections of his English subjects. Cnut frequently visited Denmark, and in 1026 he made a pilgrimage to Rome. He became master of Norway by force of arms. He possessed the good sense to despise the flattery of those courtiers who wished to persuade him that his will could control even the elements. On one occasion, as he was sitting on the shore, near Southampton, he, to show the folly of his flatterers, commanded the sea to respect its sovereign; the tide soon compelled him to retire, and he took the opportunity to read his flatterers a lecture on the weakness of earthly kings when compared with the power of that Supreme Being who rules the elements. Cnut died in 1035, leaving by Emma a son, Harthacnut, and a daughter, Gunhilda; and by Alfgive two illegitimate sons, Sweyn and Harold. Sweyn became king of Norway, and Harold, surnamed Harefoot, succeeded Cnut on the throne of England.

Although Harold was illegitimate, and although by marriage-settlement Emma's children were to succeed Cnut, yet the influence of a numerous and powerful party raised Harold to the throne. Harthacnut claimed his right, but civil war was averted by an arrangement which provided for a division of the kingdom. The sons of Emma by her first husband also claimed the throne, and one of them, Alfred, was tempted by a forged letter of invitation to come over from Normandy to assert his right; his troops were received in seeming friendship, but were soon taken prisoners, and almost all of them were put to a cruel death. Alfred was condemned to lose his eyes, and died from the effect of his sufferings. Harold died in 1040, having reigned only four years.

Emma had represented Harthacnut in England, as he was in Denmark, but when her son Alfred was killed she fled to Bruges, and Harold thus became the sole king in England. On receiving tidings of Harold's death, Harthacnut hastened to England and was acknowledged as king.

In revenge, he ordered Harold's tomb to be opened, and wreaked his vengeance on his lifeless remains. Harthacnut reigned only two years; he fell to the ground while drinking at a marriage-festival. By his death the crowns of Denmark and England were separated.

**Harold
Harefoot,
1035-1040.**

**Harthacnut,
1040-1042.**

DESCENT OF THE KINGS OF THE SAXON LINE.

EGBERT (800-836).

ETHELWULF (836-858).

ETHELBALD (855-865). ETHELBERT (860-866). ETHELRED I. (866-871). ALFRED (871-901).

EDWARD THE ELDER (901-925).

ATHELSTAN (925-940).

EDMUND I. (940-946).

EDRED (946-955).

EDWY (955-959).

EDGAR (959-975).

EDWARD THE MARTYR (975-979).

ETHELRED II., THE UNREADY (979-1016).

EDMUND II., IRONSIDE (1016).

Alfred the Etheling.

EDWARD III., THE CONFESSOR
(1042-1066).

Edward the Etheling.

Edgar the Etheling.

Margaret = Malcolm, King of Scotland.

Matilda = Henry II. of England.

CHAPTER IV

SAXON LINE RESTORED 1042-1066

ON the death of Harthacnut, Edward, the son of Ethelred and Emma, succeeded to the throne, being called thereto by the voice of the citizens of London. The rightful heir was the son of Edmund Ironside, but he was in Hungary; frequently, however, had the English preferred the uncle to the nephew. Edward at the period of his becoming king was about forty years of age, twenty-seven of which he had spent as an exile in Normandy; he had solaced the hours of banishment with the pleasures of the chase and the exercises of religion, and he brought with him to the throne those habits of moderation and tranquillity which he had acquired in a private station. To preserve peace and promote religion; to enforce the ancient laws and to diminish the burthens of his people, were the chief objects of his government; but he possessed not that energy of mind nor that ferocity of disposition which perhaps would be necessary to command the respect and to repress the violence of the lawless nobles by whom he was surrounded. At Edward's accession, he found three powerful chieftains near the throne—Godwin, Leofric, and Siward. They possessed great power, and when united they were more than a match for the king, whose chief security lay in their mutual jealousies. The Danish families whose fidelity was doubtful, were driven out of the kingdom. The treasures of the queen-mother were seized on account of her partiality to the Danes, and also because she was considered to have participated in the murder of Alfred, the brother of Edward; she, however, was permitted to retain her dower, and resided at Winchester, where she died in the year 1052.

Edward married in 1044, Editha, the daughter of Earl Godwin. It was with reluctance Edward consented to this marriage; he declared that Editha might enjoy the honours of a queen, but not the rights of a wife—a declaration interpreted by some to mean that he had bound himself to a life of continency, but attributed by others to his rooted antipathy to Godwin and his family.

The hostile feeling which existed between the Danes and Normans (many of whom were now honoured with Edward's friendship) soon broke out in open war. Forces led by Godwin, Sweyn, and Harold (Editha's brother); marched against some Normans in Herefordshire. Blood, however, was not shed, for the insurgent troops abandoned their leaders, and the chiefs fled. The queen was imprisoned, as her family had been foremost in the revolt. William, Duke of Normandy, was invited to England by the Norman families who had settled in the country, but finding on his arrival that his services were not required, he landed simply as a visitor, was kindly received by the king, and was dismissed with magnificent presents. The insurgent earls, Godwin and Harold, requested to be admitted to Edward's friendship, and sailed to London from Flanders. They were received into the royal friendship, their titles were restored to them, and Editha was released from captivity. To Sweyn, Edward was inexorable, as he had committed a deliberate murder; and the murderer repenting, went as a pilgrim to Palestine, and died in the province of Lycia. Godwin, however, did not long survive the fall of his enemies. It is related that at table with the king he observed as a servant stumbled, and then recovered himself with one foot: "See how one brother helps another," and that Edward exclaimed, "Yes, and if my brother Alfred lived he would now assist me." Godwin feeling the reproach, declared that he wished if he were guilty of Alfred's death, the next morsel he ate might kill him; he put it into his mouth and was choked. His earldom was given to his son, Harold, the brother-in-law of the king.

The only foreign war in which Edward engaged was against Macbeth, the usurper of the throne of Scotland. He assisted Malcolm to obtain the throne, to which he was by hereditary right entitled. Edward was obliged to send an army against the Welsh, who had begun to attack the English who lived on the borders. Harold, who commanded the troops, obtained numerous victories over the Welsh, and these mountaineers remained quiet for a long period.

Harold, by the course of events, had become the most powerful subject in England; he aspired to the throne, and thus attracted the jealousy of William of Normandy, who had the same object in view. Harold was on one occasion accidentally thrown by shipwreck on the coast of Normandy. William exacted homage from him as his future lord, and Harold swore that he would aid in promoting the succession of William to the throne of England, on the death of Edward. Harold, on returning to England, found

himself obliged to suppress an insurrection among the Northumbrians, who had revolted against his brother Tostig. The latter was obliged to fly to Bruges, as the insurrection had gained ground; Harold succeeded in restoring tranquillity in the province, and returned to London. Edward died in a few weeks after Harold's return, having had the satisfaction of witnessing the completion of Westminster Abbey, which had been the great object of his solicitude during his latter years, and in which he was buried with royal pomp a few days after the building was dedicated.

If we estimate the character of a sovereign by the test of popular affection, we must rank Edward among the best princes of his time. The goodness of his heart was adored by his subjects, who lamented his death with tears of undissembled grief, and bequeathed his memory as an object of veneration to their posterity. The blessings of his reign are the constant theme of our ancient writers, not indeed that he displayed any of those brilliant qualities which attract admiration while they inflict misery; he could not boast of victories which he had won, or of conquests which he had achieved, but exhibited the interesting spectacle of a king negligent of his private interests, and totally devoted to the welfare of his people; and by his labours to restore the dominion of the laws, his vigilance to ward off foreign aggression, his constant and ultimately successful solicitude to appease the feuds of his nobles—if he did not prevent the interruption, he secured at least a longer duration of public tranquillity than had been enjoyed in England for half a century. He was pious, kind, and compassionate; the father of the poor and the protector of the weak; more willing to give than to receive, and better pleased to pardon than to punish. Under the preceding kings, force generally supplied the place of justice, and the people were impoverished by the rapacity of the sovereign; but Edward enforced the laws of his Saxon predecessors, and disdained the riches which were wrung from the labours of his subjects. Temperate in his diet, unostentatious in his person, pursuing no pleasures but those which his hawks and hounds afforded, he was content with the patrimonial demesnes of the crown, and was able to assert, even after the abolition of that fruitful source of revenue, the Dane-gelt, that he possessed a greater portion of wealth than any of his predecessors had enjoyed. To him, the principle that the king can do no wrong was literally applied by the gratitude of his people, who, if they occasionally complained of the measures of the government (and much reason they had to complain, on account of the appointment to bishoprics of aspiring and rapacious

adventurers), attributed the blame not to the monarch himself, of whose benevolence and piety they entertained no doubt, but to the ministers, who had abused his confidence or deceived his credulity.

It was, however, a fortunate circumstance for the memory of Edward, that he occupied the interval between the Danish and Norman conquests; writers were induced to view his character with more partiality from the hatred with which they looked on his successors and predecessors; *they* were foreigners, *he* was a native; they held the crown by conquest, he by descent; they ground to the dust the slaves whom they had made, he became known to his countrymen only by his benefits. Hence he appeared to shine with a purer light amid the gloom with which he was surrounded; and whenever the people under the despotism of the Norman kings had an opportunity of expressing their real wishes, they constantly called for "the laws and customs of the good King Edward."

On the death of Edward the report was circulated that he had appointed Harold as his successor, and he was accordingly proclaimed king. William of Normandy claimed from Harold the performance of his oath, but he **Harold II., 1066.** replied that the oath had been extorted by force, and that he would not resign the crown to which he had been elected by the free suffrages of the people. Both then prepared for war. Harold had also to contend against his brother, Tostig, who sought to regain his power. Aided by Harold Hardrada, king of Norway, he invaded the north of England. Harold marched against the allied forces, and defeated them in the battle of Stamford Bridge, one of the **Battle of Stamford Bridge.** most sanguinary engagements recorded in history. While rejoicing at this signal victory, Harold received intelligence that William of Normandy had landed on the coast of Sussex, with a large army. Harold proceeded without delay to the south, and fought with William the memorable battle of Hastings, which terminated, in 1066, the Saxon and Danish power in England, and led to the establishment of the Norman dynasty, from which the present royal family is descended.

The spot which he had selected for this important contest was called Senlac, nine miles from Hastings, an eminence opening to the south and covered on the back by an extensive wood. As his troops arrived, he posted them on the declivity, in one compact and immense mass. In the centre waved the royal standard, the **Landing of the Normans at Hastings.**

figure of a warrior in the act of fighting, worked in threads of gold, and ornamented with precious stones. By its side stood Harold and his two brothers, Gurth and Leofwin, and around them the rest of the army, every man on foot. In this arrangement the king seems to have adopted, as far as circumstances would permit, the plan which had lately proved so fatal to the Norwegians, and which now, from the same causes, was productive of a similar result. Probably he feared the shock of the numerous cavalry of the Normans. Both men and horses were completely cased in armour, which gave to their charge an irresistible weight, and rendered them almost invulnerable to ordinary weapons. For the purpose of opposing them with more chance of success, Harold had brought with him engines to discharge stones into their ranks, and had recommended his soldiers to confine themselves, in close fight, to the use of the battle-axe—a heavy and murderous weapon.

On the opposite hill, William was employed in marshalling his host. In the front he placed the archers and bowmen; the second line was composed of heavy infantry, clothed in coats of mail; and behind these the Duke arranged, in five divisions, the hope and the pride of the Norman force, the knights and men-at-arms. In the hearing of his barons he made a solemn vow to God, that if he gained the victory he would found a church for the common benefit of all his followers. About nine in the morning the army began to move, crossed the interval between the two hills, and slowly ascended the eminence on which the English were posted. The papal banner, as an omen of victory, was carried in the front by Toustain the Fair—a dangerous honour, which two of the Norman barons had successively declined.

At the moment when the armies were ready to engage, the Normans raised the national shout of "God is our help," which was as loudly answered by the averse cry of "Christ's rood, the holy rood." The archers, after the discharge of their arrows, retired on the infantry, whose weak and extended line was unable to make any impression on their more numerous opponents. William ordered the cavalry to charge. The shock was terrible, but the English at every point opposed a solid and impenetrable mass. Neither buckler nor corslet could withstand the stroke of the battle-axe, wielded by a powerful arm and with unerring aim; and the confidence of the Normans melted away at the view of their own loss, and the bold countenance of their enemies. After a short pause, the horse and foot of the left wing betook

Battle of
Hastings,
October 14,
1066.

themselves to flight ; their opponents eagerly pursued, and a report was spread that William himself had fallen. The whole army began to waver ; when the Duke, with his helmet in his hand, rode along the line, exclaiming : “ I am still alive, and, with the help of God, I still shall conquer.” The presence and confidence of their commander revived the hopes of the Normans, and the speedy destruction of the English, who had pursued the fugitives, was fondly magnified into an assurance of victory. These brave but incautious men had, on their return, been intercepted by a numerous body of cavalry, and on foot and in confusion, they quickly disappeared beneath the swords or rather the horses of the enemy. Not a man survived the carnage.

William led his troops again to the attack ; but the English column, dense and immovable as a rock amidst the waves, resisted every assault. Disappointed and perplexed, the Norman had recourse to a stratagem, suggested by his success in the earlier part of the day. He ordered a division of horse to flee ; they were pursued, and the temerity of the pursuers was punished with instant destruction. The same feint was tried with equal success in another part of the field. These losses might diminish the numbers of the English, but the main body obstinately maintained its position, and bade defiance to every effort of the Normans.

During the engagement, William had given the most signal proofs of personal bravery. Three horses had been killed under him ; and he had been compelled to grapple on foot with his adversaries. Harold also had animated his followers, both by word and example, and displayed a courage worthy of the crown for which he was fighting. His brothers, Gurth and Leofwin, had perished already ; but as long as *he* survived, no man entertained the apprehension of defeat, or admitted the idea of flight. A little before sunset, an arrow, shot at random, entered his eye. He instantly fell ; and the knowledge of his fall relaxed the efforts of the English. Twenty

Death of
Harold.

Normans undertook to seize the royal banner, and effected their purpose, but with the loss of half their number. One of them, who maimed with his sword the dead body of the king, was afterwards disgraced by William for his brutality. At dusk the English broke up, and dispersed through the wood. The Normans followed their track by the light of the moon, when ignorance of the country led them to a spot intersected with ditches, into which they were precipitated, in the ardour of pursuit. The fugitives, recalled by the accident, inflicted a severe vengeance on their

adversaries. William's intrepidity hurried him forward to the scene of danger. His presence encouraged his men; succours arrived; and the English, after an obstinate resistance, were repulsed.

Thus ended this memorable and fatal battle. On the side of the victors almost sixty thousand men had been engaged, and more than one-fourth were left on the field. The number of the vanquished, and the amount of their loss are unknown. By the vanity of the Norman historians, the English army has been exaggerated beyond the limits of credibility; by that of the native writers, it has been reduced to a handful of resolute warriors; but both agree, that with Harold and his brothers perished all the nobility of the south of England; a loss which could not be repaired. The King's mother begged, as a boon, the dead body of her son, and offered, as a ransom, its weight in gold; but the resentment of William had rendered him callous to pity, and insensible to all interested considerations. He ordered the corpse of the fallen monarch to be buried on the beach, adding, with a sneer, "He guarded the coast while he was alive; let him continue to guard it after death." By stealth, however, or by purchase, the royal remains were removed from this unhallowed site, and deposited in the church of Waltham, which Harold had founded before he ascended the throne.

CHAPTER V

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS

EVERY account of the civil polity of the Anglo-Saxons must necessarily be imperfect, as we can only view the subject through the intervening gloom of eight centuries. The Saxons introduced into England the institutions to which they had been habituated in their original settlements, and these they adapted to the requirements of their new surroundings. The student who would wish to acquaint himself with the details is referred to Dr. Lingard's work; only the main outlines are here indicated.

Of Saxon institutions the most important, and that which formed the groundwork of the rest may be discovered among the Germans in the age of Tacitus. From him we learn that every chieftain was surrounded by a number of retainers, who did him honour in time of peace, and accompanied him to the field in time of war. To fight by his side they deemed an indispensable duty; to survive his fall an indelible disgrace. It was this artificial connexion, this principle which reciprocally bound the lord to his vassal, and the vassal to his lord, that held together the northern hordes when they issued forth in quest of adventures. They retained it in their new homes: and its consequences were gradually developed, as each tribe made successive advances in power and civilisation. Hence, little by little, as time passed, grew up the feudal system, with its long train of obligations, of homage, suit, service, purveyance, reliefs, wardships, and scutage. That it was introduced into England by the Norman conqueror, is the opinion of respectable writers; and the assertion may be true if they speak of it only in its mature and most oppressive form. But all the primary germs of the feudal services may be descried among the Saxons, even in the earlier periods of their government; and many of them flourished in full luxuriance long before the extinction of the dynasty.

The feudal doctrine was, that of all the ties which nature has formed or society invented, the most sacred was that which bound together the lord and the vassal. By Alfred the breach of this

solemn engagement was declared punishable as a crime of the most disgraceful and unpardonable character—the offender suffering forfeiture and death. The obligations were reciprocal: the vassal served the lord, and the lord protected the vassal. It was a contract cemented by oath for the benefit of each.

The distinction of ranks amongst the Anglo-Saxons was, with a few shades of accidental difference, substantially the same as in all the nations of Gothic origin. Among the Anglo-Saxons the free population was divided into the *eorl* and *ccorl*, the men of noble and ignoble descent.

Distinction of ranks.

The *cynig*, or king, occupied the first place; he was lord of the principal chieftains, and through them, of their respective vassals. The great tenants of the crown were summoned at Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas, to pay homage to the king. They appeared before him as dependents, while he was seated on his throne, with the crown on his head, and a sceptre in his hand. During eight days they feasted at his expense, and on their dismissal received presents from his bounty. He exercised an undisputed authority over the national forces by sea and land. He was the supreme judge, and was accustomed to receive appeals from every court of judicature.

After the royal family, ranked the ealdormen or earls. They governed districts called, then and still, their shires. Sometimes

The Earl. one powerful earl governed several shires. It was the duty of the earl to lead the men of the shire to battle, to preside with the bishop in the courts of the shire, and to enforce the execution of justice. The *thanes* were a

The Thane. numerous and distinguished order of men, divided into several classes of different rank and with different privileges. We read of greater and lesser thanes: of the thanes of the king, and the thanes of ealdormen and prelates. The *reeves*

The Reeves. (shire-reeve, or sheriff), port-reeve, and borough-reeve, were men appointed by the king to carry out the details of the administration of the law.

Among a people but lately emerged from barbarism, the administration of justice is always rude and simple; and though

Administration of justice.

the absence of legal forms and pleading may casually ensure a prompt and equitable decision, it is difficult without their aid to oppose the arts of intrigue and falsehood, or the influence of passion or prejudice. The proceedings before the Anglo-Saxon tribunals would not have suited a more advanced state of civilisation; they were ill

calculated to elicit truth, or to produce conviction; and in many instances which have been recorded by contemporary writers, our more correct or more artificial notions will be shocked at the credulity or the precipitancy of the judges. The subject, however, is curious and interesting. These ancient courts still exist under different names, and the intelligent observer may discover in their proceedings the origin of several institutions, which now mark the administration of justice in the English tribunals.

In all the Anglo-Saxon tribunals, namely, hundred motes, shire motes, the king's court, and the witenagemôt, the judges were the free tenants, owing suit to the court, and afterwards called its peers. But the real authority seems to have resided in the president and the principal of his assessors, whose opinion was generally echoed and applauded by the rest of the members. Their proceedings were simplified and facilitated by the custom requiring the testimony of witnesses. In all cases in which property, whether real or personal, was concerned; if a man claimed by gift or purchase; if stolen goods were found in his possession, or he had forcibly entered on the lands of others, he was bound to produce the testimony of the court and witnesses before whom the transaction, on which he grounded his own right, if it had been lawful, must have taken place. On this testimony in civil actions the judges frequently decided; but if either party advanced assertions of such a nature that they could not be proved by evidence, he was put on his oath, and was ordered to bring forward certain freeholders, his neighbours, acquainted with his character and concerns, who should swear that in their consciences they believed his assertion to be true. The number of these was in many cases fixed by the law, in others left to the discretion of the court. If the matter still remained doubtful, a jury of free tenants was selected, who left the court, deliberated amongst themselves, and returned a verdict, which decided the question.

In criminal prosecutions, the proceedings, though grounded on the same principles, were in many respects different. It was ordered by law, that as soon as the hundred-mote was assembled (the same probably held with respect to other similar tribunals), the reeve, with the twelve oldest thanes, should go out to inquire into all offences committed within the jurisdiction of the court, and should be sworn "not to foresay (present) any one who was innocent, nor to conceal any one who was guilty." On their presentment, or on the accusation of the prosecutor and his

witnesses, the prisoner was frequently condemned; if any doubt existed, his plea of not guilty was admitted, and after his lord had been called on to speak to his character on **Purgation of swearing, oath, he was at liberty to prove his innocence by and purgation of the purgation of lada (or swearing), or the ordeal, of ordeal.** (or judgment of God). In the purgation by oath, he began by calling on God to witness that he was innocent both in word and work of the crime laid to his charge. He then produced his compurgators, who swore that "they believed his oath to be upright and clean." It was required that these compurgators or jurors should be his neighbours, or resident within the jurisdiction of the court, freeholders who had never been arraigned for theft, nor ever convicted of perjury, and who were now acknowledged for "true men" by all present. Their number varied according to the custom of the district. They were sometimes appointed by the judges, sometimes drawn by lot, often brought into the court by the party himself—an indulgence which enabled him to rest his fate on the decision of his friends and dependants, whom he might already have prejudiced in his favour. In Wessex, he was permitted to choose thirty jurors, of whom fifteen were rejected by the judges; in East Anglia and Northumbria, he produced forty-eight, out of whom twenty-four were appointed by ballot. If they corroborated his oath by their own, in the form established by law, his innocence was acknowledged. If, on the contrary, recourse was had to the ordeal, pledges were given for the trial, and the time was fixed by the court. As the decision was now left to the Almighty, three days were spent by the accused in fasting and prayer. On the third day, he was adjured by the priest not to go to the ordeal, if he were conscious of guilt; he was then communicated with these words: "May this body and blood of Christ be to thee a proof of innocence this day;" when he again swore that he was guiltless of the crime of which he had been accused. The ordeals which were most in use were those by hot water and fire. For the former a fire was kindled under a cauldron, in a remote part of the church. At a certain depth below the surface, which was augmented in proportion to the enormity of the crime, was placed a stone or piece of iron of a certain weight. Strangers were excluded; the accuser and the accused, each attended by twelve friends, proceeded to the spot, and the two parties were ranged in two lines opposite each other. After the litanies had been recited, a person was deputed from each line, to examine the cauldron, and if they agreed that the water boiled, and the stone

was placed at the proper depth, the accused advanced, plunged in his arm, and took out the weight. The priest immediately wrapped a clean linen cloth around the part which was scalded, fixed on it the seal of the Church, and opened it again on the third day. If the arm was perfectly healed, the accused was pronounced innocent; if not, he suffered the punishment of his offence. In the ordeal by fire, the same precautions were employed in respect of the number and position of the attendants. Near the fire a space was measured, equal to nine of the prisoner's feet, and divided by lines into three equal parts. By the first stood a small stone pillar. At the beginning of the Mass a bar of iron of the weight of one or three pounds, according to the nature of the offence, was laid on the fire; at the last collect it was taken off, and placed on the pillar. The prisoner immediately grasped it in his hand, made three steps on the lines previously traced on the floor, and threw it down. The treatment of the burn, and the indications of guilt or innocence, were the same as those in the ordeal by hot water.

The crimes to which the Anglo-Saxons were principally addicted were homicide and theft. The right to inflict punishment devolved upon the family of the slain. The state affixed a **Fines**, certain *were* or pecuniary compensation for murder, according to the rank of the deceased. When the murderer was taken (and to his arrest many difficulties were opposed, on account of the existence of places of sanctuary), he could not be put to death for thirty days. If he by that time failed to pay or give good security for the *were*, he might be put to death by the relatives of the murdered man. If he gave security, the parties who guaranteed payment handed over the amount, in several instalments, to the relatives, and also made payment to the immediate lord of the deceased, and to the king. Robbery was a very general crime, although exceedingly severe laws were made to check it, and were rigidly enforced.

Perhaps not less than two-thirds of the population of England during the Anglo-Saxon period existed in a state of slavery, into which they had fallen as the result of conquest. Their number was continually increased by the free-born Saxons who had been reduced to the same condition by debt, or had been made captives in war, or had been deprived of liberty in punishment of their crimes, or had spontaneously surrendered it to escape the horrors of want. All slaves were not, however, numbered in the same category. The most numerous class consisted of those who lived on the land of

**Slavery and
the manumission
of slaves.**

their lord. They were called by the Normans, *villains*, and passed from owner to owner with the land, or they could be left by will. It should be observed that the hardships of the condition of servitude were considerably mitigated by the influence of religion. In general, the services of the slave were fixed and certain; if he performed them faithfully, he was allowed to retain his savings; and many of those who cultivated portions of land or received permission to exercise their trades in the boroughs, acquired a comparative degree of opulence, which enabled them to purchase their liberty. The prospect of obtaining their freedom was a powerful incentive to industry and good behaviour. Besides those who were able to purchase it themselves, many obtained their manumission from the bounty of benefactors; some were emancipated by the justice and gratitude of their masters; others owed their freedom to motives of religion.

The sale and purchase of slaves publicly prevailed during the whole of the Anglo-Saxon period. These unhappy men were sold like cattle in the market, and there is reason to believe that a slave was usually estimated at four times the price of an ox. To the importation of foreign slaves no impediment had ever been opposed; the export of native slaves was forbidden under severe penalties. But habit and the pursuit of gain had taught the Northumbrians to bid defiance to all the efforts of the legislature. Like the savages of Africa, they are said to have carried off not only their own countrymen, but even their friends and relatives, and to have sold them as slaves in the ports of the continent. The men of Bristol were the last to abandon this nefarious traffic. Their agents travelled into every part of the country; and their slave-ships regularly sailed from that port to Ireland, where they were sure of a ready and profitable market. Their obstinacy yielded, however, not to the severity of the magistrates, but to the zeal of Wulstan, bishop of Worcester. That prelate visited Bristol several years successively; resided for months together in the neighbourhood; and preached on every Sunday against the barbarity and irreligion of the dealers in slaves. At last the merchants were convinced by his reasons, and in their guild solemnly bound themselves to renounce the trade. One of the members was soon afterwards tempted to violate his engagement; his perfidy was punished with the loss of his eyes.

From the population of the country, we may pass to the inhabitants of the cities and boroughs, of which a few perhaps might be of recent origin, having sprung up under the protection of some powerful chieftain or celebrated monastery; but the

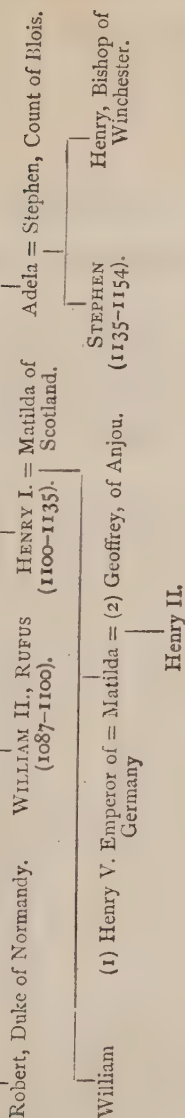
greater part had existed from the time of the Romans, and successively passed into the hands of the Britons, Saxons, and Northmen. Of these, the more early history is lost in the gloom of ages; it is only towards the close of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty that we are able to discover some, and those but imperfect traces of their municipal polity, which seems to have been founded on the same principles as that which prevailed in the surrounding country. In both we discover the lord and the tenant; the lord with his reeve, his court, his right of tallage, and his receipt of rents, and fines, and forfeitures; and on the other hand, the tenant holding of the lord by every variety of service, from that which was deemed honourable, to the lowest and most debasing. In the towns, however, this principle was variously modified, to meet the wants and conveniences of large masses of men congregated on one spot; and hence it happened that their inhabitants gradually acquired advantages denied to their equals in the country. They possessed the benefit of a market for the sale of their wares and merchandise; they were protected by their union and numbers from the depredations of robbers and banditti; and (which subsequently proved to them a source of incalculable benefit), they formed one body politic, with common rights and common interests. They had their hall or hanse-house, in which they met and deliberated; they exercised the power of enacting *bye* (or *borough*) laws for the government and improvement of the borough; and they possessed by lease or purchase, houses, pasture and forest lands, for the common use and benefit of the whole body. This gradually led to the emancipation of the inhabitants, for the lords chiefly valued their own rights on account of the income derived from them; and, therefore, they felt no objection to transfer the exercise of such rights to the burgesses themselves, in return for a large sum of money, or for a yearly rent during a certain term. Of such bargains, there are many instances in Domesday.

The larger towns were divided into districts, called in some places "wards," in some "shires," and in others "ferlings, or quarters." Among the inhabitants we meet with men of considerable wealth and influence, holding over their own property in the borough, and transmitting with it to their heirs the enviable jurisdiction of sac and soc. They had also their guilds or companies, consisting in some, and probably in all instances, of men of the same trade or profession, and possessing common property, and a common hall, for the purposes both of consultation and entertainment,

The principal magistrate was the provost, called the wic-reeve, to distinguish him from the shire-reeve, or reeve of the county. Whether he owed his situation to the nomination of the lord, or to the choice of the burgesses, is perhaps a doubtful question. The wic-reeve of the more populous towns is always mentioned as an officer of great importance, and sometimes numbered among the noblest in the land. It was his duty to collect the revenue of the king or lord, to watch over his interests, and to exercise within the limits of the borough the same authority which the sheriff exercised within the shire. From the manner in which London, Winchester, York, Exeter, and some other places are casually mentioned by the most ancient chroniclers, it is plain that the inhabitants formed distinct bodies of men, not only possessing forms of municipal government, but also exercising considerable influence in matters of state.

DESCENT OF THE KINGS OF THE NORMAN LINE.

WILLIAM I., the CONQUEROR (1066-1087).



CHAPTER VI

WILLIAM I. 1066-1087

WILLIAM THE FIRST, known in history as "the Conqueror," was the illegitimate son of Robert II., Duke of Normandy, and Herleva, daughter of an officer of the Duke's household. Although not born in wedlock, he was acknowledged Duke by the Norman barons, on the death of his father, and afterwards maintained his position by the sword. He married Matilda, the daughter of Baldwin of Flanders.

After the battle of Hastings, William, having secured Dover, and some other important places, marched on London. The city had been fortified against him, and the Londoners had placed Edgar, surnamed "the Etheling" (meaning that he was of royal descent), on the throne. William did not storm the walls, being either afraid of failure or unwilling to exasperate the citizens. He laid waste the adjacent counties, and the Londoners, fearing his power, sent a deputation to him, with an offer of the crown, which he, after some appearance of hesitation, accepted. On the day

William
crowned at
West-
minster,
December
25, 1066.

of his coronation, when the representatives of the Normans and of the Saxons in Westminster Abbey were asked if they would have William for king, the response was so loud that the Norman guards outside thought, or pretended to think, that strife had commenced within, and immediately began to plunder the neighbouring houses and massacre the people. William refused to allow the ceremony to be interrupted, although he was left alone with the clergy; for the laity of both nations rushed from the Abbey on hearing of the events outside. William expressed much regret at the conduct of his troops, and issued stringent orders, having for their object the protection of the people from the soldiery. He also gave directions to all whom he appointed to public duties to act towards the English in a spirit of conciliation. He received several Saxon chiefs at his court, and paid particular attention to Edgar, on whom he

bestowed an extensive property, as some compensation for the loss of his crown.

According to feudal custom, soldiers only served for a limited period, and several Normans were anxious to return to their own country. William feared that to permit this would lessen his power in England, and he accordingly made grants of estates to the Norman chieftains, who promised to remain with their followers. He

**Grants of
land to
Normans.**

himself crossed over to Normandy, to receive the congratulations of the Normans on his winning a crown. In his absence from England he entrusted the government to Fitzosborn, a Norman leader, and to Archbishop Odo, who was William's half-brother. Their severe mode of government drove the English into revolt. The king returned, and with much trouble crushed the insurrection.

The siege of Exeter alone cost him eighteen days, and even then the inhabitants obtained lenient terms. The king about this time sent for his wife Matilda, and she was crowned queen-consort of England.

**Risings in
the West
and North.**

William had to contend with very formidable risings in the north. A Danish fleet, under Cnut, the son of Sveno, sailed up the Humber in 1069, and succeeded in taking York, and defeating the Normans. The ancient cathedral of York was accidentally burned shortly before the engagement.

When William heard of the defeat of his troops at York, he swore that he would have vengeance, and he marched with a large army to the north. He took York, and then proceeded to execute a system of revenge which has covered his name with deep disgrace. He dispersed his followers through the country with orders to spare neither man nor beast, and also to destroy houses, corn, implements of husbandry, and whatever might be useful for the support of human

**Harrying of
the North,
1069.**

life. His terrible orders were obeyed with fearful accuracy. It is said that 100,000 of the inhabitants fell victims to William's barbarous commands, and that the North of England for a long period presented the appearance of desolation and ruin. The English chieftains no longer opposed the power of William; risings, which had been general, ceased, but the king no longer showed signs of friendship to any of the natives. He carefully excluded them from all places of honour, emolument, or trust, and gave their lands to his followers. He soon afterwards entered Scotland, in order to punish Malcolm, who had assisted his enemies; he overthrew the Scottish king, who threw himself on the mercy of the conqueror, and was permitted to retain his

crown as vassal of the king of England. Edgar the Etheling, whose sister was married to Malcolm, was at this time in Scotland. In endeavouring to cross over to France, he was wrecked on the coast of England. He sought a renewal of friendship with William (from whom he had been estranged when the Normans became severe to the natives), and William received him in a spirit of reconciliation, granting him a residence and a handsome pension. In 1086 this prince went to the Holy Land, with two hundred knights.

William crossed over to Normandy in 1075, and during his absence some Norman barons in England, who had received smaller rewards than they considered themselves entitled to, rose in rebellion. William returned, and soon put down the insurrection. A Saxon noble, Waltheof, was put to death for not having divulged the conspiracy of which he was cognisant, though he took no part in the rebellion. William next led an army into Wales, and completely confirmed his power in that country.

In 1085, Cnut, the son of Sveno, determined to claim the crown of England, as successor of his namesake, and being assisted by several northern powers, he collected a large fleet, in order to carry into execution his ambitious designs. Circumstances delayed the completion of his preparations, and a mutiny broke out in his fleet, the consequence of which was that the intended expedition was abandoned.

The last years of William's life were embittered by dissensions amongst his sons. Robert (the eldest) was, when a boy, invested with the nominal government of Normandy under Matilda, his mother; and when he grew up and claimed the duchy as a right, William gave him a peremptory refusal. Robert's hot temper received additional excitement from his brothers, William and Henry, who, one day, emptied a pitcher of water on his head from a balcony. Robert, in anger, rushed up stairs to attack his brothers, sword in hand; the king came to the spot, and separated his sons. Robert withdrew, and commenced to levy war upon his father, whom he considered as partial to the younger princes. Having been defeated, he wandered throughout France for five years, and at last settled in the castle of Gerberoi, which he had received from the King of France. William besieged the castle, and it is related that during the siege the father and son were, on one occasion, engaged in single combat without knowing each other. Robert wounded his father. William soon withdrew, not being

**Rebellion of
William's
sons, 1079.**

able to take the castle, and through the mediation of Matilda the father and son became reconciled.

Excessive corpulence rendered it necessary for William to submit to a course of medicine, and he was confined to his bed for part of the last year of his life. When he recovered, he carried war into the territories of the King of France, who had spoken deridingly of William's illness. He took the town of Mantes, and set it on fire. William's horse trod on some hot ashes, and making an effort to extricate itself, threw the king violently on the pommel of the saddle. **William's death, 1087.**

William received an injury which in a few weeks proved fatal. During his last illness he assembled his prelates and barons, and bequeathed Normandy to Robert, as that territory was William's by descent. To England he said he had no title but that which the sword gave him, and he would leave the decision as to who should rule that country to God; but he hoped that his second son, William, would obtain it. To Henry, his youngest son, he left five thousand crowns; and when that prince complained of the comparative smallness of his portion, the king told him (and it proved to be a prophetic statement) to remain quiet, and that he would in time possess the portions of both his brothers. The king was advised to order the liberation of the prisoners whom he held in custody, and with some reluctance he consented. On the 9th of September, 1087, in the city of Rouen, William the Conqueror, whose memorable life caused so important an alteration in the affairs of Europe, breathed his last. He died, saying, "I commend my soul to my Lady, the Mother of God, that by her prayers she may reconcile me to her Son, my Lord Jesus Christ."

The king was of ordinary stature, but inclined to corpulency. His countenance wore an air of ferocity, which, when he was agitated by passion, struck terror into every beholder. The story told of his strength at one period of life almost exceeds belief. It is said, that sitting on horseback, he could draw the string of a bow which no other man could bend even on foot. Hunting formed his favourite amusement. William has been severely censured for his savage deer-friths and game-laws. The following instance will show that the censure is not undeserved.

Though the king possessed sixty-eight forests, besides parks and chases, in different parts of England, he was not satisfied; but for the occasional accommodation of his court afforested an extensive tract of country lying between the Avon and the bay of Southampton. The

**Formation
of the New
Forest.**

inhabitants were expelled; the cottages and the churches were burnt; more than thirty square miles of arable land were withdrawn from cultivation, and the whole district was converted into a wilderness, to afford sufficient range for the deer, and ample space for the royal diversion. The memory of this act of despotism has been perpetuated in the name of the New Forest, which it retains at the present day, after the lapse of eight centuries.

William's education had left on his mind religious impressions which were never effaced. When, indeed, his power or interest was concerned, he listened to no suggestions but those of ambition or of avarice, but on other occasions he displayed a strong sense of religion, and a profound respect for its institutions. He daily heard the mass of his private chaplain, and was regular in his attendance at the public worship. In the company of men celebrated for holiness of life, he laid aside that haughty demeanour with which he was accustomed to awe the most powerful of his barons. He willingly concurred in the deposition of his uncle, Malger, archbishop of Rouen, who disgraced his dignity by his conduct; and showed that he knew how to value and recompense virtue, by endeavouring to place in the same church the monk Guitmond, from whom he had formerly received a severe reprimand. On the decease of a prelate, he appointed officers to protect the property of the vacant archbishopric or abbey, and named a successor with the advice of the principal clergy. Lanfranc, in his numerous struggles against the rapacity of the Normans, was constantly patronized by the king, who appointed him, with certain other commissioners, to compel the sheriffs of the several counties to restore to the Church whatever had been unjustly taken from it since the invasion. William felt he could not trust the English prelates; accordingly he got rid, one after another, of all the Saxon bishops and abbots, St. Wulstan of Worcester alone excepted. In their place he introduced Normans and other foreigners. Lanfranc, Abbot of Bec (a learned monk of Pavia), was made Archbishop of Canterbury.

William's ecclesiastical appointments, were, on the whole, a source of benefit and strength to the Church in England. While, however, wholly submissive to the Pope, he drew a sharp differentiating line between his spiritual and temporal authority; and when summoned by Gregory VII. to do temporal homage for his crown, he flatly refused to do so.

There were, however, three points, according to Eadmer, in

which the king unjustly invaded the ecclesiastical rights. 1. During his reign, the Christian world was afflicted and scandalised by the rupture between Gregory VII. and the Emperor Henry VI., who, in opposition to his adversary, created an anti-pope, Guibert, bishop of Ravenna. The conflicting claims of these prelates, and the temporal pretensions of Gregory, afforded a pretext to William to introduce a new regulation. He would not permit the authority of any particular pontiff to be acknowledged in his dominions, without his previous approbation; and he directed that all letters issued from the court of Rome should, on their arrival, be submitted to the royal inspection. 2. Though he zealously concurred with Archbishop Lanfranc, in his endeavours to reform the manners of both the clergy and the laity, yet so jealous was he of any encroachment on his authority, that without the royal license, he would not permit the decisions of national or provincial synods to be carried into effect. 3. After the separation of the ecclesiastical courts from those of the hundred, he enacted such laws as were necessary to support the jurisdiction of the former; but at the same time forbade the clergy either to implead or to excommunicate any individual, holding in chief of the crown, till the nature of the offence had been certified to himself.

Although, as previously stated, the Saxons brought the germ of the feudal system into England, it was by the Normans that that wonderful social machinery was introduced in its maturity. It is impossible, on account of the exigencies of space, to enter into a minute account of the changes which William the Conqueror effected. We can, therefore, only give a summary of the lucid view which Dr. Lingard presents, referring the advanced reader to that great historian's work for particulars.

Military service was the leading obligation imposed upon the vassal by the feudal system. Several other duties, however, devolved upon him, which it is necessary here to explain.

Fealty was incident to every species of tenure, even the lowest. Besides fealty, the military tenant was obliged to do homage, that he might obtain the investiture of his fee. Unarmed and bareheaded, on his knees, and with his hands placed between those of his lord, he repeated these words: "Hear, my lord; I become your liege-man of life and limb, and earthly worship; and faith and truth I will bear to you, to live and die. So help me God." The ceremony was concluded with a kiss; and the man was thenceforth bound to respect and obey his lord; the lord to protect his man, and to guarantee to

The feudal system.

Fealty and homage.

him the possession of his fee. Hitherto, in other countries, the royal authority could only reach the sub-vassals through their lord, who alone had sworn fealty directly to the sovereign : nor did they deem themselves deserving of punishment, if they assisted him in his wars, or in his rebellion against the crown. Such the law remained for a long period on the continent ; but William, who had experienced its inconvenience, devised a remedy in England, and compelled all the free tenants of his immediate vassals to swear fealty to himself. The consequence was an alteration in the words of the oath : the king's own tenants swore to be true to him against all manner of men ; sub-tenants swore to be true to their lords against all men but the king and his heirs. Hence, if they followed their lord in his rebellion, they were adjudged to have violated their allegiance, and became subject to the same penalties as their leader.

In addition to service in the time of war, the military tenants of the crown were expected to attend the king's court at the three great festivals, and, unless they could show a reasonable cause of absence, were bound to appear on other occasions, whenever they were summoned. But if this in some respects was a burthen, in others it was an honour and advantage. In these assemblies they consulted together on all matters concerning the welfare or safety of the state, concurred with the sovereign in making or amending the laws, and formed the highest judicial tribunal in the kingdom. Hence they acquired the appellation of the king's barons ; the collective body was called the baronage of England ; and the lands which they held of the crown were termed their respective baronies. By degrees, however, many of the smaller baronies became divided and subdivided by marriages and descents ; and the poverty of the possessors induced them to exclude themselves from the assemblies of their colleagues. In the reign of John the distinction was established between the lesser and the greater barons ; and as the latter only continued to exercise the privileges, they alone, after some time, were known by the title of barons.

According to a specious, but perhaps erroneous theory, fees are beneficiary grants of land, which originally depended for their duration on the pleasure of the lord, but were gradually improved into estates for life, and at last converted into estates of inheritance. But whatever might have been the practice in former ages, the fees created by William and his followers were all granted in perpetuity, to the feoffees and their legitimate descendants. There were, however,

**Fees and
Escheats.**

two cases in which they might escheat or fall to the lord : when by failure of heirs the race of the first tenant had become extinct ; or by felony or treason, the actual tenant incurred the penalty of forfeiture. On this account an officer was appointed by the crown in every county to watch over its rights, and to take immediate possession of all escheated estates.

When the heir, being of full age, entered into the possession of the fee, he was required to pay a certain sum to the lord, under the name of *heriot* among the Saxons, or *relief* among the Normans. By modern feudalists we are told that this was meant as an acknowledgment that the fee was held from the bounty of the lord ; but it may be fairly doubted whether their doctrine have any foundation in fact. Originally, the heriot was demanded as due not from the new, but from the last tenant, and was discharged out of his personal estate ; he generally made provisions for the payment in his will ; and it often appears in the form of a legacy, by which the vassal sought to testify his respect for the person and his gratitude for the protection of his lord. By Cnut the amount of the heriot was regulated by the rank of each tenant : by William that amount was considerably diminished. When he confirmed the law of Cnut, he entirely omitted the demand of money, and contented himself with a portion of the horses and arms, the hounds and hawks of the deceased. But the new regulation was soon violated ; avarice again introduced pecuniary reliefs ; and the enormous sums which were exacted by succeeding kings became the frequent subject of useless complaint and ineffectual reform.

The conqueror had solemnly pledged his word that he would never require more from his vassals than their stipulated services. But the ingenuity of the feudal lawyers discovered that there were four occasions on which the lord had a right to levy of his own authority a pecuniary aid on his tenants : when he paid the relief of his fee, when he made his eldest son a knight, when he gave his eldest daughter in marriage, and when he had the misfortune to be a captive in the hands of his enemies. Of these cases the first could not apply to the tenants of the crown, because the sovereign, holding of no one, was not subject to a relief : but this advantage was counterbalanced by the frequent appeals which he made to their generosity, and which, under a powerful prince, it was dangerous to resist. They claimed, however, and generally exercised the right of fixing the amount of such aids, and of raising them as they thought proper, either by the impost of a

Heriots, or
Reliefs.

William's
methods of
extortion :
Aids.

certain sum on every knight's fee, or the grant of a certain portion from the moveables of each individual, varying according to circumstances, from a fortieth to a fifth of their estimated value.

Fees of inheritance necessarily required limitations as to alienation and descent. The law would not permit the actual tenant to defeat the will of his lord, or the rights of his issue. Whatever he had acquired by purchase, or industry, or favour, remained at his own disposal;

Descent of Fees.

but the fee which he had received to transmit to his descendants, he could neither devise by will, nor alienate by gift or sale. After his death, it went, whether he would or not, to the nearest heir, who inherited the whole, and was bound to perform the services originally stipulated. It was long, however, before the right of representation in descents could be fully established. That the eldest son of the first tenant was the legitimate heir, was universally admitted; but considerable doubts were entertained, whether at the death of the second, the fee should descend to his son or his brother; for, if the former were the nearest in blood to the late possessor, the latter was the nearest to the original feoffee. This uncertainty is the more deserving of attention, as in the descent of the crown it explains the occasional interruptions which have occurred in the line of representation, and the part which the thanes or barons took in the election of the sovereign. If the son of the last king were a minor, the claim of the young prince was often opposed by that of his uncle, whose appeal to the great council was generally sanctioned by the national approbation.

The descent of fees brought with it two heavy grievances—wardships and marriages, which were unknown in most feudal constitutions, and in England experienced long and obstinate opposition. That attempts had been made to introduce them at an early period is not improbable; from the charter of Henry I. it is certain that both had become established under the reign of his brother, William Rufus; perhaps even of his father, the Conqueror. After a long struggle it was finally decided that, when the heir was a minor, he should not hold the fee, because his age rendered him incapable of performing military service. The lord immediately entered into possession, and appropriated the profits to himself, or gave them to a favourite, or let them out to farm. Nor was this all. He separated the heir from his mother and relations, and took him under his own custody, on the ground that it was his interest to see that the young man was educated in a manner which might

hereafter fit him for the performance of military service. He was, however, obliged to defray all the expenses of his ward, and to grant to him, when he had completed his twenty-first year, the livery of his estate, without the payment of the relief.

But frequently the heirs were females; and, as *they* could not perform military service, every precaution was taken to guard against the prejudice which might be suffered from their succession. Their father was forbidden to give them in marriage without the consent of the lord, which, however, *he* could not refuse without showing a reasonable cause. When the tenant died, the fee descended to the daughter, or if there were more than one, to all the daughters in common. The lord had the wardship: as each completed her fourteenth year, he compelled her to marry the man of his choice; or if he allowed her to remain single, continued to act as her guardian, and could prevent her from marrying without his advice and consent. After marriage the husband exercised all the rights of his wife, did homage in her place, and performed the accustomed services. The pretext for these harassing regulations was a necessary attention to the interests of the lord, whose fee might otherwise come into the possession of a man unable or unwilling to comply with the obligations; but avarice converted them into a constant source of emolument to the lord, by inducing him to sell the marriages of heiresses to the highest bidder.

The king's revenue was derived: 1. From the rents of the crown lands, generally paid in kind, and allotted to the support of the royal household. The particulars respecting all the lands in England were recorded by public officers in a book called the Domesday Book, compiled in 1085 by royal commissioners, and still preserved. This wonderful record affords almost all the information now possessed concerning the holding of land before and at the Conquest. The name of every landholder was set down therein, the value and extent of the manors, the service and money due for them to the king. Its holder and its value in Edward's reign also appear. Thus we can estimate the change in ownerships then effected. 2. From his military tenants he received considerable sums, under the different heads of reliefs, aids, wardships, and marriages of heiresses; for unless the female ward purchased at a considerable price the permission to wed the man of her own choice, he always disposed of her in marriage by private sale, and obtained a greater or smaller sum in proportion to the value of her fee. 3. Escheats and forfeitures continually

occurred, and, whether the king retained the lands himself, or gave them after some time to his favourites, they always brought money into the exchequer. 4. The fines paid by litigants for permission to have their quarrels terminated in the king's courts, the mulcts or pecuniary penalties imposed by the laws, and the amerciaments, which were sometimes customary, generally arbitrary, according to the caprice or discretion of the judges, amounted in the course of each year to enormous sums. 5. He levied tolls at bridges, fairs, and markets, exacted certain customs on the export and import of goods, and received fees and rents, and tallages, from the inhabitants of the boroughs and ports. Lastly, William revived the odious tax called the Dane-gelt, which had been abolished by Edward the Confessor. It was frequently levied for his use, at the rate of six shillings on every hide of land under the plough. From all these sources money constantly flowed into the exchequer, till the king was reputed to be the most opulent prince in Christendom. His daily income, even with the exception of fines, gifts, and amerciaments, amounted, if we may believe an ancient historian, who seems to write from authentic documents, to £1061 10s. 1½d.—a prodigious and incredible sum, if we reflect that the pound of that period was equal in weight to three nominal pounds of the present day, and that the value of silver was perhaps ten times as great as in modern times.

CHAPTER VII

WILLIAM II., HENRY I., STEPHEN. 1087-1154

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR left three sons. Robert, the eldest son, was acknowledged Duke of Normandy without opposition, and, satisfied with the ducal coronet, he let slip the golden opportunity of assuming the crown of England. He afterwards lost even Normandy, and terminated his life in a dungeon, the prisoner of his youngest brother.

William's sons.

William, surnamed Rufus, or "the Red," was the next in age, and was his father's favourite son. From the bedside of the dying monarch he hastened to England, with a letter to Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, who, however, refused to declare in his favour, till the prince promised that he would govern according to law and justice. He was soon, although not the eldest son, declared king by means of the co-operation of numerous powerful friends.

Accession of William Rufus, 1087.

Henry, the third son of the Conqueror, had five thousand pounds for his portion, with which he was by no means content, but thought it the most prudent course to remain silently watching the course of events, prepared to avail himself of the first opportunity of aggrandisement which fortune might throw in his way.

The Conqueror had, on his death-bed, consented to the liberation of his prisoners. The Normans were restored to their possessions both in England and Normandy; but when the other prisoners arrived in England, they were arrested and imprisoned in the castle of Winchester. Odo, the brother of the Conqueror (to whom William became an object of aversion, on account of his listening to the councils of Lanfranc), soon commenced to form a party in favour of Robert, and succeeded in spreading discontent among the barons. Plans of insurrection were matured, and a powerful organisation was entered into against William. The haste of the barons, however, and the tardiness of Robert, who was expected from Normandy, combined to defeat the insurgents. Without waiting the arrival of Robert, the barons commenced a series of predatory

Rebellion of Bishop Odo.

attacks on the king's lands. The native English took the side of the crown, for they were eager to revenge the wrongs they had suffered from the Norman chiefs. Odo was soon driven out of England, after having, by force and by artifice, endeavoured to secure Rochester Castle for Robert. The hopes of the barons were soon at an end. Robert procrastinated his voyage till the opportunity of striking an effective blow at William's power was past, and even the scanty succours which he sent were intercepted. The principal insurgents escaped to Normandy, and their estates were divided amongst the friends of the king.

Normandy presented at this period a wide scene of anarchy and confusion, and to William, who sought to be revenged on Robert, for fomenting rebellion in England, this state of things presented an alluring prospect. He lost no time in availing himself of Norman discontent, and by means of bribery he soon obtained possession of numerous fortresses in Normandy. Robert, unable alone to cope with his brother, solicited the aid of the king of France, who marched with a considerable army to the frontiers of Normandy. He soon, however, retreated, on receiving a bribe from the king of England. A treaty was concluded in the following year between William and Robert, and they joined their forces against Henry, whom they compelled to retire to Bretagne. William refused to carry out his portion of the treaty. Robert proclaimed the English king a perjurer, and he, to defend his honour, submitted the case to twenty-four barons; they decided for Robert, but William appealed to the sword. The king of France again approached to the assistance of Robert, but William again bought him off, and returned to England.

We now arrive at one of the most interesting chapters in the history of the human race. At this period the crusades commenced. For many centuries Palestine was subject to the Moslem power, but Christians were allowed the free exercise of their religion, and pilgrims were permitted to visit the scene of the passion of our Lord. This toleration ceased about the year 936, when the Turks obtained possession of Jerusalem; tolls were exacted, and pilgrims were insulted. In 1094, Peter the Hermit visited the Holy Sepulchre, and witnessed the persecution of the Christians. Returning to Europe, he took counsel with Pope Urban II., and under his sanction he preached in favour of a crusade. The Pope called upon all Christian princes to lay aside their dissensions, and to join against the common foe of Christendom. All Europe flew

**The First
Crusade.**

to arms. Robert of Normandy burnt with ardour to share in the enterprise, and not having money, he mortgaged his territories to William for five years, and departed to the Holy Land.

Many years of William's reign were occupied in resisting the hostilities of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and in protecting the west of England from the incursions of the Welsh chiefs. The English barons also frequently rose against the crown, but William having completely overcome the Earl of Northumberland and other disaffected nobles, restored comparative peace to his dominions. His expensive habits, however, which caused him to oppress his subjects with heavy taxation, rendered him very unpopular.

**Wars with
Scotland and
Wales.**

The king fell into ill-health in the year 1095, and, trembling at the expected approach of death, he sent for the celebrated Anselm, who was a native of Aosta in Piedmont, and was abbot of Bec, in Normandy. The bishops advised William to make Anselm archbishop of Canterbury; of which see, William held the temporalities since Lanfranc's death. The king consented; but Anselm, knowing that should the king recover, he would probably relapse into despotism, was reluctant to assume that exalted position, but he finally, however, accepted the Primacy, and his predictions proved true. The king recovered, and insulted the primate at every opportunity. There were at this period two competitors for the papacy: Clement and Urban. William, in order to enjoy the English ecclesiastical revenues the more securely, refused to acknowledge either. Anselm acknowledged Urban; and William, in his rage, ordered him to be tried for treason. The undaunted Anselm, standing in the presence of the nobles of England, exclaimed: "If any man pretend that I violate the faith which I have sworn to the king, because I will not reject the authority of the bishop of Rome, let him come forward, and he will find me ready to answer him as I ought." The king ordered the bishops to depose the primate; they refused, as not having it in their power, but some consented to abjure his authority. The king sent to Rome for the *pallium* (the emblem of the primacy), and acknowledged Urban. He endeavoured to sell the *pallium*, but failing in the attempt, he felt obliged to give it to Anselm. His persecution of the primate, however, continued, and at last Anselm retired from England to Rome, where he was received with every mark of honour.

The king lived in extravagance and profligacy until the 2nd of August, 1100, on which day, hunting in the New Forest, in Hampshire, he was accidentally (some think, designedly) shot by one of

his knights, with an arrow. No religious rites were performed over his grave, as his life had been so sinful. It is generally said that Walter Tyrrell was the knight who shot the king. His sudden departure for France gave colour to the statement; but, in after years, when it would not have injured him to admit the accident, he solemnly denied it on oath. The absence of any investigation at the time, proves that William's successor if not a party to his brother's death, was at all events, not much incensed by an event which raised him to the throne.

The violent character of William, his rapacity, despotism, and debauchery, is attested by all chroniclers: it is sufficient here merely to record the fact. In person he was short and corpulent with flaxen hair, and a ruddy complexion; from which last circumstance he derived the name of *Rufus*, or, the red. In ordinary conversation his utterance was slow and embarrassed; in the hurry of passion, precipitate and unintelligible. He assumed in public a haughty mien, rolling his eyes with fierceness on the spectators, and endeavouring, by the tone of his voice, and the tenor of his answers to intimidate those who addressed him. But in private he descended to an equality with his companions, amusing them with his wit, which was chiefly pointed against himself, and seeking to lessen the odium of his excesses by making them the subject of laughter.

He built, at the expense of the neighbouring counties, a wall round the Tower, a bridge over the Thames, and the great hall at Westminster. The latter was finished the year before his death, and when he first visited it, after his return from Normandy, he replied to his flatterers, that there was nothing in its dimensions to excite their wonder; it was only the vestibule to the palace which he intended to raise; but in this respect he seems to have followed, not to have created, the taste of the age. During his reign structures of unusual magnificence arose in every part of the kingdom; and the most opulent proprietors sought to distinguish themselves by the castles which they built, and the monasteries which they founded.

Four years had now elapsed, since Robert of Normandy had abandoned his dominions in Europe to earn a barren wreath of glory in the fields of Palestine. By priority of birth, and the stipulation of treaties, the crown of England belonged to him. He had already arrived in Italy, on his way home; but, ignorant of the prize that was at stake, he loitered in Apulia, to woo Sibylla, the fair sister of William of Conversana. Henry, the younger brother, was on the spot: he

Henry I.,
1100.

had followed Rufus into the forest; and the moment that he heard the king was fallen, spurring his horse, he rode to Winchester, to secure the royal treasures. William de Breteuil, to whose custody they had been entrusted, arrived at the same time, and avowed his determination to preserve them for Robert, the rightful heir. The prince immediately drew his sword; and blood would have been shed, had not their common friends interposed, and prevailed on Breteuil to withdraw his opposition. As soon as Henry had obtained possession of the treasures and castle, he was proclaimed king; and riding to Westminster, was crowned on the Sunday, the third day after the death of his brother. To strengthen the weakness of his claim, by connecting it with the interests of the people, Henry published a charter of liberties. In this instrument he restored to the Church its ancient immunities. He granted to all his barons and immediate vassals (and required that they should make the same concession to *their* tenants) that they might dispose by will of their personal property; that they might give their daughters and female relatives in marriage without fee or impediment, provided the intended husband were not his enemy, together with several other privileges. To the nation at large he promised to put in force the laws of Edward the Confessor, as they had been amended and published by his father. Henry, however, retained both the royal forests and the forest laws, but as a kind of apology he declared, that in this reservation he was guided by the advice, and had obtained the consent of his barons. He added at the same time a very beneficial charter in favour of the citizens of London.

**Grants a
Charter of
Liberties.**

Hitherto the moral conduct of Henry had been as questionable as that of his late brother: policy now taught him to assume the zeal and severity of a reformer. He amended his own mode of life, and sent to hasten the return of Archbishop Anselm, with expressions of the highest regard and veneration for his character. At the solicitation of the prelates he consented to marry, and the object of his choice was Matilda, the daughter of Malcolm, king of Scots, by Margaret, the sister of Edgar the Etheling: a princess whose descent from the Anglo-Saxon monarchs was expected to add stability to his throne, and to secure the succession to his posterity. The marriage was celebrated, and the queen crowned with the usual solemnity by Anselm, who had returned to England, and resumed the administration of his diocese.

**Henry's mar-
riage. Recall
of Anselm.**

To satisfy the clamour of the people, Henry had committed

to the Tower Flambard, bishop of Durham, the unpopular minister of the late king. Flambard, with the aid of a rope, descended from the window, was conducted by his friends to the sea-shore, and thence escaped into Normandy. In Normandy

Duke Robert prepares to enforce his claim to the English throne.

he found Duke Robert, who had married Sibylla, and returned to his duchy within a month after the death of his brother. By his former subjects he had been received with welcome; but his claim to the English crown, though he meant to enforce it, was postponed to a subsequent period. The arrival and suggestions of Flambard, however, turned his thoughts from pleasure to war. His vassals professed their eagerness to fight under a prince who had gained laurels in the Holy Land; tenders of assistance were received from England; and a powerful force of men-at-arms, archers, and footmen, was ordered to assemble in the neighbourhood of Treport.

Henry beheld with disquietude the preparations of his brother, and collected an army at Pevensey, on the coast of Sussex. Robert, conducted by the mariners, whom Flambard had debauched from their allegiance, reached the harbour of Portsmouth. To secure the city of Winchester became to each prince an object of the first importance. Though Robert was nearer, he was delayed by the debarkation of his troops, and Henry overtook him on his march. After several fruitless and irritating messages, Henry demanded a conference with his brother. The two princes met in a vacant space between the

Reconciliation between Henry and duke Robert.

armies, conversed for a few minutes, and embraced as friends. The terms of reconciliation were immediately adjusted. Robert renounced all claims to the crown of England, and obtained in return a yearly pension of three thousand marks, the cession of all the castles which Henry possessed in Normandy, with the exception of Damfront, and the revocation of the judgment of forfeiture, which William had pronounced against his adherents. It was moreover stipulated, that both princes should unite to punish their respective enemies, and that if either died without legitimate issue, the survivor should be his heir. Twelve barons on each side swore to enforce the observance of these articles.

Henry was soon afterwards engaged in a contest with several disaffected noblemen, the principal of whom was Belesme, Earl of Shrewsbury, who was defeated and banished. Robert religiously observed the conditions of peace. He had, even on the first notice of Belesme's rebellion, ravaged the Norman estates of that

nobleman. Sensible, however, that the real crime of the outlaws was their former attachment to his interest, he unexpectedly came to England, at the solicitation of the Earl of Surrey, and incautiously trusted himself to the generosity of an unfeeling brother. He was received indeed with a smile of affection, but soon found that he was in reality a captive: instead of interceding in favour of others, he was reduced to treat for his own liberty; and as the price of his ransom, gladly resigned his annuity of three thousand marks, which, to save the honour of the two princes, was received as a present by the queen Matilda. After such treatment Robert could not doubt of the hostility of his brother; and in his own defence he sought the friendship, and accepted the services of the outlaw, Belesme, who still possessed thirty-four castles in Normandy. Henry received the intelligence with pleasure, pronounced the alliance between himself and Robert at an end: accepted, perhaps procured, invitations from the enemies of the duke, and resolved to transfer the Norman coronet to his own head. The first campaign passed without any important result: in the second the fate of Normandy was decided before the walls of Tenchebrai, where Robert was defeated. He was soon sent to England, and kept in confinement till death. Henry summoned the Norman barons to meet him, and was acknowledged duke without opposition.

Henry conquers Normandy.
Battle of Tenchebrai, 1106. Duke Robert imprisoned.

While the king had thus been employed in chastising his enemies, and stripping an unfortunate brother of his dominions, he was engaged in a less successful quarrel with Anselm and the court of Rome, concerning the right of investiture. To understand the subject of the controversy, the reader should know that, according to ancient practice, the election of bishops had generally depended on the testimony of the clergy and people, and the suffrage of the provincial prelates. But the lapse of years, and the conversion of the barbarous nations, had introduced important innovations into this branch of ecclesiastical polity. The tenure of clerical, was assimilated to that of lay property; the sovereign assumed the right of approving of the prelate-elect; and the new bishop or abbot, like the baron or knight, was compelled to swear fealty, and to do homage to his superior lord. The pretensions of the crown were gradually extended. As it was the interest of the prince that the spiritual fiefs should not fall into the hands of his enemies, he reserved to himself the right of nomination; and in

Quarrel the Church: the right of investiture.

virtue of that right *invested* the individual whom he had nominated with the ring and crosier, the acknowledged emblems of episcopal and abbatial jurisdiction. The Church had observed with jealousy these successive encroachments on her privileges: in the general councils of Nice, in 787, and of Constantinople, in 869, the nomination of bishops by lay authority had been condemned: in 1067 the former prohibitions were renewed by Gregory VII.; and ten years afterwards, Victor III., in a synod at Beneventum, added the sentence of excommunication both against the prince who should presume to exercise the right of investiture and the prelate who should condescend to receive his temporalities on such conditions. But it was in vain that the thunders of the Church were directed against a practice enforced by sovereigns, who refused to surrender a privilege enjoyed by their predecessors, and defended by prelates who were indebted to it for their wealth and importance. The contest between the two powers continued during half a century; nor was it without mutual concessions that claims so contradictory could be amicably adjusted.

It would exhaust the patience of the reader to descend into the particulars of this dispute; to notice all the messages that were sent to Rome, and the answers returned to England; the artifices that were employed to deceive, and the expedients suggested to mollify Anselm. At last, by the king's request, he undertook, aged and infirm as he was, a journey to Italy, to lay the whole controversy before the pontiff; on his return, he received an order to remain in banishment till he should be willing to submit to the royal pleasure. The exile retired to his friend the archbishop of Lyons, under whose hospitable roof he spent the three following years. In the interval, Henry was harassed by the entreaties of his barons and the murmurs of the people: his sister Adela, countess of Blois, and his queen, Matilda, importuned him to be reconciled to the primate; and Paschal II., who had already excommunicated his advisers, admonished him that in a few weeks the same sentence would be pronounced against himself. The king, not prepared to push the dispute to this extremity, discovered a willingness to relent. Anselm met him at the abbey of Bec; and both, in the true spirit of conciliation, consented to abandon a part of their pretensions. As fealty and homage were civil duties, it was agreed that they should be exacted from every clergyman before he received his temporalities. As the ring and crosier were considered to denote spiritual jurisdiction, to which the king acknowledged that he had no claim, the collation of these emblems was suppressed.

The possession of Normandy soon involved the king in hostilities with the neighbouring princes. William, the only son of the captive duke, was but five years old at the time of the battle of Tenchebrai. As he advanced in age, the hopes of his partisans increased. Baldwin, earl of Flanders, with whom he found an honourable retreat during several years, engaged to assist him with all his power; Louis, king of France, was induced to draw the sword in the same cause—even Fulk of Anjou, agreed to join the confederates. All these princes had individually reasons to complain of Henry; they were willing to sanctify their resentments by espousing the interests of an injured orphan. Thus the embers of war were kindled, and the flame stretched from one extremity of Normandy to the other. During more than three years, fortune seemed to play with the efforts of the combatants. At first, Louis was compelled to solicit the forbearance of the king of England; then success upon success waited on his arms; afterwards, Baldwin died of a slight wound received at the siege of Eu; next Fulk of Anjou, induced by a considerable bribe and the marriage of his daughter to Henry's son, withdrew from the allies; and, at last, the decisive though almost bloodless victory of Brenville gave the superiority to the king of England. An end was put to hostilities by the paternal industry of the pontiff, Calixtus II., and a treaty of peace was concluded under his auspices. Henry retained what he principally sought, the possession of Normandy; and the king of France, as sovereign lord, received the homage of William, Henry's son, in lieu of that of the father.

Continental
entanglements.

The ambition of the king was now gratified. His foreign foes had been compelled to solicit peace—his Norman enemies had been crushed by the weight of his arms; and, if further security were wanting, it had been obtained by the investiture of the duchy which had been granted to his son William. After an absence of four years, he resolved to return in triumph to England. At Barfleur, he was met by a Norman mariner, called Fitz-Stephen, who offered him a mark of gold, and solicited the honour of conveying him in his vessel, "the White Ship." It was, he observed, new, and manned with fifty most able seamen. His father had carried the king's father when he sailed to the conquest of England; and the service by which he held his fee, was that of providing for the passage of his sovereign. Henry replied that he had already chosen a vessel for himself; but that he would confide his son and his treasures to the care of Fitz-Stephen. With the young prince (he was in his eighteenth year) embarked many

relatives, nobles, and knights. They spent some hours on deck in feasting and dancing, and distributed three barrels of wine among the crew: but the riot and intoxication which prevailed about sunset, induced the more prudent to quit the vessel and

Loss of return to the shore. Henry had set sail as soon as
Henry's son. the tide would permit. William, after a long delay, ordered Fitz-Stephen to follow his father. Immediately every sail was unfurled, every oar was plied; but, amid the music and revelling, the care of the helm was neglected, and the "White Ship," carried away by the current, suddenly struck against a rock. The rapid influx of the water admonished the gay and heedless company of their alarming situation. By Fitz-Stephen, the prince was immediately lowered into a boat, and told to row back to the land; but the shrieks of his sister recalled him to the wreck, and the boat sank under the multitude that poured into it. In a short time the vessel itself went down, and three hundred persons were buried in the waves. A butcher of Rouen alone saved himself by clinging to the top of the mast, and related the particulars of this doleful catastrophe. Henry had arrived at Southampton, and frequently expressed his surprise at the tardiness of his son. The fatal news was imparted to Henry, who, at the shock, sank to the ground, but recovering himself, affected a display of fortitude which he did not feel. He talked of submission to the dispensations of Providence; but the wound had penetrated deep into his heart. His grief gradually subsided into a settled melancholy; and it is said, that from that day he was never observed to smile. Matilda, by the death of her husband, became a widow at the age of twelve, within six months after her marriage. By Henry she was treated with the affection of a parent; at the demand, however, of her father, she returned to Anjou, and ten years afterwards put on the veil in the convent of Fontevraud.

But Henry, deprived of his only legitimate son, had new plans to form, new precautions to take, against the pretensions and attempts of his nephew, William, son of Duke Robert. **William, son of duke Robert.** On that prince every eye was fixed: his virtues and misfortunes were the theme of general conversation; and few men doubted that he would ultimately succeed to the throne. Fulk of Anjou, whom the king had offended by refusing to return the dower of Matilda, affianced to him his younger daughter Sibylla, and gave him the earldom of Mans; while the most powerful barons of Normandy, Amauri of Montfort, and Walleran, the young earl of Mellent, undertook to assist him on the first opportunity with all their forces and influence. Henry,

by his spies, was informed of the most secret motions of his enemies. In the court of Anjou, he employed threats and promises, and bribes, to prevent the intended marriage: he even undertook to prove that the two parties, William and Sibylla, were relations within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. In Normandy, he suddenly landed with a numerous body of English forces, and overthrew the friends of his nephew.

The life of William, the son of Robert, was an alternating series of elevation and depression. If the sudden fate of his cousin had awakened his hopes, they were soon defeated by the sagacity and promptitude of his uncle: but he was amply repaid for the disappointment by the bounty of Louis, who in lieu of Sibylla, whose father now refused her to him, bestowed on him the hand of his sister-in-law, and gave for her portion Chamont, Pontoise, and the Vexin, on the borders of Normandy; whence, by his proximity, he was enabled to encourage his partisans, and to keep alive the spirit of opposition to Henry. Soon afterwards, Charles the Good, earl of Flanders, and the successor of Baldwin, was assassinated. He was at his devotions in a church at Bruges, when Burchard de l'Isle suddenly assailed him with a body of armed men, and murdered him at the foot of the altar. On the first intelligence of this event, William of Ypres surrounded the walls with his retainers: the king of France followed with a formidable force; and, after a siege of five weeks, the gates were burst open and the assassins were precipitated over the battlements of the castle. William had accompanied his benefactor, and received from him the investiture of the earldom, which he could justly claim as the representative of Matilda, his grandmother, the daughter of Baldwin V. Thus, again, by the caprice of fortune was he raised to a high degree of power, and placed in a situation the most favourable for the conquest of Normandy. Henry began to tremble for the safety of his continental possessions.

It is now time to notice the measures by which that monarch had sought to perpetuate the succession in his own family. Matilda had brought him two children, a son, William, whose premature fate the reader has already witnessed, and a daughter, Alice, who afterwards assumed the name of her mother. For the last twelve years of her life the queen resided at Westminster, deprived of the society of her husband. By her death, in 1118, the king found himself at liberty to contract another marriage, and he offered his hand to Adelais, the daughter of Geoffrey, duke of Louvain, and niece to Pope Calixtus—a princess whose chief recommendation was her youth and beauty. Their union proved

without issue ; and after a delay of three years, he formed the resolution of settling the crown on his daughter Matilda, who had married Henry V. of Germany ; and, by the death of her husband, had lately become a widow. A general assembly was summoned of the prelates and chief tenants of the crown : before them, Henry lamented the premature death of his son, and proposed his daughter Matilda as presumptive heiress to the succession. She united, he observed, in her veins the blood of the Anglo-Saxon with that of the Norman princes. The empress was unanimously pronounced the next heir, in the event of her father dying without male issue ; and first the clergy, then the laity, swore to maintain her succession. Among the laity, the precedence was given to her uncle David, on account of his regal character. The second place was disputed between Stephen, earl of Boulogne, and Robert, earl of Gloucester. The former was the king's nephew, by his sister Adela ; the latter was Henry's son, but of spurious birth. The question was determined in favour of Stephen. But these noblemen had in view a secret and important object. Notwithstanding the precautions of Henry, the succession of Matilda was considered very uncertain : both Stephen and Robert looked forward to the crown ; and, on that account, each was anxious to be declared the first prince of the blood.

Fulk, count of Anjou, had lately resigned his European states to his eldest son, and had accepted the more brilliant but precarious dignity of king of Jerusalem. Henry offered Matilda to Geoffrey, the reigning earl. The marriage was negotiated in secret : its publication excited the loud complaints of the English and Norman barons. They claimed a right to be consulted in the disposal of their future sovereign ; and many declared that they looked on themselves as released from the obligation of their oath, by the duplicity of the king.

It was impossible for Henry to contemplate without disquietude the increasing fame and power of his nephew, the earl of Flanders. William had justly, but perhaps imprudently, punished the murderers of his predecessor. Their friends sought to be revenged on the new earl : at their suggestion Thierry, landgrave of Alsace, advanced a claim to the succession ; and Henry engaged to support him with all the power of England and Normandy. Lisle, Ghent, and several other places were perfidiously surrendered to Thierry ; but William displayed his wonted

Henry settles the crown on his daughter Matilda.
Marriage of Matilda to the earl of Anjou.
Battle of Alost. Death of William, Henry's nephew, 1128.

activity and courage, and completely defeated his antagonist under the walls of Alost. Unfortunately, after the battle, and at the very gate of the town, he received a thrust in the hand from the pike of a foot-soldier. The wound was slight, and therefore neglected: a mortification ensued; and the prince soon died.

Family broils detained the king in Normandy, and occupied his attention during the last years of his reign. But though he resided so frequently on the continent, and was so anxious to secure his transmarine possessions, he did not neglect the government of his kingdom of England, by far the most valuable portion of his dominions. The administration of justice, and the preservation of the public tranquillity, were objects which he had constantly at heart, and which he earnestly recommended to the vigilance of his officers.

Robert, the unfortunate duke of Normandy, had now spent eight-and-twenty years in captivity. According to some historians, he bore his confinement with impatience; and by an unsuccessful attempt to escape, provoked his brother to deprive him of sight. For the honour of human nature, we may hope that the latter part of the account is false; the more so as it is not supported by contemporary authority. If Henry may be believed, he boasted of the splendour and comfort enjoyed by his captive; and Malmesbury (but Malmesbury wrote to the son of Henry, and therefore was disposed to panegyrisé the father,) seems to confirm this statement, when he assures us that the duke was allowed every indulgence compatible with his condition as a prisoner. Robert died at the age of eighty, in the castle of Cardiff in Wales.

Henry did not survive his brother more than a year. He had been hunting near St. Denis-le-Froment, in Normandy, and at his return was seized with an acute fever. On the third day, despairing of his recovery, he sent for the archbishop of Rouen, from whom he received the sacraments of the Eucharist and Extreme Unction.

Death of
duke
Robert.

Death of
Henry,
November
27, 1135.

The earls of Gloucester, Surrey, and Leicester, and the rest of the nobility assembled round his bed, and in their presence he pronounced his last will. "I bequeath," he said, "all my lands on both sides of the sea to my daughter Matilda and her heirs for ever; and I desire that, when my debts have been discharged, and the liveries and wages of my retainers have been paid, the remainder of my effects may be distributed to the poor." On the seventh day of his illness he expired. His bowels were deposited in the church of St. Mary at Rouen, which had been

founded by his mother; his body was conveyed to England, and interred in the abbey of Reading.

A contemporary writer has left us the character of Henry as it was differently drawn, by his friends and enemies, after his death.

Henry's character.

By the former he was ranked among the wisest, richest, and bravest of our monarchs; the latter loaded his memory with the reproach of cruelty, avarice, and incontinence. To an indifferent observer, at the present day, his reign will offer little worthy of praise, unless it be the severity with which he punished offences. This was a real benefit to his people; as it not only contributed to extirpate the robbers by profession, but also checked the rapacity and violence of the barons. Still his merit will be very equivocal. As long as each conviction brought with it a fine or forfeiture to the royal exchequer, princes were stimulated to the execution of the laws by a sense of personal interest. Henry, at the same time that he visited the injustice of others, scrupled not to commit injustice himself. Probably in both cases he had in view the same object—his own emolument.

The great aim of his ambition was to aggrandise his family, by augmenting his possessions on the continent. His success in this favourite project obtained for him the reputation of political wisdom; but it was purchased at the expense of enormous sums wrung from a suffering and impoverished people. If, however, the English thus paid for acquisitions in which they had little interest, they derived from them one advantage—the king's attention to foreign politics rendered him anxious to preserve peace with his more immediate neighbours. He lived on the most friendly terms with Alexander and David, successively kings of Scotland. The former had married his natural daughter Sybilla; both were the brothers of his wife Matilda. It was more difficult to repress the active and predatory disposition of the Welsh; but as often as he prepared to chastise their presumption, they pacified his resentment by submission and presents. As a check to this restless people, he planted among them a powerful colony of foreigners. Many natives of Flanders had made settlements in England under the protection of his mother Matilda; and the number was now doubled by a crowd of emigrants, who had been driven from their homes by an inundation of the Rhine. Henry placed them at first on the right bank of the Tweed; but afterwards collecting the old and new comers into one body, allotted to them for their residence the town of Haverfordwest with the district of Ross, in Pembrokeshire. They were a martial and industrious people; by attention to the cultivation of the soil and the

manufacture of cloth, they grew in numbers and opulence; and under the protection of the English kings, to whom they always remained faithful, defeated every attempt of the Welsh princes to root them out of the country.

Henry was naturally suspicious, and this disposition had been greatly encouraged by his knowledge of the clandestine attempts of his enemies. On one occasion, the keeper of his treasures was convicted of a design on his life; on another, while he was marching in the midst of his army towards Wales, an arrow from an unknown hand struck him on the breast, but was repelled by the temper of his cuirass. Alarmed by these incidents, he always kept on his guard, frequently changed his apartments, and, when he retired to rest, ordered sentinels to be stationed at the door, and his sword and shield to be placed near his pillow.

The suspicious are generally dissembling and revengeful. Henry seldom forgot an injury, though he would disguise his enmity under the mask of friendship. Fraud, and treachery, and violence, were employed to ensnare those who had greatly offended him; and their usual portion was death, or blindness, or perpetual imprisonment. After his decease, it was discovered that his cousin, the earl of Moretoil, whom he had long kept in confinement, had also been deprived of sight. Luke de Barré, a poet, who had fought against him, was made prisoner at the close of the last war, and sentenced by the king to lose his eyes. Charles the Good, earl of Flanders, was present, and remonstrated against so direful a punishment. It was not, he observed, the custom of civilised nations to inflict bodily punishment on knights who had drawn the sword in the service of their lord. "It is not," replied Henry, "the first time that he has been in arms against me. But what is worse, he has made me the subject of satire, and in his poems has held me up to the derision of my enemies. From his example let other versifiers learn what they may expect, if they offend the king of England." The cruel mandate was executed; and the troubadour, in a paroxysm of agony, bursting from the hands of the officers, dashed out his brains against the wall.

His dissimulation was so well known, that he was mistrusted even by his favourites. When Bloet, bishop of Lincoln, who had for many years been one of his principal justiciars, was told that the king had spoken of him in terms of the highest commendation; "Then," he replied, "I am undone, for I never knew him praise a man whom he did not intend to ruin." The event justified his apprehensions. In an unguarded moment the

prelate had boasted that the monastery, which he was building at Eynesham, should equal that which Henry had founded at Reading. The words were carried to the king, and the fall of the favourite was consummated. He was immediately deprived of the office of justiciar; vexatious prosecutions were commenced against him; by fines and extortions all his wealth was drawn to the royal exchequer; and the bishop would probably have been compelled to resign his dignity had he not died, by a sudden stroke of apoplexy, as he was speaking to Henry.

Malmesbury has allotted to the king the praise of temperance and continency. Perhaps his claim to these rests on no other ground than the partiality of his panegyrist. Many writers affirm, that his death was occasioned by the excess with which he ate of a dish of lampreys. Robert of Caen, earl of Gloucester, his illegitimate son, was much distinguished by his father. He will claim the attention of the reader in the following reign.

The king's principal ministers were Roger, bishop of Salisbury, and Robert, earl of Mellent. Roger had constantly adhered to

**The king's
ministers.**

Henry in all the vicissitudes of fortune which that prince experienced before his accession; it was natural that he should rise to eminence when his patron became a rich and powerful monarch. By the chapter of Salisbury he was chosen bishop of that see; by the king he was appointed grand justiciar of the kingdom. On the plea that the two offices were incompatible with each other, he declined the latter, till his scruples were removed by the joint authority of the pontiff and the metropolitan. To his episcopal duties he devoted the more early part of the day; the remainder was given to the affairs of state—and it is no weak argument of his merit, that though he was many years the minister of a rapacious monarch, he never incurred the hatred of the people. Whenever Henry left the kingdom, the bishop of Sarum was appointed regent; and in that capacity discharged the duties of government for years together, to the satisfaction of his sovereign.

While the internal administration was confided to this prelate, the department of foreign politics exercised the abilities of the earl of Mellent. He attended the king in all his expeditions into Normandy, and acquired the reputation of being the first statesman in Europe. Princes and pontiffs courted his friendship; Henry himself, though he perceived it not, was supposed to be governed by him; and his possessions in England, Normandy, and France, received daily augmentations from his violence and rapacity. Nor was his authority confined to the concerns of

government; he had usurped the empire of taste; and every fashionable courtier imitated the dress and manners of the earl of Mellent.

These two ministers, as well as every other officer trusted by the king, were foreigners. He felt no gratitude for the services, and held in no estimation the abilities of his native subjects. If in the hour of danger he appealed to their fidelity, during the time of prosperity he treated them with the most marked contempt. They were carefully excluded from every office of power or emolument, whether in church or state. The most slender recommendation was sufficient to qualify a stranger, were he Italian, French, or Norman; no services, no talents could expiate in an Englishman the original sin of his nativity.

His treatment of his English subjects.

Henry, if we consider the value of money at that period, was immensely rich. On occasions of ceremony, when he wore his crown, he imitated the parade of the eastern monarchs; and before him on a table were displayed the most precious of his treasures, particularly two golden vases of extraordinary dimensions, and elegantly encased with jewels. After his death, his successor found in the exchequer, besides the plate and gems collected by Henry and his two predecessors, one hundred thousand pounds of pennies, all of just weight, and of pure silver. So much wealth had enabled him to indulge his taste for architecture; and while the castles which he raised on the borders of Wales contributed to the protection of the country, by repairing or rebuilding most of the royal palaces, he provided for the comfort and splendour of himself and his successors. At Woodstock, he inclosed a spacious park for deer and added a menagerie for wild beasts, among which Malmesbury mentions lions, leopards, lynxes, camels, and what appears to have chiefly attracted the notice of the historian, a porcupine. But his religious foundations principally displayed his magnificence: these were, three monasteries, two for regular canons at Chichester and Dunstable, and one for Benedictine monks, situated at Reading, near the conflux of the Thames and the Kennet, where the great roads of the kingdom intersected each other.

Henry's wealth and magnificence.

His religious foundations.

Before I close the history of this prince, and proceed to the turbulent reign of Stephen, it will be proper to notice the rapid improvement of the nation in literary pursuits under the Conqueror and his sons. Lanfranc and Anselm, the two

archbishops of Canterbury, had proved themselves worthy of their exalted station. The superior knowledge of the former was universally admitted : the attainments of his successor were of a still higher order. Both in their more early years, had exercised the profession of teachers ; and their precepts and example had awakened the curiosity of the clergy, and kindled an ardour for learning which can hardly be paralleled in the present age. Nor did this enthusiasm perish with its authors—it was kept alive by the honours which were so prodigally lavished on all who could boast of literary acquirements. The sciences, which formed the usual course of education, were divided into two classes, which still retained the appellations of a more barbarous age, the trivium, comprising grammar, logic, and rhetoric, and the quadrivium, or music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. It was from the works of the Latin writers, which had survived the wreck of the empire, that students sought to acquire the principal portion of their knowledge ; but in the science of medicine, and the more abstruse investigations of mathematics, the ancients were believed inferior to the Mohammedan teachers ; and many an Englishman, during the reign of Henry, wandered as far as the banks of the Ebro in Spain, that he might listen to the instructions, or translate the works of the Arabian philosophers.

During the reign of Henry, Geoffrey of Monmouth published his *History of Britain*, which he embellished with numerous tales respecting Arthur and his knights, and Merlin and his prophecies, borrowed from the songs and traditions of the ancient Britons. This extraordinary work

Geoffrey of Monmouth.

was accompanied by another of a similar description, the *History of Charlemagne and his Twelve Peers* ; supposed to be compiled by Archbishop Turpin, from the songs of the French *trouvères* : and about the same time, the adventures of Alexander the Great, by the pretended Dares Phrygius, and Dictys Cretensis, were brought by some of the crusaders into Europe. These three

Romance writers.

works supplied an inexhaustible store of matter for writers in verse and prose ; the deeds of Alexander, and Arthur, and Charlemagne, were repeated and embellished in a thousand forms : spells and enchantments, giants, hippogriffs, and dragons, ladies confined in durance by the power of necromancy, and delivered from confinement by the courage of their knights, captivated the imagination of our ancestors ; and a new species of writing was introduced, which retained its sway for centuries, and was known by the appellation

of *Romance*, because it was originally written in the Gallic idiom, an idiom corrupted from the ancient language of *Rome*.

Henry had cheered his last moments with the hope that by his care the crown had been secured to Matilda : it was seized by his nephew Stephen, whom he had cherished with the affection of a father, and had destined to be the future support of her throne. Stephen was the third of the four sons that Adela, Henry's sister, had borne to her husband the earl of Blois. He had attached himself to the fortunes of his uncle. From him he had received with the honour of knighthood several valuable estates in England ; had earned by his valour in the field of Tenchebrai the Norman earldom of Moretoil ; and afterwards, by his marriage with Matilda, the daughter of the earl of Boulogne, had succeeded to the territories of his father-in-law. At each step his ambition had expanded ; and on the death of Henry it urged him to become a candidate for the throne.

Stephen
seizes the
throne, 1135.

With these views and expectations Stephen sailed from Whitsand, and landed on the coast of Kent. He was excluded from Dover and Canterbury by the inhabitants, who knew or suspected the real objects of his journey ; but he was received with welcome by the citizens of London, who immediately proclaimed him king, and by those of Winchester, whom his brother had secured to his interest. At Winchester he was joined by the archbishop of Canterbury, by Roger, the powerful bishop of Sarum, and by William de Pont de l'Arche, who placed in his hands the keys of the castle, with those of the royal treasures. Though neither prelates nor barons had yet arrived or signified their acquiescence, the ceremony of his coronation was performed ; and the new king promised upon oath not to retain the vacant prelacies for his own profit, not to molest laymen or clerks in the possession of their woods and forests, nor to levy the *danegelt*, though it had been repeatedly exacted by his late uncle.

Stephen had long been the most popular nobleman in England ; and men were inclined to favour the pretensions of one whom they loved. The royal treasures, which he distributed with profusion, while they confirmed the fidelity of his adherents, brought to his standard crowds of adventurers, who intimidated his enemies.

In the month of January, 1136, the corpse of the late monarch arrived at the abbey of Reading. Stephen, to demonstrate his respect for his uncle, proceeded to meet it with all his attendants, and placed his shoulders under the bier. When the ceremony of the interment was concluded, he rode to Oxford, and in a

numerous assembly of prelates and barons, renewed the promises which he had made at his coronation. In a subsequent assembly, he produced a letter from the pope, Innocent II., confirming his succession to the crown, and granted additional liberties to the Church. The prelates in return renewed their oath of allegiance, but with a conditional clause which had previously been adopted by some of the lay barons—that they would be faithful to him as long as he faithfully observed his engagements.

It is now time to direct the reader's attention to the daughter of Henry. Unsuspecting of the designs of her cousin, she entered Normandy, and was admitted into several towns. Her husband followed with a numerous body of Angevins; but their excesses revived the animosity that had formerly divided the two nations; and before the end of the month he was driven back with disgrace into his own territories.

In Britain, the first who drew the sword in the cause of Matilda was David, king of Scotland. He had sworn to support her succession; and at the commencement of the year he crossed the borders, reduced Carlisle, Norham, Alnwick, and Newcastle, and compelled the inhabitants to take an oath of fealty to the daughter of Henry. He had reached the walls of Durham, when he was opposed by Stephen at the head of a numerous army. The risk of an engagement induced him to pause; if he was the uncle of the empress, so was he likewise of the consort of her antagonist: a peace was speedily concluded; and to cement the friendship of the two kings, Henry, prince of Scotland, did homage to Stephen, and received from him the towns of Carlisle, Doncaster, and Huntingdon.

While the king was detained in the north, Wales had risen in arms. It probably was indifferent to the Welsh chieftains whether the sceptre were swayed by Matilda or Stephen; but they eagerly seized the opportunity to punish their ancient foes, and after they had satiated themselves with plunder and carnage, retired to their mountains; where they were suffered to remain unmolested, while the king's attention was engaged by more formidable enemies.

Normandy for many years presented a most lamentable spectacle, torn by intestine divisions, and alternately ravaged by opposite parties. The great barons having retired within their castles, maintained an air of independence; and by occasionally waging war on one another, and supporting, as interest, or caprice, or resentment induced them, sometimes the cause of Stephen, sometimes that of Matilda, contributed to prolong the miseries of their suffering country.

The king of Scots resumed hostilities in 1138, urged, it is said, either by letters from Matilda, who reminded him of his former engagements in her favour, or by resentment at the conduct of Stephen, who had promised and then refused him the earldom of Northumberland. The Scots conducted the war with great ferocity. In the common despair, Thurstan, the old archbishop of York, displayed in a decrepid frame the energy of a youthful warrior. He assembled the northern barons, exhorted them to fight for their families, their country, and their God; assured them of victory, and promised heaven to those who might fall in so sacred a cause. At the appointed time they repaired to York with their vassals, and were met by the parochial clergy, with the bravest of their parishioners; three days were spent in fasting and devotion; on the fourth Thurstan made them swear never to desert each other, and dismissed them with his blessing. Two miles beyond Northallerton they received advice of the approach of the Scots; and the standard, which gave name to the battle, was hastily erected, the mast of a vessel strongly fastened into the framework of a carriage. In the centre of the cross which rose on its summit was fixed a box of silver, containing the Blessed Sacrament; and below waved the banners of three patron saints, Peter, Wilfrid, and John of Beverley. From its foot Walter Espec, an experienced warrior, harangued his associates; and at the conclusion of his speech, giving his hand to William of Albemarle, exclaimed in a loud voice, "I pledge thee my troth, either to conquer or to die." His words kindled a similar enthusiasm among his hearers, and the oath was repeated by every chieftain with confidence of success. But the Scots now approached; the signal was given, the English knelt on the ground, and the bishop of the Orkneys, the representative of Thurstan, read the prayer of absolution from the carriage. With a loud shout they answered "Amen," and rose to receive the shock of the enemy.

Scotland
espouses
Matilda's
cause.

Battle of
Northallerton (or, "of
the Standard"), 1138.

The Scots, raising three shouts, after the manner of their nation, rushed on the English. The first ranks, unable to bear the pressure, retired slowly towards the standard; and the two flanks were surrounded and disordered by the multitude of the enemy; but the centre formed an impenetrable phalanx, which no shock could dissolve. It was in vain that the assailants sought with their swords to break through this forest of spears. Their courage only exposed them to the deadly aim of the archers; and at the end of two hours, disheartened by their loss, they wavered,

broke, and fled. The king alone, surrounded by his guards, opposed, as he retired, the pursuit of his foes; the rest dispersed themselves in every direction. Of seven-and-twenty thousand men, nearly one-half had perished in the battle and flight. This engagement is known in history as the "Battle of the Standard."

David was still able to continue the war, and sent a body of forces to besiege the castle of Wark, in Northumberland. At Carlisle he was visited by the cardinal Alberic, who had landed in England as papal legate. This virtuous monk had passed through the tract which had been the theatre of Scottish depredation; and was so affected with the horrors which he had witnessed, that on his knees he conjured the king to consent to a peace. David was at first inexorable, but peace was concluded in the beginning of the following year.

In September, 1139, while Stephen was engaged in a fierce contest with many barons and prelates, Matilda landed on the coast of Suffolk. With the small force of a hundred and forty knights, she undertook to conquer the throne of her father; but the temerity of the attempt was justified by the promises of her partisans, and the dispute between Stephen and the clergy. Her brother Robert, the soul of the enterprise, with twelve companions, left her, to join his friends in the west, and by unfrequented roads eluded the pursuit and vigilance of his enemies; Matilda herself, at the invitation of the queen-dowager Alice, retired within the strong castle of Arundel. Stephen soon appeared at the foot of the walls, the princesses were alarmed; the queen pleaded, in excuse, the duty of hospitality; the empress solicited the permission to follow her brother: and such was the weakness or infatuation of the king, that to the astonishment of both friends and foes, he accepted the apology of the one, and granted the request of the other.

England was soon exposed to all the horrors of civil war. The garrisons of the royal fortresses supported the cause of Stephen; the standard of Matilda was unfurled at Gloucester, Bristol, Canterbury, and Dover. Stephen besieged the castle of Lincoln, which had been surprised by Ranulf, earl of Chester, a nobleman who had offered his services to both the king and the empress, and who had been equally mistrusted by both. Confiding his wife and family to the faith of the gar-
 defeated and rison, Ranulf escaped through the besieging army,
 taken and flew to implore the assistance of the earl of
 prisoner. Gloucester. With ten thousand men Robert hastened
 to surprise the king; but, when he had swum across the Trent,

found the royal army drawn up to receive him. At the first shock the cavalry fled; the mass of infantry, animated by the presence of the king, firmly withstood the efforts of the multitude by which it was surrounded. Stephen fought with the energy of despair; but was taken prisoner, loaded with chains, and confined in the castle of Bristol.

The clergy having declared in her favour, Matilda flattered herself that she had secured the object of her ambition: her hopes were defeated by the impolicy of her own conduct. She had been admitted into London, and had issued orders for her coronation; but, in the interval, the affections of her friends were alienated by her arrogance, and the aversion of her enemies was inflamed by fines and prosecutions. To the solicitations of Stephen's queen for the release of her husband, she replied in terms of personal insult; and, when the legate requested, that on the solemn resignation of the crown by his brother, the earldoms of Boulogne and Moretoil should be conferred on his nephew Eustace, he received a most contemptuous refusal. Neither did she attempt to conciliate the wavering minds of the Londoners. She imposed on them a heavy tax, as a punishment for their former attachment to Stephen, and scornfully refused their petition for the restoration of the privileges which they had enjoyed under Edward the Confessor. The queen of the captive monarch resolved to avail herself of the imprudence of her rival. A body of horse, under her banner, appeared on the south side of the city: instantly the bells sounded the alarm; the populace ran to arms; and the empress would have been a prisoner had she not sprung from table, mounted her horse, and saved herself by a precipitate flight. Her most faithful friends accompanied her to Oxford; the rest dispersed to their respective castles.

War continued, and Robert of Gloucester was taken prisoner by the friends of Stephen; but, after some negotiation, it was agreed that he should be exchanged for the king. A long and dangerous sickness, however, confined Stephen to his chamber; and Robert embraced the opportunity to sail to the continent, and solicit the aid and presence of Geoffrey, the husband of Matilda. By that prince the invitation was declined, as he had undertaken the reduction of Normandy; but he was willing to entrust to the care of the earl his eldest son Henry, the legitimate heir of Matilda. Stephen marched to Oxford, and besieged the empress. At the end of ten weeks, the provisions of the garrison were consumed, and Matilda was a third time

Robert of
Gloucester
taken
prisoner—
exchanged
for Stephen.

reduced to flight. It was a severe frost, and the ground was covered with snow. Attended by three knights, Matilda clothed in white, she issued at a very early hour besieged in Oxford—her flight thence. from a portal: the nearest sentinel, who had been previously bribed, conducted her in silence between the posts of the enemy; the ice bore her across the Thames; she reached Abingdon on foot, and thence rode with expedition to Wallingford.

The power of the two parties still remained fairly balanced. With the exception of the three northern counties, which obeyed the king of Scots, Stephen was acknowledged as sovereign in the eastern, Matilda in the western half of the kingdom. After some years Matilda withdrew to Normandy, to watch the course of events, and to take advantage of the first favourable occurrence. Yet Stephen derived no benefit from her departure. He had earned the enmity of the barons, as well as of the clergy. He assembled all the prelates, and required them to crown his son Eustace. Archbishop Theobald refused: he had consulted, he said, the pope, and had been forbidden to comply; because, as Stephen had acquired the crown, not by way of inheritance, but by open force, and in violation of his oath, he could have no right to transfer it to his posterity. In a paroxysm of rage, the king ordered his guards to imprison the prelates in the hall, and sent messengers to seize their temporalities: on cooler reflection, he resolved to confine his resentment to Theobald, whom he drove a second time into exile. The pontiff, however, took the archbishop under his protection, and either published in his favour a new, or confirmed the former sentence of excommunication and interdict against the king.

Stephen viewed with anxiety the growing prosperity of Henry, the son of Matilda. At the age of sixteen that young prince had visited his uncle king David, at Carlisle, and had received from him the honour of knighthood. On his return, he obtained from his father Geoffrey the cession of the duchy of Normandy: at the death of that prince he succeeded to the earldom of Anjou; and by his marriage with Eleanor of Poitou, within six weeks after her divorce from the king of France, he had acquired the extensive duchy of Aquitaine. Henry landed in Anjou lands in England, 1152. England in 1152, to assert the claim of his mother, and his standard was immediately joined by the ancient friends of his family. Eustace, the eldest of the king's sons, was, in the heat of the contest, removed by a sudden death; and the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Winchester

improved the opportunity to reconcile the jarring interests of the two parties. By a treaty concluded at Wallingford in 1153, Stephen adopted Henry for his son, appointed him his successor, and gave the kingdom of England, after his own death, to him and his heirs for ever. In return, the young prince did homage, and swore fealty to him. Henry received the homage of William, the surviving son of the king, and in return granted to him all the lands and honours possessed by Stephen before his accession to the throne, and added other possessions. The nobles on both sides swore, that if either of the two princes broke his engagements they would desert him and support the cause of his rival. The bishops and abbots, by Stephen's command, took the oath of fealty to Henry, and engaged to enforce the due execution of the treaty by ecclesiastical censures.

**Treaty of
Wallingford,
1153.**

After this pacification, the two princes, to display the harmony in which they lived, visited together the cities of Winchester, London, and Oxford, and were received at each place in solemn procession, and with the most joyful acclamations. At Easter, they separated with demonstrations of the most cordial friendship. Henry revisited Normandy; and Stephen, a few months afterwards, died at Canterbury. He had reigned nineteen years, and was buried near the remains of his wife and son, at Faversham, a convent which he had founded.

**Death of
Stephen,
1154.**

Never did England, since the invasion of the Danes, present such a scene of misery as under the government of Stephen. Both parties plundered; and conflagration was frequently added to pillage. Winchester, Worcester, and Nottingham, rich and populous cities were consumed, and most of the inhabitants perished in the flames. Such was the desolation of the land, say two contemporary historians, that villages and towns were left destitute of inhabitants; and in many parts a man might ride a whole day without discovering on his route one human being.

The character of Stephen has been drawn by his adversaries as well as by his partisans; and, if there be some difference in the colouring, the outlines of the two pictures are perfectly similar. It is admitted, that he was prompt in decision and bold in action; that his friends applauded his generosity, and his enemies admired his forbearance; that he won the high by courtesy, the low by condescension, all by his affability and benevolence.

**Stephen's
character.**

THE HOUSES OF PLANTAGENET, LANCASTER, AND YORK.

HENRY II. (1154-1189).

Prince William.

RICHARD I. (1189-1199).

JOHN (1199-1216).

HENRY III. (1216-1272).

EDWARD I. (1272-1307).

EDWARD II. (1307-1327).

EDWARD III. (1327-1377).

Edward, the Black Prince.

RICHARD II. (1377-1399).

Lionel, Duke of Clarence.

Philippa = Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March.

Roger, Earl of March.

Edmund, Earl of March.

John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster.

HENRY IV. (1399-1413).

HENRY V. (1413-1422).
= Catherine = Owen of France. Tudor.

HENRY VI. (1422-1472).

Edmund, Earl of Richmond.

HENRY VII. (1485-1509).

EDWARD V. (1483).

Elizabeth.
= Henry VII.

Thomas, Duke of Gloucester.

Edmund, Duke of York.

Richard, Duke of Cambridge.

Richard, Duke of York.

EDWARD IV. (1461-1483).

RICHARD III. (1483-1485).

CHAPTER VIII

HENRY II. 1154-1189

It were difficult to imagine a more glorious prospect than that which opened itself to the youth of Henry. By the death of his father, he inherited Touraine and Anjou; in right of his mother, he possessed Maine and Normandy; and with the hand of Eleanor he had received her ample portion, the seven provinces of Poitou, Saintogne, Auvergne, Perigord, Limousin, Angoumois, and Guienne. A third part of France, almost the whole western coast from the borders of Picardy to the mountains of Navarre, acknowledged his authority; and the vassal who did homage to the sovereign for his dominions, was in reality a more powerful prince than the king who received it. In his twenty-first year, the death of Stephen added to these extensive territories the kingdom of England.

Continental
dominions of
Henry II.

He was impatient to take possession of the crown, which had been secured to him by the late treaty, but time was requisite to collect an escort becoming the dignity, and sufficient for the protection of the new king; and a long continuance of stormy weather confined him a prisoner in the haven of Barfleur. After a vexatious delay of more than six weeks, he landed in England. The enmity of the adherents of Stephen had been silenced by their fears; and the vigilance and authority of archbishop Theobald had maintained the public tranquillity. At Winchester he received the homage of the nobility; at Westminster he was crowned, with his queen, before an immense concourse of people and the foreign barons who had accompanied him from France. A few days were given to the festivities and pageantry usual on such occasions; but, at the same time, the new king did not forget the more important concerns of state. In one council, he appointed the great officers of the crown; in another, he confirmed to his subjects all the rights and liberties which they had possessed during the reign of his grandfather; and in a third, he induced

Crowned at
West-
minster.

the barons and prelates to swear fealty to his eldest son William, and, in the event of William's death, to his second son Henry, a child still in the cradle.

The earl of Leicester was appointed grand justiciar, with the most ample powers: a new coinage was issued of standard weight and purity; and the foreign mercenaries, who had so long infested England, received orders to quit the kingdom by a certain day, under the penalty of death. Henry exerted himself to curb the power of the barons, and compelled Malcolm, king of Scots, to exchange

Measures of
the new
reign.



the three northern counties, which had been so long in possession of his grandfather David, for the earldom of Huntingdon, to which the Scottish princes advanced a claim on account of their descent from earl Waltheof.

The same month which had witnessed the coronation of Henry, had been signalized by the succession of Nicholas Breakspere to the throne of the Vatican. This prelate, the only Englishman who ever sate in the chair of St. Peter, had been raised by his merit from one of the lowest situations in life to that which was deemed the highest dignity in Christendom. He was the son of Robert Chambers, an obscure clerk, and afterwards monk of St. Alban's, and had been rejected by the abbot of that monastery on the ground of incapacity. Stung with this disgrace, and the reproaches of his father, he travelled to Paris without any other resource than the alms of the charitable; studied with applause in that university, and wandering into Provence, was admitted among the regular canons of St. Rufus. By virtue and piety he rose gradually to the pontifical throne. In England this intelligence was hailed with transport. Every individual felt proud that one of his countrymen had been raised to the first dignity in the Christian world; and three bishops were deputed to offer to the new pope the congratulations of the king and the nation.

Thomas à Becket now appeared on the public stage, on which he played a prominent part for many years. He was the son of a London citizen, was placed in his childhood under the care of the canons of Merton, and afterwards continued his studies in the schools of the metropolis, of Oxford, and of Paris. When his father died, he was admitted into the family of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, and with the permission of his patron left England to improve himself in the knowledge of the civil and canon law. He attended the lectures of Gratian at Bologna, and of another celebrated professor at Auxerre. As soon as he returned, his acquirements were appreciated, and he obtained rapid preferment in the Church. The recommendation of Theobald introduced him to the notice, and his own merit entitled him to the protection and friendship of Henry. He was appointed chancellor, the adopted father and preceptor of the young prince, and the depositary of the royal favour. His equipage displayed the magnificence of a prince; his table was open to every person who had business at court; he took precedence of all the lay barons; and among his vassals were numbered many knights, who had spontaneously done him homage, with the reservation of their fealty to the sovereign. The pride of Henry was gratified with the ascendancy of his favourite. He lived with Becket on terms of the most easy familiarity; and seemed to have resigned

Thomas à
Becket,

Chancellor,
1154-1162.

into his hands the government of his dominions both in England and on the continent.

Becket did not merely give his advice ; when occasion offered, he acted the part of a negotiator and warrior. The king of France, who dreaded the aggrandisement of a vassal already more powerful than his lord, had threatened to oppose the pretensions of Henry to the earldom of Nantes. Becket was immediately dispatched to Paris. His magnificence astonished the inhabitants. As he passed along, the natives were heard to exclaim : " What manner of man must the king of England be, when his chancellor travels in such state ! " His address lulled the jealousy of the French monarch. The king followed, to ratify the engagements of his minister ; and Henry, his eldest son (for William had died), was affianced to Margaret, infant daughter of Louis.

But the future union of their children formed too feeble a tie to bind princes naturally divided by a multiplicity of jarring and important interests. Their friendship had scarcely commenced when it was interrupted for a short time by a contest respecting the duchy of Toulouse. Another war broke out between them in 1160, but was also brief.

Disputes respecting the papacy arose about this period. On the death, in 1159, of Breakspeare, who had taken the name of Adrian, the emperor of Germany supported Victor ; France and England acknowledged Alexander, who left Rome, and residing in France, exercised the papal authority. The college of cardinals had separated into two parties. Three-and-twenty votes were given in favour of Orlando, the chancellor of the apostolic see ; three for Octavian, cardinal priest of St. Cecily's. Each assumed the title and exercised the authority of pope, the former under the name of Alexander III., the latter under that of Victor IV.

In 1161 Becket, at that time in France, was appointed archbishop of Canterbury, having been induced, against his own judgment (for he saw dangers approaching) to acquiesce, when the see was offered to him by Henry. He sailed to England ; the prelates and a deputation of the monks of Canterbury assembled in the king's chapel at Westminster ; every vote was given in his favour ; the applause of the nobility testified their satisfaction, and prince Henry, in the name of his father, gave the royal assent. Becket, who had been only deacon, was ordained priest by the bishop of Rochester, and the next day, having been declared free from all secular obligations, for he had fought as a soldier, he was consecrated by Henry of Winchester.

Becket
appointed
archbishop
of Canter-
bury, 1161.

It was a most pompous ceremony, for all the nobility of England, to gratify the king, attended in honour of his favourite. The ostentatious parade and worldly pursuits of the chancellor were instantly renounced by the archbishop, who, in the fervour of his conversion, prescribed to himself, as a punishment for the luxury and vanity of his former life, a daily course of secret mortification. His conduct was now marked by the strictest attention to the proprieties of his station. To the train of knights and noblemen, who had been accustomed to wait on him, succeeded a few companions selected from the most virtuous and learned of his clergy. His diet was abstemious; his charities were abundant; his time was divided into certain portions, allotted to prayer and study, and the episcopal functions. These he found it difficult to unite with those of the chancellor; and therefore, as at his consecration he had been declared free from all secular engagements, he resigned that office into the hands of the king.

For more than twelve months the primate appeared to enjoy his wonted ascendancy in the royal favour. But during his absence, the warmth of Henry's affection insensibly evaporated. The sycophants of the court, who observed the change, industriously misrepresented the actions of the archbishop, and declaimed in exaggerated terms against the loftiness of his views, the superiority of his talents, and the decision of his character. Such hints made a deep impression on the suspicious and irritable mind of the king, who now began to pursue his late favourite with a hatred as vehement as had been the friendship with which he had honoured him. That which brought them into immediate collision was a controversy respecting the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts.

These courts were privileged to try all offences committed by the clergy. The king desired to render clergymen amenable to the civil tribunals. Becket and several other prelates resisted the monarch. After a protracted struggle between the crown and the Church, a council was summoned to meet at Clarendon, to arrange the matters which were in dispute. In this assembly, John of Oxford, one of the royal chaplains, was appointed president by the king. His angry manner and threatening tone exasperated the primate, who ventured to express a wish that a clause saving the dignity of the clerical order might be agreed on. At this request, the indignation of the king was extreme; he threatened Becket with exile or death; the door of the next apartment was thrown

Quarrel with
the Church.
Jurisdiction
of the eccle-
siastical
courts.

Council at
Clarendon.

open, and discovered a body of knights with their garments tucked up, and their swords drawn; the nobles and prelates besought the archbishop to relent; and two knights Templars on their knees conjured him to prevent, by his acquiescence, the massacre of all the bishops, which otherwise would most certainly ensue. Sacrificing his own judgment to their entreaties rather than their arguments, he yielded, and on the following day the

**Consti-
tutions of
Clarendon,
1164.**

“Constitutions of Clarendon” were signed by the king, the prelates, and thirty-seven barons. The principal of these were the following: 1. It was enacted that the custody of every vacant archbishopric, bishopric, abbey, and priory of royal foundation, ought to be given, and its revenues during the occupancy, be paid to the king; and that the election of a new incumbent ought to be made in consequence of the king’s writ, by the chief clergy of the Church, assembled in the king’s chapel, with the assent of the king, and with the advice of such prelates as the king might call to his assistance. 2. By the second and seventh articles it was provided that in almost every suit, civil or criminal, in which each or either party was a clergyman, the proceedings should commence before the king’s justices, who should determine whether the cause ought to be tried in the secular or episcopal courts; and that in the latter case a civil officer should be present to report the proceedings, and the defendant, if he were convicted in a criminal action, should lose his benefit of clergy. 3. It was ordered that no tenant in chief of the king, no officer of his household, or of his demesne, should be excommunicated, or his lands put under an interdict, until application had been made to the king or, in his absence, to the grand justiciar, who ought to take care that what belonged to the king’s courts should be there determined, and what belonged to the ecclesiastical courts should be determined in them. 4. The next was also a custom deriving its origin from the Conquest, that no archbishop, bishop, or dignified clergyman could lawfully go beyond the sea, without the king’s permission. Its object was to prevent complaints at the papal court, to the prejudice of the sovereign. 5. It was enacted that appeals should proceed regularly from the archdeacon to the bishop, and from the bishop to the archbishop. The remaining articles are of minor importance. They confine pleas of debt and disputes respecting advowsons to the cognisance of the king’s justices; declare that clergymen who hold lands of the crown, hold by barony, and are bound to the same services as the lay barons; and forbid the bishops to admit

to orders the sons of *villeins*, without the licence of their respective lords.

In great agony of mind Becket reached Canterbury, where he condemned his late weakness, interdicted himself from the exercise of his functions, wrote to Alexander a full account of the transaction, and solicited absolution from that pontiff. It was believed that, if he had submitted with cheerfulness at Clarendon, he would have recovered his former ascendancy over the royal mind; but his tardy assent did not allay the indignation which his opposition had kindled; and his subsequent repentance for that assent closed the door to forgiveness.

Soon afterwards, Becket—for what particular purpose is not mentioned—waited on the king at Woodstock. The gates were closed against him: an indignity which awakened in his mind the most fearful misbodings. In this perplexity he repaired to Romney, one of his manors, and on two succeeding nights put to sea in a boat with three companions; but the wind proved unfavourable on both occasions, and compelled him to return. It had been his intention to steal over to the French coast, and to consult the pontiff in person: taking, however, these failures for indications that God disapproved of the design, he returned to Canterbury, with the hope that, from the precautions which he had adopted, his secret would not transpire. But there was a traitor somewhere in his household. The intelligence had been conveyed to the court, and new fuel was added to the king's irritation.

The ruin of a single bishop now became the chief object that occupied and perplexed the mind of this mighty monarch. A series of charges was prepared; and the primate was summoned to a great council at Northampton. He obeyed; and the king's refusal to accept from him the kiss of peace admonished him of his danger. John of Oxford, a favourite clerk, presided: Henry himself performed the part of the prosecutor. He accused the archbishop of contempt of the royal authority, and brought forward several most oppressive pecuniary demands. Becket adopted the resolution of trusting for protection to the sacredness of his character. Early one morning he celebrated the mass of St. Stephen, the first martyr. It had been his intention to go from the altar to the court, attired as he was, in his sacerdotal vestments and pallium; but from this he was dissuaded by two knights Templars, who feared that it might be interpreted as an attempt at intimidation.

Persecution
of the
archbishop.
Council at
North-
ampton.
Becket
leaves
England.

Exchanging them, therefore, for his usual garments, he proceeded to the hall; and, at the door, taking the archiepiscopal cross from the bearer, entered with it in his hand, and followed by all the bishops. It was his object to remind the court that he was their spiritual chief and father; but Henry and the barons surprised, perhaps awed, at the unusual spectacle, hastily withdrew to an upper apartment, to which, after a pause, they were followed by the rest of the bishops. The primate, thus left alone with his clerks, seated himself on a bench against the wall, and with calm and intrepid dignity awaited the result. Urged by the king, some bishops renounced Becket's authority, and the earl of Leicester was proceeding to pass sentence on him, but the Primate refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court, and said that he

Becket
leaves Eng-
land and
appeals to
the pope.

would appeal to the pope. He soon afterwards left England for France. His first care was to visit the king of France, who received him with veneration, and a promise of protection; his next to consult pope Alexander, who at that time resided in the city of Sens. There he was confronted by a deputation of English bishops and barons. They had arrived long before; and had improved the opportunity to prejudice, by their representations, the mind of the pontiff against the archbishop, and to secure by presents friends in the college of cardinals. But the reading of the "Constitutions" closed the mouths of his adversaries. Alexander, having condemned in express terms ten of the articles, recommended the archbishop to the care of the abbot of Pontigny, and exhorted him to bear with resignation the hardships of exile. When Thomas surrendered his archbishopric into the hands of the pope, his resignation was hailed by a part of the consistory as the readiest means of terminating a vexatious and dangerous controversy; but Alexander preferred honour to convenience, and, refusing to abandon a prelate who had sacrificed the friendship of a king for the interests of the Church, re-invested him with the archiepiscopal dignity.

Henry's attention was for some time occupied with the effort to quell an insurrection in Wales. He met with only partial success, and sullied his fame by the perpetration of cruelties on his prisoners. In 1166, he added the province of Bretagne to his dominions, by betrothing his son Geoffrey to the daughter of the duke of Bretagne.

Amidst these transactions, the eyes of the king were still fixed on Becket, and by his order the punishment of treason was denounced against any person who should presume to bring into

England letters of excommunication or interdict from either the pontiff or the archbishop. He confiscated the estates of that prelate, commanded his name to be erased from the liturgy, and seized the revenues of every clergyman who had followed him into France, or had sent to him pecuniary assistance. Pontigny belonged to the Cistercians, and Henry informed them, that if they continued to afford an asylum to the "traitor," not one of their order should be permitted to remain within his dominions. The archbishop was compelled to quit his retreat; but Louis immediately offered him the city of Sens for his residence, and here, as he had done at Pontigny, Becket led the solitary and mortified life of a recluse.

When the antipope, Victor, died, Alexander being established at Rome, became better able to assist Becket. Henry feared Alexander, and opened negotiations, but at an interview he refused to give the kiss of peace to the archbishop. The treaty was, however, some time afterwards renewed; Henry became reconciled, at least in outward appearance, to Becket; promised him safety and peace in England; the restoration of his dignities; and also contracted to make compensation to the Church for the insults which had been offered to her, in the person of the primate. Becket, after an absence of six years, returned to England, accompanied by John, bishop of Oxford. He carried with him letters of excommunication against three prelates, for having officiated at the coronation of the son of Henry, and otherwise abetting the king. These prelates sent soldiers to seize the letters, but Becket hearing of their intention, gave them to a messenger, who handed them publicly to the bishops, at which circumstance they were so indignant that they went to Henry, in France, and endeavoured as much as possible, to re-kindle discord between him and Becket.

Becket
reconciled to
Henry. Re-
turns to Eng-
land, 1170.

Under the protection of his conductor, the primate reached Canterbury, where he was joyfully received by the clergy and people. Thence he prepared to visit Woodstock, the residence of the young Henry, to pay his respects to the prince, and to justify his late conduct; but the courtiers, who dreaded his influence over the mind of his former pupil, procured a peremptory order for him to return, and confine himself to his own diocese. He obeyed, and spent the following days in prayer and the functions of his station. Yet they were days of distress and anxiety. The menaces of his enemies seemed to derive importance from each succeeding event. His provisions were hourly

intercepted; his property was plundered; his servants were beaten and insulted. On Christmas-day he ascended the pulpit; his sermon was distinguished by the earnestness and animation with which he spoke; at the conclusion he observed that those who thirsted for his blood, would soon be satisfied, but that he would first avenge the wrongs of his Church, by excommunicating Ranulph and Robert de Broc, who for seven years had not ceased to inflict every injury in their power on him, on his clergy, and on his monks. On the following Tuesday four knights, Reginald Fitzurse, William Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito arrived secretly in the neighbourhood. They had been present, in Normandy, when the king, irritated by the representations of the three bishops, had exclaimed: "Of the cowards who eat my bread, is there not one who will free me from this turbulent priest?" and mistaking this passionate expression for the royal licence, had bound themselves by oath to return to England, and either carry off, or murder the primate. They assembled at Saltwood, the residence of the Brocs, to arrange their operations.

The next day, after dinner, when the archbishop was transacting business in a private apartment, it was announced that four knights wished to speak with him from the king. He ordered them to be admitted, and at the same time sent for the principal persons in his household, to be present. The knight entered very unceremoniously, and seated themselves apart on the floor. Becket, who pretended at first not to notice their entrance, casting his eyes upon them, saw that three out of the four were well known to him, having been formerly in his service and done homage to him. He saluted them, but the salute was returned with insult. They ordered him, as if they had such commission from the king, to absolve the excommunicated prelates, and to make satisfaction to the young Henry, whom he had traitorously attempted to deprive of the crown. He replied with firmness, and occasionally with warmth, that, if he had published the papal letters, it had been with the permission of his sovereign; that the case of the archbishop of York had been reserved to the pontiff; that with respect to the other bishops, he was willing to absolve them, whenever they should take the accustomed oath of submission to the determination of the Church; and that, so far from wishing to take the crown from his former pupil, the young king, he called God to witness that he would, if it were in his power, heap additional crowns upon his head. They then declared that, if such were his resolve, he

must quit England for ever. Neither he nor his could have peace in the king's dominions. "No," exclaimed the archbishop; "never again shall the sea lie between me and my Church. Here I am. If I am permitted to perform my duties, it is well; if not, I submit to the will of God. But how comes it that you, knowing what was heretofore between us, dare to threaten me in my own house?" "We shall do more than threaten," was the reply. Fitzurse then called upon the archbishop's men to give him back their homage; and ordered all present, in the king's name, to keep watch over him, that he did not escape. "Have no fear of that," he exclaimed, following them to the door, "come when you may, you will find me here." The knights withdrew to a large house immediately opposite, where they armed themselves and their followers; and, to prevent a rescue, sent an order in the king's name to the mayor and his brethren, to preserve the peace in the city.

At the departure of the knights, the archbishop returned to his seat, apparently cool and collected. Neither in tone nor gesture did he betray the slightest apprehension, though consternation and despair were depicted on every countenance around him. It was the hour of the evening service, and at the sound of the psalmody in the choir, a voice exclaimed: "To the church, it will afford protection." But Becket had said that he would await them there, and refused to move from the place. Word was now brought that the knights had forced their way through the garden, and made an entrance by the windows. A few moments later they were heard at no great distance, breaking down with axes a strong partition of oak which impeded their progress. In a paroxysm of terror the archbishop's attendants closed around him, and, notwithstanding his resistance, bore him with pious violence through the cloister, into the church. The door was immediately closed, and barred against the assassins, who were already in sight.

Becket walked leisurely along the transept, and was ascending the steps which led to his favourite altar, when he heard the cries of the knights, demanding admission at the door. Without hesitation, he ordered it to be thrown open, saying, that the house of God should not be made a military fortress. Immediately his attendants, monks, and clergy, dispersed to conceal themselves, some behind the columns, others under the altars. Had he followed their example, he might have saved his life, for it was growing dark, and both the crypts, and a staircase before him, which led to the roof, offered places of concealment. But he

turned to meet his enemies, and, stationing himself with his back against a column, between the altars of St. Mary and St. Benedict, waited their approach.

The four knights, and their twelve companions, rushed into the church, with drawn swords, and loud cries. "To me, ye king's men," shouted their leader. "Where is the traitor?" exclaimed Hugh of Horsey. No answer was returned; but to the question, "where is the archbishop?" Becket replied, "Here I am, the archbishop, but no traitor. What is your will?" They turned to him, and insisted that he should immediately absolve all whom he had placed under ecclesiastical censures; to which he replied, that, until they had promised satisfaction, he could not. "Then die," exclaimed a voice. "I am ready," returned the prelate, "to die for the cause of God and his Church. But I forbid you, in the name of the Almighty God, to touch any one of my household, clerk or layman."

There seems to have been some hesitation on the part of the murderers. They would rather have shed his blood without the church than within its walls. An attempt was made by some of them to drag him away; but he resisted it with success, through the aid of a clergyman called Edward Grim, who threw his arms round the archbishop's waist. "Reginald," said Becket to Fitzurse, "how dare you do this? Remember, that you have been my man." "I am now the king's man," replied the assassin, aiming a blow at the primate's head. Grim interposed his arm, which was broken and severed in two; still the sword passed through Becket's cap, and wounded him on the crown. As he felt the blood trickling down his cheek, he wiped it away with his sleeve, and having joined his hands, and bent his head in the attitude of prayer, said: "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." In this posture, with his face to his murderers, and without shrinking or speaking, he awaited a second stroke, which threw him on his knees and elbows. The third stroke was given by Richard Brito, with such violence, that he cut off the upper part of the archbishop's head, and broke his own sword on the pavement. The murderers were retiring, when Hugh of Horsey turning back, set his foot on the neck of the corpse, and drawing the brain out of the skull with the point of his sword, scattered it around. "Fear not," he said, "the man will never rise again." They returned to the palace, which they rifled, taking away with them spoil, as it was estimated, to the value of two thousand marks.

Thus, at the age of fifty-three, perished this extraordinary man, a martyr to his duty—the preservation of the immunities of the Church. The moment of his death was the triumph of his cause. His personal virtues and exalted station, the dignity and composure with which he met his fate, the sacredness of the place where the murder was perpetrated—all contributed to inspire men with horror for his enemies, and veneration for his character. The advocates of “the customs” were silenced. Those who had been eager to condemn, were now the foremost to applaud his conduct; and his bitterest foes sought to remove from themselves the odium of having been his persecutors. The cause of the church again flourished; its liberties seemed to derive new life and additional vigour from the blood of their champion.

At the time of Becket's murder, Henry was in Normandy. The news plunged him at once into the deepest melancholy. Shut up in his private closet, for three days he obstinately refused to take nourishment, or to admit the service of his attendants. From this state he was aroused, on the fourth day, by the importunities of his ministers; and to avert the papal indignation, five envoys were immediately despatched to Italy, with almost unlimited powers. Alexander refused to see them. His grief was not less real than that of the king: but it proceeded from a different cause. He attributed the murder to the lenity with which he had hitherto treated the adversaries of the primate; and that he might decide on his future conduct without being swayed by the interested advice of others, he secluded himself for eight days from the company of his most confidential friends. On the Thursday before Easter he gave audience to the envoys. They warmly asserted the innocence of their master. Alexander excommunicated in general terms the assassins, with all their advisers, abettors, and protectors; confirmed the interdict, which had been laid on all the king's dominions in Gaul; and appointed legates in France to take cognisance of the cause. This intelligence, more favourable than he had expected, was received with satisfaction by Henry; but as he was ignorant of the instructions and intentions of the legates, he deemed it prudent to withdraw from Normandy before their arrival. He landed in England in the beginning of August; two months were spent in the collection of a powerful army; and in October, 1171, a fleet of four hundred sail bore him to Waterford, in Ireland, where his presence, he alleged, was necessary to receive the

Henry's
remorse.

submission of the natives; his real motive, if we may believe contemporary historians, was to elude with decency the visit of the legates.

That the ancient inhabitants of Ireland were chiefly of Celtic origin, is evident from the language still spoken by their descendants. Of their manners, polity, and religion, we may safely judge from analogy. There can be

Conquest of Ireland.

no doubt that they lived in the same rude and uncivilized state in which their neighbours were discovered by the legions of Rome and the teachers of Christianity. Though the gospel had been preached in Ireland at a more

Account of the inhabitants.

early period, the general conversion of the natives had been reserved for the zeal of St. Patrick. This celebrated missionary commenced his labours in the year 432, and after a life of indefatigable exertion, died at an advanced age in 472. His disciples appear to have inherited the spirit of their teacher; churches and monasteries were successively founded; and every species of learning known at that time was assiduously cultivated. It was the peculiar happiness of these ecclesiastics to escape the visits of the barbarians, who in the fifth and sixth centuries depopulated and dismembered the western empire. When science was almost extinguished on the continent, it still emitted a faint light from the remote shores of Erin; strangers from Britain, Gaul, and Germany, resorted to the Irish schools, and Irish missionaries established monasteries and imparted instruction on the banks of the Danube, and amid the snows of the Appennines. During this period, and under such masters, the natives were gradually reclaimed from the ignorance and pursuits of savage life; but their civilisation was retarded by the opposite influence of their national institutions; it was finally arrested by the invasions of the Northmen, who from the year 748, during more than two centuries, almost annually visited the island. These savages traversed it in every direction; went through their usual round of plunder, bloodshed, and devastation; and at last, occupying the sea-coasts, formed settlements at the mouths of the navigable rivers. The result was the same in Ireland as in Britain and Gaul. Hunted by the invaders into the forests, and compelled to earn a precarious subsistence by stealth and rapine, the natives forgot the duties of religion, lost their relish for the comforts of society, and quickly relapsed into the habits and vices of barbarism.

The national institutions just alluded to as hostile to the progress of civilisation, were tanistry and gavelkind. The law of

tanistry regulated the succession to all dignities, from the highest to the lowest. It carefully excluded the sons from inheriting, as of right, the authority of their father; and the tanist, the heir apparent, was elected by the suffrages of the sept during the lifetime of the ruling chieftain. If the reigning family could not supply a fit person, the new tanist was selected from the next branch in the sept, and thus every individual could flatter himself that in the course of a few generations, the chieftainry might fall to the lot of his own posterity. Gavelkind is that species of tenure by which lands descend to all the sons equally, and without any consideration to primogeniture. It prevailed in former ages among all the British tribes; among the Irish it existed as late as the reign of James I., and still retained the rude features of the original institution. While it excluded all the females, both the widow and the daughters, from the possession of land, it equally admitted all the males.

When the natives, after a long struggle, assumed the ascendancy over the Danes, the restoration of tranquillity was prevented by the ambition of their princes, who, during more than a hundred years, contended for the sovereignty of the island. The ancient division of the kingdom into five provinces or kingdoms was still retained; but the nominal sovereignty over the whole, which for several generations had been possessed by the O'Neals, had of late been assumed by different chieftains, and was now claimed by the O'Connors, kings of Connaught. The seaports, inhabited chiefly by the descendants of the Ostmen, were places of some trade. Dublin is styled the rival of London; and the wines of Languedoc were imported in exchange for hides. But the majority of the natives shunned the towns, and lived in huts in the country. They preferred pasturage to agriculture. Restraint and labour were deemed by them the worst of evils; liberty and indolence, the most desirable of blessings. The children owed little to the care of their parents; but, shaped by the hand of nature, they acquired, as they grew up, elegant forms, which, aided by their lofty stature and florid complexion, excited the admiration of the invaders. Their clothing was scanty, fashioned after the manner which to the eye of Giraldus appeared barbarous, and spun from the wool of their sheep, sometimes dyed, but generally in its natural state. In battle, they measured the valour of the combatants by their contempt of artificial assistance; and when they beheld the English knights covered with iron, hesitated not to pronounce them devoid of real courage. Their own arms

were a short lance or two javelins, a sword called a skene, about fifteen inches long, and a hatchet of steel, called a "sparthe." The sparthe proved a most formidable weapon. It was wielded with one hand, but with such address and impetuosity, as generally to penetrate through the best-tempered armour. To bear it was the distinction of freemen; and, as it was always in the hand, it was frequently made the instrument of revenge. They constructed their houses of timber and wicker-work, with an ingenuity which extorted the praise of the English. Their churches were generally built of the same materials; and when Archbishop Malachy began to erect one of stone, the very attempt excited an insurrection of the people, who reproached him with abandoning the customs of his country, and introducing those of Gaul. In temper, the natives are described as irascible and inconstant, warmly attached to their friends, faithless and vindictive towards their enemies. Music was the acquirement in which they principally sought to excel; and a Welsh writer, with all his partiality for his own country, has the honesty to assign to the Irish the superiority on the harp.

That the clergy of Ireland, in the sixth century, differed in some points of discipline from the clergy of the neighbouring churches, is plain from the disputes respecting the time of Easter and the form of the tonsure: that they agreed in all points of doctrine is equally evident from the history of these very disputes, from the cordial reception of the Irish ecclesiastics in Gaul and Italy, and from the easy amalgamation of their rules with those of the continental monks.

The proximity of Ireland to England, and the inferiority of the natives in the art of war, had suggested the idea of conquest to both William the Conqueror and the first Henry. The task which they had abandoned, was seriously taken up by Henry II. To justify the invasion of a free and unoffending people, his ambition had discovered that the civilisation of their manners, and the reform of their clergy were benefits which the Irish ought cheerfully to purchase with the loss of their independence. Within a few months after his coronation, John of Salisbury, a learned monk, and afterwards bishop of Chartres, was despatched to solicit the approbation of pope Adrian. The envoy was charged to assure his holiness that Henry's principal object was to provide instruction for an ignorant people, to extirpate vice from the Lord's vineyard, and to extend to Ireland the annual payment of Peter-pence; but, that as every Christian island was the property of the Holy See, he did not presume to make the

attempt without the advice and consent of the successor of St. Peter. The pontiff, who must have smiled at the hypocrisy of this address, praised in his reply the piety of his dutiful son; accepted and asserted the right of sovereignty which had been so liberally admitted; expressed the satisfaction with which he assented to the king's request; and exhorted him to bear always in mind the conditions on which that assent had been grounded. At the following Michaelmas, a great council was held to deliberate on the enterprise; but a strong opposition was made by the empress-mother and the barons; other projects offered themselves to Henry's ambition; and the papal letter was consigned to oblivion in the archives of the castle of Winchester.

Fourteen years after this singular negotiation, a few Welsh adventurers landed in Ireland, at the solicitation of one of the native princes. Dermot, king of Leinster, had several years before carried away by force Dervorgil, the wife of O'Ruarc, prince of Breffny or Leitrim. The husband, to avenge his disgrace, claimed the assistance of Turlogh O'Connor, monarch of Ireland; and from this period Dermot and O'Ruarc adhered to opposite interests in all the disputes which agitated the island. Dermot was, in 1167, driven out of Ireland. The exile, abandoned by his countrymen, solicited the assistance of strangers. Passing through England to Aquitaine, he did homage for his dominions to Henry, and obtained permission to enlist adventurers in his service. His offers were accepted by Strongbow, earl of Pembroke, and by two brothers, Robert Fitz-Stephen and Maurice Fitz-Gerald. Relying on their promises, Dermot returned to Ireland, and found, during the winter months, a secure asylum in the monastery of Ferns. In the beginning of the summer of 1169, Fitz-Stephen landed in Bannock Bay, accompanied or followed by one hundred and forty knights, sixty coats of mail, and three hundred archers. Dermot joined them with a body of natives, and by the reduction of Wexford, struck dismay into the hearts of his enemies. He then led his forces with success against Donald, the prince of Ossory. The ambition of Dermot now aspired to the sovereignty of the island. With this view he solicited reinforcements from England, and reminded Strongbow of his engagements. Reinforcements were sent, and Strongbow soon followed, with twelve hundred archers and knights. At the third assault, Waterford was taken. Dermot eagerly marched against Dublin. It was carried by storm, and the victor testified by numerous donations his gratitude for

Expedition
of Strong-
bow, 1169.

the services of his auxiliaries. But while he was meditating new conquests he was arrested by death; and Strongbow, who had previously married his daughter Eva, and had been appointed his successor, immediately assumed the royal authority. The most powerful efforts were now made to expel the strangers from Dublin. The former inhabitants, who had escaped under Asculf the Ostman, attempted, with the aid of sixty Norwegian vessels, to regain the city. They were scarcely repulsed, when Roderic, king of Connaught, sat down before it. In the ninth week of the siege he was surprised by a sally from the garrison, and the multitude of his followers was completely dispersed. Lastly, O'Ruarc, with the natives of Meath, undertook to avenge the cause of his country. He lost his son, and the bravest of his associates.

When some Welsh adventurers first sailed to the aid of Dermot, Henry had viewed the enterprise with contempt; their subsequent success awakened his jealousy. As soon as he heard of the capture of Waterford, he forbade by proclamation any of his subjects to cross over to Ireland, and commanded all, who had already joined in the invasion, to return under the penalty of forfeiture. Strongbow was alarmed, and despatched Raymond to lay his conquests at the feet of his sovereign. The messenger was unable to procure an answer. Henry of Mountmaurice followed, and was equally unsuccessful. The earl, convinced of his danger, now adopted the advice of his friends, and, repairing to England, waited on Henry, at Newnham, in Gloucestershire. At first he was ignominiously refused an audience; and to recover the royal favour, renewed his homage and fealty, surrendered to Henry the city of Dublin, the surrounding localities, and the castles and harbours in his possession, and consented to hold the remainder of his lands in Ireland as tenant in chief of the English crown.

With this the king was satisfied; the acquisitions of the adventurers had been transferred to himself; and he permitted Strongbow to accompany him to Milford Haven, where he embarked with five hundred knights, their esquires, and a numerous body of archers, on board a fleet of four hundred transports. He landed at Waterford, received during a hasty progress the homage of the neighbouring princes, and directed his march towards Dublin. O'Connor only made a nominal submission, and the princes of Ulster obstinately preserved their independence: they would neither visit the king, nor own his authority.

When, in the preceding year, Dermot let loose his foreign

auxiliaries against his countrymen, the Irish bishops, surprised at their unexampled success, had assembled at Armagh, and looking on the strangers as the ministers of the divine wrath, had enacted that every slave who had been imported from England, should be immediately restored to his freedom. After the arrival of Henry, they held another synod at Cashel, under the presidency of the papal legate, the bishop of Lismore; signed a formal recognition of the king's sovereignty, and framed several canons for the reform of the Church. Henry was recalled to England, in the spring of 1172, by affairs of great urgency; and left the island without having added an inch of territory to the acquisitions of the original adventurers. At his departure, the supreme command had been given by him to Hugh de Lacy, with the county of Meath for his fee; but during the war, which afterwards ensued between the king and his sons, De Lacy was summoned to the assistance of the father, and the government of the English conquests reverted to Strongbow, who possessed neither the authority to check the rapacity of his followers, nor the power to overawe the hostility of the natives. Henry bethought him, in 1174, of the letter which he had formerly procured from pope Adrian. It had been forgotten during almost twenty years; now it was drawn from obscurity, and read with much solemnity to a synod of Irish bishops. In the following year, a treaty took place between Henry and Roderick O'Connor, by which the former was acknowledged king of Ireland, and the latter became "king under the English crown."

The sovereignty of Henry was not, however, acknowledged by many of the Irish chieftains, and the struggle continued. Henry appointed his son John "lord of Ireland," but he, after an inglorious rule of nine months, was recalled by his father. De Courcy, who succeeded him, by repeated and laborious expeditions, preserved, if he did not extend, the English conquests; which comprised the maritime districts of Down, Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, and Cork, connected with each other by a long chain of forts. This was the period when the natives, had they united in the cause of their country, might in all probability have expelled the invaders. But they wasted their strength in domestic feuds.

It is now time to revert to the English history of Henry. In the spring of 1172, he went to France, as he had received intimation that his solemn oath of being innocent of plotting the death of Becket, would prevent the threatened spiritual censures from being carried into execution; and in the cathedral of Avranches, before the legates, bishops, barons, and people, with his hand

placed on the book of the Gospels, he solemnly swore that he was innocent, both in word and deed, of the murder of the archbishop. This oath was taken spontaneously; but, as he could not deny that he had at least given occasion, by passionate expressions, to the project of the assassins, he consented to maintain during twelve months two hundred knights for the defence of the

Henry reconciled with the pope at Avranches, 1172.

Holy Land, to serve in person, if the pope required it, for three years against the infidels, either in Palestine or Spain; to restore the lands and possessions belonging to the friends of the archbishop; to allow appeals, on taking reasonable security, from persons whom he suspected; and to abolish the customs hostile to the liberties of the clergy, if any such customs had been introduced since his accession. Immediately after the oath, the king was solemnly absolved from all censures by the legates. The young king took the same oath, with the exception of those articles which regarded his father personally.

Henry next proceeded to arrange some matters connected with the rights of the clergy, and succeeded in obtaining peace on that subject. His tranquillity, however, was soon interrupted by quarrels originating in his own family.

Henry's quarrels with his sons.

For his children, in their more early years, he had displayed an affection bordering on excess; but as they grew up, the indulgent parent was gradually changed into a jealous and despotic sovereign. Eleanor had borne him four sons, to each of whom his extensive dominions offered an ample inheritance. Henry, the eldest, had already been crowned king of England; the duchies of Aquitaine and Bretagne were settled on Richard and Geoffrey; and John, the youngest, though the courtiers called him "lackland" and "sansterre," was destined by his father to succeed to the lordship of Ireland. For reasons with which we are unacquainted, Henry had not permitted the consort of his eldest son to be crowned with her husband; and the omission was resented by Louis, as a marked and unpardonable insult, both to himself and his daughter. To appease that monarch the ceremony was now repeated. Margaret was anointed and crowned together with Henry, and soon afterwards, the young king and queen paid a visit to her father at Paris. On their return, they required the immediate possession of England or Normandy. The demand was refused, and Henry's sons left him, accompanied by their mother. She was taken prisoner, and kept in close confinement, almost without intermission, till the king's death. At the same time, Henry had sent the archbishop of Rouen and the

bishop of Lisieux, to Paris, with instructions to solicit the return of his sons, and an offer to make the king of France umpire between him and them. His offer was refused; and the plans of the three princes soon began to be developed. Louis and the French barons, who had been summoned for the occasion, bound themselves by oath to aid with all their power the young Henry in his attempt to obtain possession of England; while he, on his part, solemnly engaged never to make peace with his father without the consent of the king and the nobility of France. Philip, earl of Flanders, who was present, and William, king of Scotland, who had sent his ambassadors, entered into the league. Henry collected an army of twenty thousand troops, hired from the continent, and solicited Alexander, in the most earnest manner, to shield with the papal authority the kingdom of England "the fief of the Holy See, and the patrimony of St. Peter," from the unnatural attempts of his deluded children.

In the month of June, 1173, the confederates commenced their operations on the frontiers of Picardy, of the Vexin, and of Bretagne.

Henry in Normandy endeavoured to defend that duchy, and his absence encouraged revolt in England. The Scots also poured down from the north, and the English crown became seriously endangered. Henry returned to England in 1174. His mind was deeply affected by the rebellion of his children, the perfidy of his barons, and the general combination of the neighbouring princes against him. Such things, he had persuaded himself, were not in the ordinary course of nature; they could be no other than the effects of the divine wrath, which he had enkindled by his persecution of archbishop Becket. The name of that prelate had been in the preceding year enrolled by the pope in the catalogue of the saints; and every part of Europe resounded with the report of miracles wrought at his shrine. Henry, to expiate his offence, secretly determined to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of the martyr. On the morning of the second day from his leaving Normandy, he landed at Southampton; and, without waiting to repose himself from his fatigue, began his journey towards Canterbury; rode all night, with no other refreshment than bread and water, and at the dawn of the morning descried at a distance the towers of Christ-church. Instantly dismounting from his horse, he put on the garb of a penitent, and walked barefoot towards the city. As he passed through the gateway, the spectators observed that each footstep was marked with blood. He entered the cathedral, descended

into the crypt, and threw himself at the foot of the tomb; while the bishop of London ascended the pulpit, and addressed the spectators. The prelate conjured them to believe the assertions of a prince, who thus solemnly appealed to Heaven, in proof of his innocence. After receiving castigation from the bishops and monks, Henry returned to the crypt, spent the night in prayer, and attended at the mass of the following morning. Then with a cheerful heart he remounted his horse, and rode to London; but the want of nourishment, joined to fatigue of mind and body, threw him into a fever, which confined him for a short time to his chamber.

In a few days, he received news of the defeat of the Scots, and the capture of their king. Henry eagerly communicated the important tidings to his courtiers; and at the same time exultingly remarked, that this glorious event had occurred on the very morning on which he rose repentant and reconciled from the shrine of St. Thomas.

William the Lion, king of Scotland defeated at Alnwick, 1174, and taken prisoner.

Henry soon returned to Normandy, as peace was restored in England. A treaty was agreed upon, and each of the young princes received possession of some fortresses, consenting to do homage to their father. Henry refused to assent to the release of William, king of Scots, on any other terms than an acknowledgment that the crown of Scotland

William becomes Henry's vassal, 1175.

was held as a fief of the crown of England. The unfortunate monarch was confined in the strong castle of Falaise; but that he might have the aid of his council, a deputation of Scottish prelates and barons was permitted to assemble and deliberate in the small town of Valognes. By their advice, and with their consent, William submitted to kneel to Henry.

Triumphant over his enemies, and at peace with his children, Henry was at last permitted to enjoy a few years of repose. He did not, however, waste his time in idleness, but devoted his attention to two very important objects, the investigation of the conduct of his officers, and the reform of the internal polity of his dominions.

He spent much of his time in endeavouring to improve the constitution of the various courts of justice, and established the custom of the judges going on a circuit twice each year.

The eyes of all the European nations were directed at this period to the disastrous condition of the Christians in Palestine. The throne of Jerusalem, which the Crusaders had raised and supported at the expense of so much blood and treasure, was

Institution of legal circuits and itinerant justices.

tottering on its basis, and the king, Baldwin IV., who was a minor, was no match for the talents and power of Saladin, who by successive conquests, annually contracted the limits of the strangers, and threatened to eradicate them in a few years from the soil of Asia.

**The third
Crusade;
Henry's
subsidy.**

Henry, in the presence of the papal legates, had solemnly sworn to visit the Holy Land. Whether he intended to perform this vow is uncertain; but the danger of exposing his dominions to the inroads of a powerful neighbour, furnished him with a decent plea for deferring its execution. Louis of France, however, made the proposal to accompany him in the expedition, but his death defeated this plan. Envoys from the East came to request that Henry would proceed to the Holy Land, but to their disappointment, the king, in lieu of his personal services, only promised a subsidy of fifty thousand marks.

But on the twenty-ninth of September, 1187, ninety-six years after its reduction by the first Crusaders, Jerusalem was again surrendered into the hands of the Moslems. The news of this mournful event plunged the Christian world into the deepest consternation. The aged pontiff died of a broken heart; William, king of Sicily, wore sackcloth for four days, and vowed to take the cross; as also did Henry of England and Philip of France. Henry's vow was prevented from being performed by fresh quarrels with his sons, arising from his interfering in some disputes of theirs, respecting the right of one to the homage of another. Prince Henry and prince Geoffrey died about this time, the former being very penitent for having fought against his father.

Adelais, the daughter of Louis of France, had been betrothed to Richard, and entrusted to the care of his father. Henry kept her in one of his castles, and jealously excluded his son from her company. Philip demanded Adelais for her husband; to his demand the pope added the threat of excommunication; but the wily monarch

**Rebellion of
Richard and
John.**

was able to defeat both the demands of the one and the threats of the other, by deceitful promises and evasive proposals. Philip and Richard became more intimate than ever, and the latter did homage to the former for the French dominions of his father. Hostilities soon recommenced, and Richard, with most of the continental barons, joined the French king. Henry, compelled to flee from his enemies, successively abandoned Mans, his birth-place, the castle of Ambois, and the strong city of Tours. He soon submitted to all the demands of his enemies; to pay a sum of twenty thousand marks as an indemnity to Philip; to permit

his vassals to do homage to Richard ; and to place Adelais in the hands of one out of three persons then named, who, at the return of Philip and Richard from the crusade, should deliver her to one or other of these princes. He had stipulated that a list should be given to him of the barons who had joined the French king, a curiosity that planted a dagger in his breast, for the first name which caught his eye was that of his favourite son John. He read no further ; but returning the paper, departed for Chinon with a broken heart. At first he sank into a deep melancholy ; this was followed by a raging fever, in the paroxysms of which he called down the vengeance of heaven on the ingratitude of his children. Geoffrey, the chancellor, attended his sick-bed. Henry thanked him for his affection, gave him with his blessing the ring from his own finger, and expressed a wish that he might be promoted to the archbishopric of York, or the bishopric of Winchester. On the seventh day, all hope of his recovery vanished ; and at his request he was carried into the church, and received

**Death of
Henry II.**

at the foot of the altar the last consolations of religion. The moment he expired the bishops and barons departed, while the other attendants stripped the corpse, and carried off everything that was valuable. He was buried with little pomp in the choir of the convent of Fontevraud, in the presence of his son Richard, and of a few knights and prelates.

By his queen Eleanor, Henry had five sons, of whom only two, Richard and John, survived their father. His daughters were Matilda, Eleanor, and Joan.

The stature of Henry was moderate, his countenance majestic, and his complexion florid ; but his person was disfigured by an unseemly protuberance of the abdomen, which he

**Henry's ap-
pearance and
character.**

sought to contract by the united aid of exercise and sobriety. Few persons have equalled him in abstemiousness, none perhaps in activity. He was perpetually in motion, on foot or on horseback. Every moment which could be spared from more important concerns he devoted to hunting ; but no fatigue could subdue his restlessness : after the chase he would snatch a hasty repast, and then rising from the table, in spite of the murmurs of his attendants, keep them walking or standing till bed-time. During his education in the castle of Gloucester, he had acquired a knowledge of letters ; and after his accession delighted in the conversation of the learned. Such was the power of his memory, that he is said to have retained whatever he had heard or read, and to have recognized at the first glance every person whom he had previously seen. He was eloquent,

affable, facetious; uniting with the dignity of the prince the manners of the gentleman: but under this fascinating outside he concealed a heart that could descend to the basest artifices, and sport with its own honour and veracity. No one would believe his assertions or trust his promises; yet he justified this habit of duplicity by the maxim, that it is better to repent of words than of facts, to be guilty of falsehood than to fail in a favourite pursuit. Though possessed of ample dominions, and desirous of extending them, he never obtained the laurels of a conqueror. His ambition was checked by his caution. Even in the full tide of prosperity he would stop to calculate the chances against him, and frequently plunged himself into real, to avoid imaginary, evils. Hence the characteristic feature of his policy was delay; a hasty decision could not be recalled; but he persuaded himself that procrastination would allow him to improve every advantage which accident might offer. In his own dominions, he wished, says a contemporary, to concentrate all power within his own person. He was jealous of every species of authority which did not emanate from himself, and which was not subservient to his will. His pride delighted in confounding the most haughty of his nobles, and depressing the most powerful families. He abridged their rights, divided their possessions, and married their heiresses to men of inferior rank. He was careful that his favourites should owe everything to himself, and gloried in the parade of their power and opulence, because they were of his own creation. But if he was a bountiful master, he was a most vindictive enemy. His temper could not brook contradiction. Whoever hesitated to obey his will, or presumed to thwart his desire, was marked out for his victim, and was pursued with the most unrelenting vengeance. His passion was said to be the raving of a madman, the fury of a savage beast. We are told, that in its paroxysms his eyes were spotted with blood, his countenance seemed of flame, his tongue poured a torrent of abuse and imprecation, and his hands were employed to inflict vengeance on whatever came within his reach; and that on one occasion, when Humet, a favourite minister, had ventured to offer a plea in justification of the king of Scots, Henry, in a burst of passion, called Humet a traitor, threw down his cap, ungirt his sword, tore off his clothes, pulled the silk coverlet from his couch, and, unable to do more mischief, sat down, and gnawed the straw on the floor. Hence the reader will perceive that pride and passion, caution and duplicity, formed the distinguishing traits in his character.

CHAPTER IX

RICHARD I. AND JOHN. 1189-1216

Accession of Richard I., 1189. THE reader is already acquainted with the character of Richard, the eldest of the surviving sons of the late king. It was remarked that when he first saw the corpse of his father, he burst into tears; and this token of natural affection was hailed by the spectators as a proof of remorse.

His subsequent conduct contributed more to turn the tide of public opinion in his favour. He dismissed his own counsellors, and called to his service those who remained faithful to his father.

To take formal possession of his transmarine dominions, and to settle the existing differences between the crowns of France and England, detained Richard a few weeks on the continent. But he immediately ordered his mother Eleanor to be liberated from confinement, and invested her with the high dignity of regent.

Crowned at Westminster.

She ordered all freemen to take the oath of allegiance to Richard. At her invitation the barons and prelates assembled at Winchester to receive their new sovereign, on his arrival from Normandy, and on the third day of September, 1189, his coronation took place.

Persecution of Jews. The commencement of Richard's reign was marked by several cruelties on the part of the people towards the Jews, who were unpopular on account of their charging a high rate of interest on loans. Several Jews were murdered in the streets of London, and at York many of them committed suicide rather than fall into the hands of the populace. During these massacres Richard, who had vowed to take the cross, was in France, preparing for the crusade, to support the expense of which he had levied heavy taxes in England. The two kings had reciprocally bound themselves to commence their pilgrimage at the feast of Easter; on account of the premature death of the French queen the time was deferred till midsummer. They met in the plains of Vezelai; and a gallant army of more than one hundred thousand men in the double character of warriors and pilgrims,

marched under their banners. At Lyons they separated, Philip taking the road to Genoa, Richard that to Marseilles ; but both armaments soon joined again in the port of Messina, in Sicily. In this island the reigning king was called Tancred, a fortunate adventurer, who had seized the crown at the death of William, the late sovereign. He would gladly have declined the honour of receiving these powerful, and therefore dangerous guests. As he had never indeed incurred, he had no reason to fear, the resentment of Philip ; but he had detained the dower of Joan, the sister of Richard, and relict of William ; and had refused to pay the legacies which that prince had left to Henry, Richard's father. All these were now imperiously demanded, and a violent contest took place, which was, after some fighting, terminated by a treaty between Tancred and Richard.

Richard joins Philip of France on the Third Crusade.

Richard and Philip, though jealous of each other, contrived to mask their real feelings, and spent the winter in apparent amity. But soon a subject of dissension arose. Richard had offered his hand to Berengaria, the daughter of Sancho, king of Navarre ; and his mother Eleanor had arrived with the princess at Naples. Philip immediately brought forward the claim of his sister Adelaide, who had for so many years been espoused to the king of England ; but Richard declared that he would never marry her ; and at length it was agreed that he should be released, on certain conditions, from his contract with the French princess. The king of France soon sailed for Acre. Richard accompanied him a few miles ; then turning to Reggio, took on board Eleanor and Berengaria, and conducted them to Messina.

Richard quarrels with Philip. Marries Berengaria of Navarre.

At length the king bade adieu to Sicily, with a fleet of fifty-three galleys, and one hundred and fifty other ships. Eleanor had returned to England ; the queen of Sicily, and the princess of Arragon accompanied the expedition. Nine months had already elapsed since Richard commenced his journey, and yet, though he was but a few days' sail from the Holy Land, the impetuosity of his character led him to squander away two more months in an enterprise against the king of Cyprus, for injuries done to some Crusaders who had been wrecked.

Richard occupies Cyprus.

The siege of Acre had now lasted the greater part of two years ; and both the attack and defence had been conducted with the most obstinate bravery. The entrance of the port was watched by the galleys of Pisa ; while the land army encamped

round the town, in a semicircle, from sea to sea. But the besiegers were themselves besieged; and from the neighbouring mountains, Saladin with an immense army, watched all their motions. The arrival of Philip, soon after his departure from Sicily, had diffused new vigour through the army. Military engines had been erected; the walls were battered and undermined; breaches were made; and nothing was wanting for the assault but the presence of Richard, with whom the king of France had engaged to share the danger and glory of the attempt.

Richard having overcome the king of Cyprus, joined the Crusaders, and was received by them with enthusiastic expressions of joy. He immediately distributed presents with his accustomed prodigality; took into his service all who offered themselves, and ordered his battering engines to be erected against the walls. Though he was soon reduced to an extreme degree of weakness by an intermittent fever, his impatience led him to superintend the operations of the army. At length it was agreed that Acre

**Occupation
of Acre, 1191.**

should be surrendered to the Christians, and that the Turks, as a ransom for their lives, should restore the holy cross, and set at liberty one thousand five hundred captives. For the performance of these conditions, a term of forty days was assigned, and some thousands of hostages were detained in the fortress. The Crusaders immediately took possession of the place, and Saladin removed his camp to a distance.

This conquest was fondly received by the nations of Christendom as a prelude to the delivery of Jerusalem; but the public joy was soon damped by the news that the king of France intended to withdraw from the army. It was in vain that Richard, his own officers, and all the confederate chiefs, urged him to change his resolution. He was equally unmoved by their entreaties or their reproofs; and, having sworn not to invade the territories of the king of England, he departed from Acre, amidst the groans and imprecations of the spectators.

**Philip
returns to
France.**

The term fixed by the capitulation of Acre had nearly expired, and frequent messages were exchanged between Saladin and Richard. The sultan refused, under different pretexts, to execute the treaty, and the king declared that the hostages should pay the forfeit of his perfidy with their lives. The hostages were led to the summit of a hill, in sight of the Saracen camp; the Crusaders assembled in crowds to witness so glorious a spectacle; and at a signal given, two thousand seven hundred infidels fell

under the swords of their butchers. At the same hour, and for the same cause, an almost equal number, the portion which had fallen to the lot of the king of France, were massacred on the walls of Acre, by the troops under the duke of Burgundy.

After this bloody deed, which, inhuman as it was, seems not to have been contemplated with horror by either the Christians or Mohammedans of the age, Richard conducted his army, reduced to thirty thousand men, from Acre to Jaffa. On his march he was harassed by Saladin, who, however, was soon afterwards defeated with great loss, and ceased for a time to attack the Christian army.

To recover from the infidels the sacred spot in which the body of Christ had been buried, was the professed object of the Crusaders; and to keep it fresh in their memory, these words, "the holy sepulchre," were proclaimed thrice every evening by the voice of a herald throughout the camp. Richard concealed his sentiments from his associates; but he had now learned to doubt of the success of the enterprise, and in his letters to Europe most earnestly solicited supplies of both men and money. Still, with these impressions on his mind, he did not hesitate to lead the army towards the city. He even reached Ramla and Bethania, places within a short distance of Jerusalem; but the weather became rainy and tempestuous, a dearth of provisions was felt, sickness spread itself through the ranks, and many in despair abandoned the expedition. It was evident that he must either return to Jaffa, or instantly make the hopeless attempt of carrying by storm a place strongly fortified, and defended by an army more numerous than his own. The king for once listened to the suggestions of prudence, and bent his march back to the coast. The war continued for some time longer with varying success, and at length an armistice was concluded for three years. Saladin insisted on the destruction of Ascalon, and in return granted to the pilgrims free access to the holy sepulchre.

Thus terminated this crusade. If Jerusalem could have been won by personal strength and bravery, it might have been won by Richard. His exploits, so superior to those of his fellows, threw a splendour around him, which endeared him to the Christians, and extorted the admiration of the infidels. He left Palestine disguised as a pilgrim, for he had fears of assassination. On his journey home he was discovered, seized, and imprisoned by the duke of Austria, whom he had insulted at Acre.

Richard
returns :
imprisoned in
Germany.

It is now time to return to England, which during the absence

of the monarch had been impoverished by the rapacity of his minister, William de Longchamp, and harassed by the ambition of his brother John. John had calculated on the event of the king's death, and had determined to seize the sceptre. There was indeed a child, who had a better right to the succession, Arthur, the son of his elder brother Geoffrey; but, as the claim of the nearest heir had been overlooked on other occasions, the claim of Arthur might be overlooked at the death of Richard. Richard, however, favoured the interests of his nephew: and in his treaty with Tancred, king of Sicily, and his letters to the pope, declared the young prince the apparent heir to the throne.

When, in 1193, the news arrived of Richard's departure from Acre, the people, by whom with all his vices he was beloved on account of his valour, were eager to behold the champion of the cross; but week after week the public expectation was alternately roused and disappointed. Rumours the most sinister and improbable had begun to prevail, when the secret of his detention was revealed by the copy of a letter to the king of France from Henry VI., the emperor of Germany. This imperial speculator, for the sum of sixty thousand pounds, had purchased the royal captive from Leopold. John, the king's brother, repaired in haste to Paris, surrendered to Philip some portions of Normandy, did him homage for the rest of Richard's continental possessions, and returning to England, assembled an army to contend for the crown, but was unsuccessful.

Longchamp, the chancellor, who was exiled by John, was the first to discover the prison of Richard, and after some time succeeded in getting the emperor to enter into terms respecting the release of the English monarch. The prospect of liberty revived the spirits of Richard, who despatched Longchamp to England, with a letter to the council of regency. By their orders, a tax of twenty shillings was imposed on every knight's fee; the plate of the churches was sold or redeemed; one-fourth of every man's income was extorted from the clergy and laity; and all were required to make the king such presents as might deserve his gratitude. Part of the stipulated ransom was paid, security given for the remainder, and the English king returned to his dominions.

Though Richard now breathed the air of liberty, his heart could not be at ease till he had chastised the perfidy of the French monarch, for his having favoured John. Two short months were all that he could spare to his English subjects, and these were

John's
intrigues.

Richard ran-
somed, 1194.

employed, not in repairing the evils caused by his absence, but in devising means to extort more money from those who had been already impoverished by the amount of his ransom. He next took steps to cause John to be outlawed. That prince, whose pusillanimity was equal to his ambition, implored on his knees, on Richard's arrival in Normandy, the forgiveness of a sovereign whom he had so cruelly offended. But he had secured a powerful intercessor in the queen-mother, at whose request Richard received him into favour, though he sternly refused to restore to him either his lands or his castles.

War raged for some time between Richard and Philip, without any important results, the people of England being very much discontented at the taxation required for the contest.

**War with
France.**

It was Richard's fate to perish in an ignoble quarrel with one of his barons. A treasure had been discovered on the estate of Vidomar, viscount of Limoges, and though a part had been offered to satisfy the king, he demanded the whole. On the refusal of Vidomar, Richard besieged his castle of Chaluz, and contemptuously rejected the conditional offer of surrender made by the garrison. It chanced, as he rode round the walls in company with Marchadee, one of his generals, that an arrow wounded him in the left shoulder. The signal for assault was immediately given; the castle was taken by storm; and with the exception of Gourdon, the archer who had wounded the king, the captives were ordered to be hanged as robbers who had detained the property of their sovereign. An unskilful surgeon now extracted the head of the arrow, and symptoms of mortification soon warned the king of his approaching dissolution. He sent for his confessor, received the sacraments with sentiments of compunction, and ordering Gourdon into his presence, gave him his liberty, with one hundred shillings, to take him home. But Marchadee secretly detained the unhappy youth, and ordered him to be flayed alive. Richard expired in the year 1199, in the forty-second year of his age. His body was buried at Fontevraud at the feet of his father: his lion-heart (the epithet had formerly flattered him) he bequeathed to the citizens of Rouen, in gratitude for their loyalty and attachment.

**Death of
Richard,
1199.**

To a degree of muscular strength which falls to the lot of few, Richard added a mind incapable of fear. Hence in the ancient annalists, he towers as a warrior above all his contemporaries. Nor was this pre-eminence conceded to him by the Christians

alone. Even a century after his death, his name was employed by the Saracen cavalier to chide his horse, and by the Saracen mother to terrify her children. But when we have given him the praise of valour, his panegyric is finished.

Character of Richard I. His laurels were steeped in blood, and his victories purchased with the impoverishment of his people. Of the meanness to which he could stoop to procure money, and the injustices into which he was hurried by the impetuosity of his passions, numerous instances are chronicled. The only benefits which the nation received, in return for the immense sums which it had furnished to the king, in his expedition to Palestine, for his ransom from captivity, and in support of his wars in France, were two legislative charters. By one of these he established uniformity

His legislation. of weights and measures throughout the realm; by the other he mitigated the severity of the law of wrecks. Formerly it had been held that, in cases of shipwreck, unless the vessel were repaired by the survivors within a given time, it became, with the cargo, the property of the crown, or of the lord of the manor, having right of wreck. The injustice of this custom was mitigated by Henry I., who exempted from forfeiture every ship from which a single mariner or passenger had escaped alive; but after his death, under the pretence that the consent of the baronage had not been obtained, the ancient claim was revived and exercised, till Henry II. enacted, that if even a beast escaped by which the owner could be ascertained, he should be allowed three months to claim his property; and by Richard it was added, that if the owner perished, his sons and daughters, and in their default, his brothers and sisters, should have a claim in preference to the crown.

Richard had left no legitimate issue. In the strict order of hereditary succession, the crown at his death should have devolved on his nephew Arthur, the son of Geoffrey, and duke of Bretagne, a boy in the twelfth year of his age. When Richard lay on his death-bed, John was present; the claim of Arthur, though formerly admitted by the king, was forgotten; and the expiring monarch is said to have declared his brother successor to his throne, and heir to one-third of his property. John immediately received the homage of the knights present, hastened to take possession of Chinon, where Richard had deposited his treasures, and proceeded thence into Touraine, Maine, and Anjou, the ancient patrimony of the Plantagenets. To his disappointment, the natives declared in favour of his nephew Arthur, and were supported in that

John seizes the throne, 1199.

declaration by the promise of aid from the king of France. In Normandy, however, his friends had secured every voice in his favour; and at Rouen he received the ducal coronet and sword from the hands of the archbishop. In Poitou and Aquitaine, he was equally fortunate. Respecting the throne of England, a national council was held at Northampton, where John's claim was admitted on hearing which he repaired to England, and was crowned with the usual solemnity at Westminster.

The French kings had long cast a wishful eye towards the provinces possessed by the English monarchs in France. If the ambition of Philip shrunk before the superior prowess of Richard, it expanded again at the accession of his weak and pusillanimous brother. With Arthur in his possession, he determined to fight his own battles, while he pretended to support the cause of an injured orphan; and, having conferred the sword of knighthood on the young prince, he traversed Normandy, burnt Evreux, and placed garrisons in the fortresses of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. An uninteresting war ensued; hostilities, at the solicitation of the cardinal Peter of Capua, were suspended by armistice, and the armistice terminated in a peace, which did little honour to either of the two monarchs. Philip sacrificed the interests of Arthur, acknowledged John for the rightful heir to his late brother, and compelled the young prince to do homage to his uncle for the duchy of Bretagne.

John had been married about twelve years before this period, but wishing to contract a high alliance, he obtained a divorce. He immediately sent ambassadors to Lisbon to demand the princess of Portugal; but before he could receive an answer, he saw by accident Isabella, daughter to Aymar, count of Angouleme, a young lady, who in her early years had been publicly promised, and privately espoused, to Hugh, count of La Marche. The king was captivated by her beauty; the glare of a crown seduced the faith of the father and his daughter; and the unexpected marriage of Isabella and John deprived the princess of Portugal of a husband, the count de la Marche of a wife. The complaints of the one and the threats of the other were equally disregarded. John conducted his bride in triumph to England, and was crowned with her at Westminster by the primate. The next year the same ceremony was repeated at Canterbury, on the festival of Easter.

De la Marche appealed to the justice of Philip, nor was that

John
crowned
at West-
minster.

John and
Philip at
war.

John
crowned
at West-
minster, 1200.

prince sorry that the tergiversation of John afforded him a pretext for humbling so powerful a vassal. The provisions of the late treaty were instantly forgotten. Philip received the homage of Arthur, for Bretagne, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; the discontented barons hastened to join his banner; fortress after fortress surrendered to the confederates; and the heart of John sank in despondency, when an unexpected event arrested the progress of his enemies, and gave him a temporary superiority. Eleanor,

Philip
renews the
war with
John, 1202.

the queen-mother, was lodged in the castle of Mirabeau, in Poitou, and was besieged by Arthur. John flew to her relief, and routed the enemy, who came out to oppose him. Among the

Prince
Arthur cap-
tured; and
murdered,
1203.

captives was the young duke of Bretagne, whom he placed under a strong guard in the castle of Falaise. Soon Arthur was transferred to the castle of Rouen, and confined in a dungeon of the new tower. Within a few months he disappeared. Report ascribed his fate to the dagger of his uncle; but the king of England could surely have hired an assassin, without actually dipping his hands in the blood of a nephew. The Bretons immediately assembled, and swore to be revenged. The bishop of Rennes then hastened to Paris, to accuse the English king of the murder; and Philip gladly summoned him to prove his innocence in the presence of the French peers. John, however, refused; and the court pronounced judgment, that he should forfeit all the lands which he held by homage.

John, on the disappearance of his nephew, had come over to England, was crowned a second time by Archbishop Hubert, at Canterbury, and immediately returned to Normandy. The arms of Philip succeeded. The Normans submitted to that monarch; Anjou, Maine, and Touraine followed the example of Normandy; and thus, in 1204, by the guilt, or indolence, or bad fortune of John, were these extensive and opulent provinces re-annexed to the French crown, after a separation of two hundred and ninety-two years.

Loss of
Normandy,
1204.

John soon afterwards made an attempt to recover his continental dominions, but a negotiation took place, which resulted in an armistice for two years.

John was shortly afterwards involved in a dispute with the pope, respecting the nomination of bishops. On the death, in 1205, of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, the junior part of the monks assembled clandestinely in the night, and placed Reginald, their sub-prior, on the archiepiscopal throne. To this election

They were aware that a strong opposition would be made. They had not asked the royal licence; and had proceeded without the concurrence of the episcopal body. Their only hope of success depended on the approbation of the Apostolic See. Reginald was accordingly sent to Rome. He was quickly followed by a deputation from the bishops of the province of Canterbury, with a protest against his election. In England, it was the determination of the king to place the bishop of Norwich on the archiepiscopal throne. He was chosen, and messengers were despatched to Rome, with the necessary documents in support of his right.

The pope annulled both elections, and caused cardinal Langton, an Englishman of eminence, resident at Rome, to be elected. It is plain that in making this selection, that of placing at the head of the English Church a prelate of indisputable science and virtue. To obviate all probable objections, the pope had first sent to request the king's permission that the monks might make the election at Rome, and when, after fruitless delays, Stephen had been elected, despatched other envoys to solicit his approbation of the prelate-elect. No answer was returned, so he was consecrated by Innocent himself. The whole proceeding was conducted according to the canons which at the time obtained the force of law, and with an attention to John's honour which was not usual at the court of Rome. John was incensed; Innocent, by soothing letters, endeavoured to mollify the king's resentment, and promised, if John would acquiesce, that the past transaction should not be converted into a precedent. But the obstinacy of the monarch was not to be softened; and he avowed his determination that Langton should never set his foot in England in the character of primate.

The die was now cast, and the quarrel became a trial of strength between the power of the king and that of the pontiff. The latter resolved to proceed step by step, and began by laying the whole kingdom under an interdict. The churches were closed; no bell was tolled; no service was solemnly performed; the administration of the sacraments, except to infants and the dying, was suspended; and the bodies of the dead were interred silently, and in unconsecrated ground. This sudden extinction of the forms and aids of religion struck the people with horror. John, amidst the general gloom, wore an air of serenity, and even of

Quarrel with
pope Inno-
cent III.,
1205.

Cardinal
Langton
made arch-
bishop of
Canterbury.

England
placed under
interdict,
1208.

cheerfulness. For some time he affected to despise the consequences of the interdict and the menaces of the pontiff; and his cause derived a temporary lustre from some successes over the Scottish king, and some victories in Ireland and Wales.

When the interdict had lasted a year, the pope fulminated against John a bull of excommunication; but the king maintained so rigorous a watch at the ports, that the sentence could not be officially published in England; and his theologians maintained that, till it were published, it could have no effect. To fortify himself against the pope, he is said to have solicited the aid of Mohammed al Nassir, who had assumed the usual appellation of the Emir al Moumenim, and by his conquests in Spain had threatened to extirpate Christianity from the south of Europe. John is said to have made an offer of the English crown to the emir, and a promise to embrace the Mohammedan faith; but he received no assistance from Mohammed.

Four years at length elapsed, and the king's obstinacy was still unsubdued. Innocent had recourse to the last effort of his authority. He absolved the vassals of John from their oaths of fealty, and exhorted all Christian princes and barons to unite in dethroning the king. John, however, might have laughed at the impotent resentment of Innocent, had no monarch been found willing to undertake the execution of the sentence. The pope applied to the king of France. Philip lent a ready ear to proposals so flattering to his ambition, and a numerous army was summoned to meet at the mouth of the Seine.

John crossed to France, and having inflicted much injury on Philip's army, returned to England. He soon, however, entered into an arrangement with the pope, and he subscribed an instrument similar to one which he had formerly rejected. By this it was stipulated, amongst other matters, that Langton should be admitted to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and that on the fulfilment of the conditions, the sentences of interdict and excommunication should be revoked, and the exiled bishops should swear, at the king's pleasure, to be true and faithful subjects. This happened on the thirteenth of May, 1213. The next day was spent by John, his council, and the papal minister, in secret and anxious consultation. On the following morning, in the church of the Templars, the king, surrounded by the prelates, barons, and knights, put into the hands of Pandulph the legate, a charter subscribed by himself, one archbishop, one bishop, nine earls, and three barons. This

Innocent
deposes

John, 1213.

John sub-
mits, 1213.

instrument testified, that John, as an atonement for his offences, granted to God, to the holy apostles Peter and Paul, to pope Innocent, and Innocent's rightful successors, the kingdom of England and the kingdom of Ireland, to be holden by himself and the heirs of his body of the bishop of Rome in fee, by the annual rent of one thousand marks. He then took the oath of fealty in the usual manner. From this moment, the barons

John surrenders his kingdom to the pope, and receives it back in fief.

began to demand the grant of their liberties. On John's refusal, they appealed by their agents to the pontiff. Innocent, however, supported the cause of his vassal; and the barons transferred their allegiance to Louis, the son of Philip.

At the news of John's reconciliation with Rome, Philip's hopes of acquiring the English crown—the dream of his ambition—melted away, and his discontent exhausted itself in invectives against the pontiff. To his council he proposed to continue the enterprise, but was interrupted by Ferrand, earl of Flanders, a secret ally of the English monarch. The French king invaded Flanders; Ferrand received aid from England, and after a short campaign, Philip returned to France. John now determined to carry the war into France, and summoned his retainers to meet him at Portsmouth. But the principal barons refused to accompany him. He was still under excommunication. He had not fulfilled the conditions of his treaty with the pope, which they had sworn that he should fulfil. John was compelled to submit. He invited the exiles to return, promised them his favour and protection, and sent to them a sum of money for their present necessities. Langton, the bishops of London, Ely, Hereford, Lincoln, and Bath, the prior and monks of Christchurch, and their companions gladly accepted the invitation. They met the king at Winchester; John and the cardinal embraced, and the sentence of excommunication was publicly revoked at the entrance of the cathedral.

The king now hastened again to Portsmouth, ordered the troops to embark, and with a favourable wind set sail for the French coast. He reached the island of Jersey with a few ships; but found that none of the barons had followed him. They held meetings at St. Albans, and in London, at one of which archbishop Langton, taking advantage of their enthusiasm, administered to them an oath, by which they bound themselves to each other to conquer or die in the defence of their liberties.

Langton and the barons unite against John.

In the meantime, John had landed, breathing revenge against the traitors who had abandoned their sovereign. He determined

to punish their disobedience by military execution, but was dissuaded by the primate. Soon afterwards, John sailed to the coast of Poitou, and penetrated to the city of Angers. There he was found by the messengers from Rome; who, having received his oath that

John invades France.

he would observe the papal award respecting the losses sustained by the bishops, hastened to England, and revoked the interdict, after it had lasted more than six years. John immediately marched towards Bretagne, but his progress was arrested by the arrival of Louis, the son of Philip, and from that moment both armies, as it were by mutual consent, suffered the war to linger, and waited the issue of Philip's campaign in the north. A hundred thousand men poured in at the north of France. To this torrent Philip could not oppose half the number of combatants; but the deficiency was supplied by the spirit and gallantry of his followers, the flower of the chivalry of France. The armies met at Bouvines, an obscure village on the river Marque, between Lisle and Tournay, where Philip gained the victory, and took the earl of Flanders prisoner.

John defeated at Bouvines, 1214.

The defeat at Bouvines broke all the measures of John, who solicited and obtained from Philip a truce for five years, and returned from an inglorious campaign in France to a still more inglorious contest in England.

The barons now held numerous meetings. The different liberties for which they were to contend were accurately defined; and it was determined to demand them in a body when the king should hold his court at the festival of Christmas. At one of these meetings, before they separated, they advanced singly to the high altar, and took a solemn oath to withdraw their allegiance, if John should reject their claims; and to levy war upon him, till he should grant them. On the feast of the Epiphany they presented their demands. The king at first assumed an air of superiority, and insisted that they should recede from such claims. Almost all obstinately refused. He then had recourse to delay, and offered to give them a satisfactory answer at the following Easter. This proposal, after much hesitation, was accepted.

The interval was spent by the king in endeavours to fortify himself against this formidable combination. Both parties had despatched messengers to Rome, to solicit the protection of their feudal superior. But it was in vain that the barons appealed to the gratitude of Innocent; he deemed it his interest and duty to support the cause of his vassal.

In Easter week, the barons assembled at Stamford, and with two thousand knights, their esquires and followers, proceeded to Brackley. The king lay at Oxford, and commissioned the archbishop of Canterbury, and the earls of Pembroke and Warenne, to go and ascertain their demands. They brought him back a paper of the same import with that which had been presented to him before; and, as soon as he had heard it read, he exclaimed, "They might as well have demanded my crown. Do they think I will grant them liberties which will make me a slave?" After some ineffectual attempts by John at a settlement of the questions in dispute, the barons proclaimed themselves the army of God and His holy Church, and elected Robert Fitz-Walter for their commander. They took several important places, and entered London without opposition. John, fearing for his crown, agreed to a conference. Runnymede, situated between Staines and Windsor, was the scene of this important negotiation. On the one side stood Fitz-Walter, and the majority of the barons and nobility of England; on the other sat the king, accompanied by eight bishops, Pandulph, the papal envoy, and fifteen gentlemen. On this occasion MAGNA CHARTA was agreed to. This charter is celebrated in history as the supposed basis on which are founded the liberties of Englishmen. It is not, however, to be considered as forming a new code of law, or even as an attempt to inculcate the great principles of legislation. Its framers meant not to disturb or improve the national jurisprudence; their only object was to correct the abuses which had grown out of the feudal customs under the despotism of the first William and his successors.

The barons
resort to
arms.

Magna
Charta:
signed June,
18, 1215.

The first article of the charter regarded the Church of England, to which John granted that it should possess all its liberties whole and inviolate. The feudal aids and reliefs, such as service for wardships and the marriage of heiresses exacted by the sovereign, were defined and limited. For the levying of these reliefs on other occasions than was customary, the consent of the great council of the tenants-in-chief of the crown was made necessary. It was moreover enacted that "common pleas should no longer follow the person of the king, but be held in some certain place." For the better administration of justice, only competent persons were to be appointed to magisterial posts; and assize courts were to be held in every county four times a year. Justice was not to be sold, or withheld, or delayed. Persons and property were protected by

Its chief
articles.

the proviso that "no freeman should be arrested, or imprisoned, or disseised of his land, or outlawed, or destroyed in any manner . . . but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land." Fines were to be fixed, and not arbitrary. Provisions taken for royal use were to be paid for at the time. Many liberties were secured to cities and boroughs. Foreigners were to be free to enter England, reside in it, travel through it, and leave it without exaction. With certain specified exceptions, liberty was likewise granted to freemen to leave England and return to it, saving their allegiance, except it were in time of war. The forest laws were mitigated or abolished. Many other minor and temporary provisions may be passed over.

Such were the provisions of the great charter, which for centuries was considered as the palladium of our national freedom. They checked the most galling abuses of feudal superiority; they gave a new tone to English legislation; they justified resistance to the encroachments of despotism; and in subsequent struggles with the crown, pointed to determinate objects the efforts of the nation. By our kings, who considered the charter as wrung from them by the strong grasp of necessity, they were perpetually evaded; by the people, who deemed them the expression of their just rights, they were as often and imperiously reclaimed. It required no less than thirty-five ratifications to give them in effect the full force of law; a sufficient proof how much they were abhorred by the sovereign, and how highly they were prized by the nation.

Almost as soon as the charter was signed, John's advisers urged him to devise the most speedy measures for rendering his acceptance of it nugatory; and with this view a deputation hastened to Rome to implore in the king's defence the powerful interposition of Innocent, and to represent every concession extorted from the vassal as an insult offered to the authority of his lord, the pontiff.

The barons had left Runnymede in triumph, but their joy was soon clouded with suspicion of the insincerity of John. The contest was renewed on the arrival of foreign soldiers, whom John, contrary to treaty, had invited. The barons obtained possession of Rochester Castle, which the king besieged and took. While the king was employed in the siege of Rochester, he received the pleasing intelligence that, according to the request which he had made, the charter had been annulled by the pontiff, on the ground of having been obtained by force. The pope wrote to the barons, exhorting them to submit, requesting them to lay their claims before him in the

The pope
abets John
against the
barons.

council to be held at Rome, and promising that he would induce the king to consent to whatever might be deemed just or reasonable, and would take care that all grievances should be abolished, that the crown should be content with its just rights, and the clergy and people should enjoy their ancient liberties. Finding that his exhortations and his promises were equally fruitless, he ordered Langton to excommunicate the disobedient; but that prelate refused; in punishment, he was suspended from the exercise of the archiepiscopal functions.

War now recommenced with vigour, and the king of Scots entered England, to assist the barons. John proceeded to the north, and never, we are told, since the exterminating expedition of the first William, had this district been **Civil war.** exposed to such horrors as it now experienced from the vengeance of the king of England. He himself gave the example, and with his own hands set fire in the morning to the house in which he had rested the last night. The castles, towns, and villages were given to the flames. Wherever the royal forces could penetrate, the inhabitants fled to the forests and mountains; the labours of agriculture were suspended; and the only markets were held in the churchyards, which, as they possessed the right of sanctuary, were generally, but not always, respected by the marauders.

The barons now determined to offer the crown to Louis, the eldest son of the king of France. He was allied to the family of Plantagenet by his marriage with the niece of John. **The barons offer the crown to the dauphin Louis.** A fleet, carrying a numerous band of French knights, soon ascended the Thames, and a letter from Louis assured the confederates, that he would visit them at Easter with a powerful army. The pope directed Louis to desist, but that prince refused, and was excommunicated. Soon afterwards, he commanded the archbishop of Sens to fulminate a similar sentence against Philip, the father of Louis, and the French bishops, in a synod at Melun, resolved to disregard the papal mandate, on the ground that the pope had not been truly informed. That Innocent would have launched his anathemas against their disobedience cannot be doubted, but in a few weeks that active and fearless pontiff expired; his death suspended all ecclesiastical proceedings at Rome; and John saw himself deprived of his most powerful friend, at a moment when he stood in the greatest need of his protection.

At the appointed time, Louis departed from Calais with a fleet of six hundred and eighty sail. The weather was stormy, and dispersed the ships; many were taken by the mariners of the

cinque ports; and John with a numerous army lay in the vicinity of Dover. But his heart failed him at the approach of the enemy; he feared that his mercenaries might desert; he therefore decamped on a sudden, and ravaging the country as he passed, retired through Winchester to Bristol, where he was joined by the legate. The French prince, having waited three days for the stragglers, landed at Sandwich, besieged and reduced the castle of Rochester, and hastened his march to the capital. He was received in procession by the barons and citizens, and conducted to St. Paul's, where, after he had made his prayer, he received the homage of his new subjects, and took a solemn oath to govern them by good laws, to protect them against their enemies, and to reinstate them in their former rights and possessions. By his affability Louis charmed the natives, and won their confidence by appointing Simon Langton, the brother of the primate, to the office of chancellor. The campaign was opened with the fairest promise of future success. All the counties in the neighbourhood of the capital submitted; the men of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, with the king of Scots, declared in his favour; the foreigners who had hitherto swelled the army of John, began, with the exception of the natives of Gascony, either to join his standard, or to return to their homes; and at his summons several of the royal barons, perhaps through fear of his power, perhaps with the view of spreading disaffection among his adherents, hastened to do him homage and to swear fealty. Still the spirits of John were upheld by the arrival of the legate Gualo, who fought most manfully with his spiritual weapons, and by the knowledge, that, if his rival had gained possession of the open country, yet every fortress of importance was garrisoned by his own troops. To reduce these fortresses was the next object of the confederates. Louis besieged the castle of Dover; the barons, under the earl of Nevers, that of Windsor. The prince had received from his father a military engine of the most formidable description, called the *mal-voisin*, or bad neighbour, with which he expected to make a breach in the walls. But the garrison kept him at too great a distance, compelled him to turn the siege into a blockade, and employed him in this useless project during the space of four months. The tediousness of the siege was partially relieved by the arrival of a royal vassal, Alexander, king of Scots, who, in consequence of a summons to that purpose, after the reduction of Carlisle, marched through the heart of the kingdom, within sight of John, visited Louis at Dover, obtained a confirmation of the cession made to

Louis lands
in England,
1216.

him by the barons, did homage in London, and returned to his own country without molestation.

While his enemies lay before the two castles, the king had improved the opportunity to pillage their estates, and intercept their supplies. He was at Wallingford, when the barons, by the persuasion of the earl of Nevers, whom they afterwards charged with perfidy, undertook to surprise him. They raised the siege, and marched rapidly to Cambridge; but the king, anticipating their object, had already passed through that city, and retired as far as Stamford. Foiled in this attempt, they returned to join Louis at Dover, while John reduced Lincoln, and again distributed among his followers the lands belonging to the confederates. The royal cause began to assume a more promising aspect. The two last months had been wasted in idleness by the French prince; the men of the cinque ports perpetually intercepted his supplies from France; associations against him had been formed in Hampshire, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent; and John, to invigorate the efforts of his friends, had not been sparing of promises to enlarge the privileges of those who were free, and to bestow liberty and rights on those who were not. Louis, by grants to his own countrymen, particularly of the earldom of Winchester to the count de Nevers, and of that of Lincoln to Gilbert de Gand, had alarmed the English barons; and it was whispered that the viscount de Melun had confessed on his death-bed that he had sworn, with the prince and fifteen others, to treat the natives as men whose perfidy to their late, was an earnest of future perfidy to their new sovereign. They became jealous of their allies; several barons and knights actually joined, and forty others, on the promise of pardon, offered to join the royal standard. The king returned from Lincoln, through Grimsby and Spalding, to Lynn, a town strongly attached to his interests, and the general depôt for his supplies and treasures. Thence he marched to Wisbeach, and resolved to proceed across the Wash, from the Cross keys to Fossdike. The army had already reached the land; but looking back, John beheld a long train of waggons and sumpter-horses, which carried his jewels, insignia, and money, swallowed up in a whirlpool, caused by the afflux of the tide and the current of the Welland. With a heavy heart he proceeded to the Cistercian convent of Swineshead, where fatigue, **Illness and** or anxiety, or poison, or a surfeit (for all these causes **death of** are mentioned), threw him into a dangerous fever. **John, October** He set out, however, in the morning, but was **19, 1216.** obliged to exchange his horse for a litter, and was conveyed with

difficulty to the castle of Sleaford. There he passed the night, and dictated a letter to the new pope, Honorius III., recommending in the most earnest terms the interests of his children to the protection of that pontiff. The next day conducted him to the castle of Newark; where, sensible of his approaching fate, he sent for a confessor, appointed his eldest son Henry to succeed him, and executed a short will, by which he left the disposal of his property to the discretion of certain trustees, and his body to be buried at Worcester, near the shrine of St. Wulstan. He expired three days later in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign.

The character of John stands before us polluted with meanness, cruelty, perjury, and murder; uniting with an ambition which rushed through every crime to the attainment of its object, a pusillanimity which often, at the sole appearance of opposition, sank into despondency. Arrogant in prosperity, abject in adversity, he neither conciliated affection in the one nor excited esteem in the other. His dissimulation was so well known, that it seldom deceived; his habit of suspicion served to multiply his enemies; and the knowledge of his vindictive temper contributed to keep open the breach between him and those who had incurred his displeasure. Seldom perhaps was there a prince with a heart more callous to the suggestions of pity. Of his captives, many never returned from their dungeons; if they survived their tortures, they were left to perish by famine. He could even affect to be witty at the expense of his victims; when Geoffrey, archdeacon of Norwich, a faithful servant, had retired from his seat at the exchequer on account of the interdict, the king ordered him to be arrested, and sent him a cope of lead, to keep him warm in his prison. Wrapped in this ponderous habit, with his head only at liberty, the unhappy man remained without food or assistance till he expired. On another occasion, he demanded a present of ten thousand marks from an opulent Jew at Bristol, and ordered one of his teeth to be drawn every morning till he should pay the money. The Jew was obstinate; the executioners began with his double teeth; he suffered the loss of seven, but on the eighth day solicited a respite, and gave security for the payment.

Isabella, the wife of John, bore him three sons, Henry, Richard, and Edmund; and three daughters, Jane, Eleanor, and Isabella.

CHAPTER X

HENRY III. 1216-1272

HENRY of Winchester had just completed his tenth year, when he found himself, by the sudden death of his father, in possession of the title, but with little of the power of a king. In London and the opulent provinces of the south, Louis reigned almost without an opponent; in the other counties the partisans of the French king were the more active, and his cause the more popular; and on the west and north, the princes of Wales and the king of Scotland had acknowledged his authority and become his vassals. On the tenth day after the decease of the late monarch, Henry was led to the abbey church of Gloucester, and having taken the oath usually administered to the English kings, and sworn fealty to pope Honorius, was crowned by the legate Gualo, and the bishops of Winchester, Exeter and Bath, who placed on his temples a plain circle of gold, in lieu of the crown, which had been lost with the rest of the royal treasures. The next day, a proclamation was issued, in which the new king, lamenting the dissension between his father and the barons—a dissension which he would for ever dismiss from his memory—promised to all his subjects a full amnesty for the past, and their lawful liberties for the future; and required the tenants of the crown to do homage and swear fealty to himself as their legitimate sovereign. The care of his person was entrusted to William, earl of Pembroke, the earl marshal, with the title of guardian of the kingdom.

Accession of
Henry of
Winchester,
1216.

Crowned at
Gloucester.

A great council was summoned to meet at Bristol, and was attended by all the bishops and abbots, by several earls and barons, and by many knights. Magna Charta was here, after some alterations, ratified.

Great
Charter
confirmed.

The French king found that the English barons were inclined to support young Henry. The pope also was his warm friend.

With slight intermission, war raged throughout England for about a year. The English having gained an important victory near Lincoln, and having also defeated the French in a decisive naval engagement, Louis felt himself at last obliged to negotiate for terms. It was agreed that he should give back to the English barons their fealty and homage, and then Henry should grant to them a full amnesty on their return to their allegiance; that peace on similar terms should be offered by Henry to the king of Scots and the Welsh prince, and that arrangement should be made for the discharge of debts, and the ransom and liberation of prisoners of war.

The departure of Louis secured the crown to Henry, but the young king had not a single relation to whom he could recur for advice. Pope Honorius, as feudal superior, declared himself the guardian of the orphan, and commanded the legate to reside near his person, watch over his safety, and protect his just rights. The papal overlordship. Magna Charta was again confirmed, but with additional alterations. By degrees tranquillity was restored; and in the autumn Gualo returned to Rome. He was succeeded by Pandulph, who followed the example of his predecessor, and watched with solicitude over the interests of the young king. He repaired to Wales, and restored peace on the borders; he met the king of Scots at York, and negotiated a peace between the two kingdoms; and by his letters and services he greatly contributed to prolong the truce between England and France. As doubts had been raised respecting the coronation at Gloucester, that ceremony was again performed. In the next year, Alexander of Scotland married at York, Jane, the elder of the two sisters of Henry, after which, Pandulph immediately returned to Rome.

In the pages dealing with John's reign and with the early days of Henry III.'s rule, several references have been made to the presence and action of the pope's legates in England. The question raised thereby may be disposed of here. When John surrendered his crown to Pope Innocent III. and received it back in token that he henceforth held his kingdom in fee of the pope, the English barons and bishops, little as they liked the surrender of the independence of their country, acquiesced in the measure and countersigned the charter whereby it was effected, because they recognised that it was possibly only in that way that John could be brought to keep faith with them and the country, and fulfil the promises he had hitherto so constantly broken. Later

ages rightly condemn this bartering away of a nation's independence; but at the same time, the polity of that period being borne in mind, the transaction is not so subject to condemnation as it appears to us to be at first sight. A sharp distinction must, moreover, be drawn between the *spiritual* allegiance acknowledged by all as due and paid, to the successor of St. Peter, and the *temporal* overlordship which the popes at that time were endeavouring to claim for themselves: in some cases with success; in others meeting with resistance. But the *principle* of accepting the pope as a temporal overlord came to be more or less acquiesced in, if not acknowledged; hence John's action was not condemned by his contemporaries as severely as it has been by later historians. On the whole, where it was accepted, the state of feudal vassaldom to the popes worked well; and here in England, throughout the succeeding years, it is noticeable that Innocent and Honorius displayed great solicitude to act for the best interests of their vassal, as far as their knowledge of the complicated questions involved permitted. Thus Innocent abetted John against cardinal Langton and the barons because he had been led to believe that John was not a free agent when signing the Great Charter, and that his, Innocent's, consent was necessary, as being overlord, to validate his vassal's act. On Henry's accession, too, and for many years after, it was largely due to the influence of the pope's legates that the crown was preserved to the young king; and the guardianship of his youthful vassal, exercised by the pope as feudal overlord through his legates, was sedulous, constant, and disinterested, and tended to the peace and welfare of England.

Under the pretence of resisting an invasion threatened by the king of France, Henry in 1225 assembled a great council, and most urgently demanded an *aid*. The demand was at first refused; but the wants of the crown would admit of no delay; and, after some negotiation, it was stipulated that a fifteenth of all moveables should be granted; but on the condition that the two charters should be solemnly ratified; which was done.

Henry's reign lasted more than half a century. The transactions which fill it are so numerous and frequently so unconnected, that Dr. Lingard classifies the most important events under three separate heads: the king's wars with foreign powers, his transactions with the pope, and his disputes with his barons.

During the whole of Henry's reign, the harmony between England and Scotland was never interrupted by actual hostilities, yet several subjects of altercation, principally relating to doing homage for the crown of Scotland, arose, which interrupted

amicable relations. Of Wales, the native sovereign was Llewellyn, who was brother-in-law to Henry. This union, however, had not rendered him the less disposed to assert the rights of his country. Henry often led his army into Wales, and was as often compelled to return foiled and discontented. Llewellyn's successor, David, to free himself from the superiority of the king of England, sought to interest the pope in his favour, by offering to hold his principality of the Roman Church. Innocent refused the offer, and Henry chastised the Welsh prince. At the death of David, the people of Wales elected two chieftains, who solicited the clemency of the king of England, became his vassals, and bound themselves to serve in his wars, with five hundred of their subjects.

Louis of France had made a promise to restore Normandy, Maine, and Anjou to Henry, whenever he should succeed to the crown. Philip, his father, died in 1223. Louis, on being asked to perform his engagement, gave a peremptory refusal, saying that he was no longer bound by the treaty. Nor was he content with a mere refusal, but even endeavoured to extend his own possessions at the expense of the English monarch. Henry sent an army to protect his remaining continental territories; but at the request of the papal legate both crowns agreed to an armistice for twelve months, before the expiration of which the king of France died, and was succeeded by his son, Louis IX. The troubles which followed his accession offered to Henry, who had now reached his twentieth year, a most favourable opportunity of regaining the patrimony of his ancestors. He therefore after some time assembled a large army, and in 1230 crossed over to France. The war continued for a long period, with varying fortune, and at length, after many years spent in the arrangement of terms, peace was concluded in 1259, each monarch making some concessions.

**War with
France.**

**Henry and
his overlord,
the pope.**

The history of Henry's transactions with the court of Rome discloses a long course of oppression, under which the English clergy were compelled to submit to the most grievous exactions. The Christian hierarchy had from the earliest ages been distinguished by a regular gradation of office and authority, from the lowest clerk to the bishop of Rome, who was acknowledged the chief of the episcopal body, and the vicegerent of Christ upon earth. The English, like every other national Church, was called upon to contribute towards the support of the Roman see, and some grievances sprang out of this system. Thus the popes, in

imitation of the temporal princes, often required a *tallage* of the clergy, amounting generally to a considerable share of their annual income; the popes also often nominated Italians to English livings, and this was deemed a hardship by the clergy of England. These two causes of discontent were, after a long negotiation, removed by some concessions on both sides.

During this reign, the pope having quarrelled with the emperor Frederick, who had held Sicily, offered that territory to Henry for his son Edmund. This arrangement, however, for various causes, never took effect.

Henry inherited the antipathy of his father to the charter of Runnymede; and considered his barons as his enemies. He therefore frequently found himself in angry collision with them, especially whenever he had occasion for fresh supplies. Henry's partiality for foreign favourites was the principal cause of the discontent of the English barons. An insurrection took place in 1233, and Henry dismissed the foreigners from his counsels. The insurgents were restored to favour, and ministers appointed who possessed the confidence of the nation.

At the age of twenty-nine the king married Eleanor, the daughter of Raymond, count of Provence. This circumstance drew many foreigners to the English court, who were rapidly promoted to high offices. The natives renewed their complaints, and waited with impatience for the return of Richard, the king's brother, from Palestine; but that prince was induced to espouse the cause of the foreigners, and to marry Sanchia, another of the daughters of Raymond. Associations were formed to redress the grievances of the nation; under the decent pretext of preventing the misapplication of the revenue, a demand was repeatedly made, that the appointment of the officers of state should be vested in a great council; and at length the constitution was entirely overturned by the bold ambition of Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester.

Henry having consented that a national assembly should be held, the great council distinguished in our annals by the appellation of "the mad parliament," assembled at Oxford. The barons, to intimidate their opponents, were attended by their military tenants, and took an oath to stand faithfully by each other, and to treat "as a mortal enemy" every man who should abandon their cause. The committee of reform was appointed. In a short time the triumph of Leicester was complete. The justiciar, the

The "Mad
Parliament,"
June, 1258.

chancellor, the treasurer, all the sheriffs, and the governors of the principal castles belonging to the king, twenty in number, were removed, and their places were supplied by the chiefs of the reformers, or the most devoted of their adherents. Having thus secured to themselves the sovereign authority, and divested Henry of the power of resistance, the committee began the work of reform by ordaining : 1. That four knights should be chosen by the freeholders of each county to ascertain and lay before the parliament the trespasses, excesses, and injuries committed within the county under the royal administration ; 2. That a new high sheriff should be annually appointed for each county by the votes of the freeholders ; 3. That all sheriffs, and the treasurer, chancellor, and justiciar, should annually give in their accounts ; 4. And that parliament should meet thrice in the year, in the beginning of the months of February, June, and October.

The Provisions of Oxford.

Henry was for some years the mere shadow of a king. The acts of government, indeed, ran in his name ; but the sovereign authority was exercised without control by the lords of the council ; and obedience to the royal orders, when the king ventured to issue orders, was severely punished as a crime against the safety of the state. At length, in 1261, Henry persuaded himself that the time had arrived when he might resume his authority. He repaired to the Tower, which was fortified ; seized on the treasure in the Mint ; ordered the gates of London to be closed ; compelled all the citizens above twelve years of age to swear fealty in their respective wardmotes ; and by proclamation commanded the knights of the several counties to attend the next parliament in arms. The barons immediately assembled their retainers, and marched to the neighbourhood of the capital ; but each party, diffident of its strength, betrayed an unwillingness to begin hostilities ; and it was unanimously agreed to postpone the discussion of their differences till the return of prince Edward, who was in France, displaying his prowess at a tournament. He returned in haste, and, to the astonishment of all who were not in the secret, embraced the interests of the barons. The earls of Leicester and Gloucester, with the bishop of Worcester, summoned three knights from every county south of the Trent, to meet them at St. Albans ; but a temporary reconciliation was effected, and the king, by his writs, annulling the previous summons, ordered the same knights to repair to him at Windsor, that they might be present at his intended conference with the barons, and convince

Strained relations between Henry and the barons.

themselves of the justice and utility of his demands. Several interviews between the parties took place in London. At first the barons appeared to consent to a plan of pacification offered by the king: afterwards it was resolved to refer their differences, some to the decision of the king of France, and some to that of the king of the Romans. The earl of Leicester, however, found means to prevent the execution of the agreement; and a third meeting was held, in which the barons abandoned the greater part of the provisions, and the king confirmed such as were evidently conducive to the welfare of the realm. Leicester was still dissatisfied, and returned to France, observing that he should never trust the faith of a perjured king.

The king finding himself at liberty, was induced to visit Louis of France, and Leicester embraced the opportunity to return to England, and re-organise the association which had so lately been dissolved. With the royal banner displayed before them, the barons took Gloucester, Worcester, and Bridgenorth; ravaged without mercy the lands of the royalists, the foreigners, and the natives who refused to join their ranks; and augmenting their numbers as they advanced, directed their march towards London. In London the aldermen and principal citizens were devoted to the king; the mayor and the populace openly declared for the barons. Henry was in possession of the Tower; and prince Edward, after taking by force one thousand marks out of the Temple, hastened to throw himself into the castle of Windsor, the most magnificent palace, if we may believe a contemporary, then existing in Europe. The power of the two parties was equally balanced, and their mutual apprehensions inclined them to listen to the pacific exhortations of the bishops. It was agreed to refer every subject of dispute to the arbitration of the king of France—an expedient which had been proposed the last year by Henry, but rejected by Leicester. Louis accepted the honorable office, and summoned the parties to appear before him at Amiens. The king attended in person; Leicester, who was detained at home in consequence of a real or pretended fall from his horse, had sent his attorneys. Both parties solemnly swore to abide by the decision of the French monarch. Louis heard the allegations and arguments of each, consulted his court, and pronounced judgment in favour of Henry. The barons had already taken their resolution. The moment the decision was announced to them, they declared that it was contradictory of itself, and therefore a nullity; for it preserved in force the great charter, and

The "Mise"
of Amiens,
1263.

yet annulled the provisions which grew out of that charter; and that it had been procured by the undue influence which the queen of Louis, the sister-in-law to Henry, possessed over the mind of her husband. Hostilities immediately recommenced; and as every man of property was compelled to adhere to one of the two parties, the flames of civil war were lighted up in almost every part of the kingdom. In the north, and in Cornwall and Devon, the decided superiority of the royalists forced the friends of the barons to dissemble their real sentiments; the midland counties and the marches of Wales were pretty equally divided; but in the cinque ports, the metropolis, and the neighbouring districts, Montfort ruled without opposition.

Henry, having summoned the tenants of the crown to meet him at Oxford, unfurled his standard, and placed himself at the head of the army. His first attempts were successful. Northampton, Leicester, and Nottingham, three of the strongest fortresses in the possession of the barons, were successively reduced; and among the captives at Northampton were reckoned Simon, the eldest of Leicester's sons, fourteen other bannerets, forty knights, and a numerous body of esquires. From Nottingham, where he had been joined by Comyn, Bruce, and Baliol, the lords on the borders of Scotland, he was recalled into Kent by the danger of his nephew Henry, besieged in the castle of Rochester. At his approach, the enemy, who had taken and pillaged the city, retired with precipitation; and the king, after an ineffectual attempt to secure the co-operation of the cinque ports, fixed his head-quarters in the town of Lewes.

Leicester, having added a body of fifteen thousand citizens to his army, marched from London, with a resolution to bring the controversy to an issue. After some fruitless negotiations, a sanguinary battle was fought at Lewes, on the 14th of May, 1264, in which the royal army was defeated, and the king was taken prisoner.

Leicester was now in reality possessed of more extensive authority than Henry had ever enjoyed; but he soon discovered that to retain the object of his ambition would require the exertion of all his powers. The cause of the captive monarch was ardently espoused by foreign nations, and by the sovereign pontiff. Adventurers from every province of France crowded to the royal standard, which queen Eleanor had erected at Damme, in Flanders; and a numerous fleet assembled in the harbour, to transport to England

**Outbreak of
civil war,
1263.**

**Battle of
Lewes, 1264.
Henry taken
prisoner.**

**Simon de
Montfort's
power.**

the thousands who had sworn to humble the pride of a disloyal and aspiring subject. To oppose them, Leicester had summoned to the camp on Barham Downs, not only the king's military tenants, but the whole force of the nation; and taking on himself the command of the fleet, cruised in the narrow seas, to intercept the invaders. But the winds seemed to be leagued with the earl; the queen's army was detained for several weeks in the vicinity of Damme: and the mercenaries gradually disbanded themselves, when the short period for which they had contracted to serve was expired.

Leicester was harassed with repeated solicitations for the release of the two princes, Edward and Henry. At length, he pretended to acquiesce, and convoked a parliament to meet for the avowed purpose of giving the sanction of the legislature to so important a measure. But the partial manner in which this assembly was constituted provoked a suspicion that his real object was to consolidate and perpetuate his own power. The princes were, however, released, though on very stringent conditions.

It is generally supposed that the project of summoning to parliament the representatives of the counties, cities, and boroughs, grew out of that system of policy which Leicester had long pursued—of flattering the prejudices, and attaching to himself the affections, of the people. Nor had his efforts proved unsuccessful. Men in the higher ranks of life might penetrate behind the veil with which he sought to conceal his ambition; but by the nation at large he was considered as the reformer of abuses, the protector of the oppressed, and the saviour of his country. It cost him some years and much labour to climb to the summit of his greatness; his descent was rapid beyond the calculation of the most sanguine among his enemies. He had hitherto enjoyed the co-operation of the powerful earls of Derby and Gloucester; but if *he* was too ambitious to admit of an equal, *they* were too proud to bow to a fellow-subject; frequent altercations betrayed their secret jealousies; and the sudden arrest and imprisonment of Derby, on a charge of corresponding with the royalists, warned Gloucester of his own danger, and he unfurled the royal standard in the midst of his tenantry. Leicester immediately hastened to Hereford with the king, the prince, and a numerous body of knights. To prevent the effusion of blood their common friends intervened; a reconciliation was effected; and four umpires undertook the task of reconciling their differences. But under this appearance of friendship all was hollow

Parliament
summoned,
1265.

Imprison-
ment of
prince
Edward: his
escape.

and insincere. Leicester sought to circumvent his adversary; Gloucester waited the result of a plan for the liberation of Edward, which had been concerted through the means of Thomas de Clare, brother to the earl, and companion to the prince.

One day, after dinner, Edward obtained permission to take the air without the walls of Hereford, attended by his keepers. They rode to Widmarsh. A proposal was made to try the speed of their horses; several matches were made and run; and the afternoon was passed in a succession of amusements. A little before sunset there appeared on Tullington Hill a person riding on a grey charger, and waving his bonnet. The prince, who knew the signal, bidding adieu to the company, instantly galloped off, and succeeded in joining Gloucester, who was at Ludlow.

When Leicester received the news of Edward's escape, he conceived that the prince was gone to join the earl Warenne and William de Valence, who a few days before had landed, with one hundred and twenty knights, on the coast of Pembrokeshire. After several engagements with the friends of the king, Leicester was obliged to fly into Wales. He returned, however, to England, and fought at Evesham against prince Edward. In this battle the old king, who had been compelled to appear in the ranks, was slightly wounded, and, as he fell from his horse, would probably have been killed had he not cried out to his antagonist, "Hold, fellow, I am Harry of Winchester." The prince knew the voice of his father, sprung to his rescue, and conducted him to a place of safety. During his absence, Leicester's horse was killed under him; and, as he fought on foot, he asked "if they gave quarter." A voice replied, "There is no quarter for traitors." Henry de Montfort, his eldest son, who would not leave his side, fell at his feet. His dead body was soon covered by that of the father. The royalists obtained a complete but sanguinary victory.

By this event, the sceptre was replaced in the hands of Henry. With their leader, the hopes of the barons had been extinguished; they spontaneously set at liberty the prisoners who had been detained since the battle of Lewes, and anxiously awaited the determination of the parliament, which had been summoned to meet at Winchester. In that assembly it was enacted, that all grants and patents issued under the king's seal, during the time of his captivity, should be revoked; that the citizens of London, for their obstinacy and excesses, should forfeit their charter; that the countess of Leicester and her family should quit the kingdom;

**Battle of
Evesham,
August, 1265.**

and that the estates of all who had adhered to the late earl should be confiscated.

The news of the victory of Evesham filled the court of Rome with joy. The pope instantly wrote to the king and the prince to express his gratitude to the Almighty for so propitious an event; but at the same time earnestly exhorted them to use with moderation the licence of victory; to temper justice with mercy; to recollect that revenge was unworthy of a Christian, and that clemency was the firmest pillar of a throne. When the legate arrived, he repeated the instructions of the pontiff, and disapproved of the harsh measures adopted by the parliament at Winchester. His object was the restoration of peace; and with this view he hesitated not to employ the papal authority against one party or the other, compelling them by censures to recede from the extravagance of their demands; and by diffusing a spirit of moderation, greatly contributed to the restoration of tranquillity.

Prince Edward left England at this time for the Holy Land. He was not gone more than two years, when the king died. Repeated maladies had gradually worn out his constitution. In the spring of the year 1271, he had been in the most imminent danger, and had earnestly required by letter the return of prince Edward. On his recovery he undertook to provide for the liquidation of his debts, by appointing commissioners to receive and administer his revenue, reserving for his private use no more than one hundred and twenty pounds in the year. But the death of his brother, the murder of his nephew, and the absence of his son, added anxiety of mind to infirmity of body; his health rapidly declined, and he expired at Westminster, with the most edifying sentiments, on the 16th of November, 1272, in the fifty-seventh year of his reign.

Gentle and credulous, warm in his attachments, and forgiving in his enmities, without vices, but also without energy, Henry was a good man, and a weak monarch. In a more peaceful age, when the empire of the laws had been strengthened by habits of obedience, he might have filled the throne with decency, perhaps with honour; but his lot cast him into one of the most turbulent periods of our history, without the talents to command respect or the authority to enforce submission. Yet his incapacity was productive rather of inconvenience to himself than of misery to his subjects. Under his weak but pacific sway, the nation grew more rapidly in wealth and prosperity than it had done under any of his military progenitors. Out of the fifty-six years through which

Death of
Henry,
November,
1272.

Henry's
character.

his reign extended, but a very small portion was marked by the calamities of war; the tenants of the crown were seldom dragged by him into foreign countries, or impoverished by taxes for the support of mercenary armies; the proprietors, deprived of two sources of wealth, the plunder of an enemy, and the ransom of captives, turned their attention to the improvement of their estates; salutary enactments invigorated the spirit of commerce; and there scarcely existed a port from the coast of Norway to the shores of Italy, that was not annually visited by English merchants.

Of Henry's children, the greater part died in their childhood. Two sons and two daughters survived him. Edward, the eldest, had married Eleanor, the daughter of Ferdinand, king of Castile, and enjoyed during the life of his father a yearly income of fifteen thousand marks. Edmund had obtained, by the forfeiture of the Montforts, the numerous estates, with the honours of that family, and thus laid the foundation of the power which enabled his descendants of the house of Lancaster to wrest the sceptre from the hands of Richard II., and retain it to the prejudice of the rightful heir. The daughters were Margaret, queen of Scotland, and Beatrix, duchess of Bretagne.

A few miscellaneous but interesting particulars which regard the legislature, the laws, the police, and the Church of England, at this period, may be here noticed.

Most modern writers have agreed to pronounce the assembly convened by Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, in 1265, not as a repetition of an ancient and accustomed form, but as a new experiment devised for the purpose of extending his own influence and procuring support to his projects. The main idea was not new, but it displayed novel developments. All the great councils under the first Norman kings appear to have been constituted on feudal principles; hence all who held in barony were summoned to the great councils. But a line of distinction was soon drawn between the greater barons, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the lesser barons, the inferior tenants-in-chief. It must thus have been difficult for the sovereign to become acquainted with the real state of the country, from the interested reports either of his barons or his ministers. If, then, he wished to ascertain the real state of the case at any given time, he was accustomed to authorise a commission of knights in each shire to make enquiries on oath, and to lay the result of their labours before him, either in council or parliament. Such knights were not members of parliament, but it shows that the election or appointment of knights of the shire to

**Germens of
parliament-
ary repre-
sentation.**

transact the business of the county was a custom of ancient standing. It required but an additional step to introduce them into the great council as the representatives of their electors, vested with the power of granting money, and of petitioning for the redress of grievances. It cannot, therefore, be thought rash to assert that the election belonged formerly, as it did in after ages, to the freeholders at large, whether they held of the king, or of a mesne lord, or by military, or any other free service. While knights were thus summoned to council from time to time before 1265, there exists no vestige of a summons directing the return of citizens and burgesses, prior to the administration of Leicester. Formerly, whenever the king obtained an aid from his tenants-in-chief, he imposed a tallage on the boroughs which, during the lapse of two centuries, had silently grown out of their original insignificance, and had begun to command attention from their constant increase in wealth and population. They frequently offered in place of the tallage a considerable sum, under the name of a gift, assessed by themselves. This was really possessing the liberty of taxing themselves; and when custom became settled, it was obviously more convenient that this privilege should be exercised by deputies gathered together, instead of being entrusted to the discordant judgment of so many separate communities; hence before the close of Edward I.'s reign, the representatives of the cities and boroughs were regularly called to parliament, as well as those of the counties.

Originally, the obligation of attending at the great councils was confined to those ecclesiastics who held their land by barony; the rest enjoyed the advantage of possessing their incomes free from the exactions to which the feudal tenants were subject. It was not long, however, before the rapacity of the crown surmounted the difficulties raised against the attempted invasion of this valuable immunity. John called all the abbots and priors to parliament in 1206, and obtained from them a grant of a thirteenth; and then wrote to the archdeacons and clergy of each diocese, exhorting them to imitate so laudable an example. Henry III. followed in his father's footsteps; and at one time commissioned the bishops to collect a voluntary contribution from the clergy; at another, abbots and priors were summoned to parliament to vote him a subsidy; then writs were issued, not only to them, but also to the deans and archdeacons, to attend furnished with letters of procuration from those they represented. But as grants were made to the pope in the clergy convocations, it began to be seen that the wants of the

Representa-
tion of the
clergy.

crown could be relieved in the same manner. Of the two methods, the clergy preferred making their contribution in convocation, because attendance in parliament was deemed a burthen rather than an honour; and in convocation they enjoyed greater freedom of debate. Provided they granted their money, it was of little consequence whether they met in convocation or in parliament; and gradually the crown condescended to their wishes. Hence the body of the clergy came to cease to have any representation in parliament.

Early in Henry III.'s reign the very ancient but indefensible custom of having recourse to trial by ordeal was abolished, probably through the influence of the legate Gualo, as the popes had always condemned it as an unwarrantable appeal to the judgment of the Almighty. Its abolition contributed greatly to establish that invaluable institution, the trial by jury.

In his thirty-sixth year, Henry published regulations for the preservation of the peace which deserve notice. He renewed and improved the assize of arms; the different classes were modelled anew; and every man between the ages of fifteen and sixty was ranked according to his annual income. All these were sworn to provide themselves with the arms proper to their class, and were bound when required to join the hue and cry in the pursuit of offenders. Watch was ordered to be kept from sunset to sunrise in villages and boroughs. If any stranger attempted to enter or depart after the watch was set, he was instantly arrested and confined for examination till the next morning. The period of stay for travellers was legislated for; and merchants and their goods were to be guarded from place to place under penalty to be exacted of the local officials of making good any loss incurred by robbery, as a result of any breach of their duty.

The Church of England during this period was adorned by the virtues and abilities of several among its prelates, three of whom may justly claim particular mention.

Great churchmen of the reign. Stephen Langton's zeal in the cause of freedom, his suspension from the archiepiscopal office, and his compulsory visit to the court of Rome have been already referred to. As soon as Henry was firmly fixed on the throne, Langton received permission to resume the government of his diocese. From that period he chiefly confined his attention to ecclesiastical concerns; but he still continued to behold the two charters with the attachment of a parent,

and at the call of the barons, readily placed himself again at their head to demand from Henry the confirmation of their liberties. He died in 1228. His writings have perished : he is said to have divided the Bible into chapters, an improvement which was universally adopted and is still retained.

A second of the successors of Langton was a prelate universally acknowledged to be equal in learning, superior in piety, to most men of the age. He studied and taught in the university of Paris ; returned to England to deliver lectures at Oxford, became successively prebendary and treasurer of Sarum, and, finally, archbishop of Canterbury in 1234. The gentleness of his temper had not fitted him for the stern occupation of a reformer of abuses, and yet his conscience would not suffer him to acquiesce in the disorders of the age. Many disapproved of his zeal and of his methods ; and the monks of his own church, the ministers of the crown, and the pontiffs themselves, often opposed, occasionally defeated, his well-meant but frequently indiscreet endeavours. For several years he struggled against these difficulties ; at length he sank under them, and voluntarily exiled himself from England, living at Pontigny in France, and in 1240 died at Soissey. Within six years after his death he was canonised.

St. Edmund
Rich.

Robert Grosseteste was a renowned lecturer at Oxford, who was promoted from a prebendal stall to the episcopal throne in the church of Lincoln. He was a stern and unbending corrector of abuses, and invariably refused institution to every pluralist, or to clergymen employed in courts of judicature or the collection of revenue, and to all who were unwilling or unable to reside on their benefices. No complaints, nor threats, nor harassing lawsuits could move the resolution of Grosseteste. On the occasion of two journeys to the court of Rome, he was not only treated with respect by Innocent IV., but the principal of his demands were granted. In his transactions with the papal court, Grosseteste exhibited an equal inflexibility of character. No man, indeed, ever professed a more profound veneration for the successors of St. Peter, or entertained more exalted notions of their prerogatives ; and he inculcated with unusual vehemence the doctrine of what has since been termed the *indirect* superiority of the spiritual over the temporal power. Yet with these sentiments as to the nature, he would often dispute the exercise of their authority. Neither pope nor legate could prevail upon him to give institution to foreign clergymen presented to benefices in his diocese. When the nuncio sent him a

Robert
Grosseteste.

provision whereby a nephew of Innocent IV. was promoted to a prebend in the church of Lincoln, Grosseteste replied in language singularly energetic, that the provision was contrary to the good of the church and the welfare of souls; that he would not consider it as emanating from the pontiff; and that he should never deem it his duty to carry it into execution. This answer, bold as it may appear, was only in accord with the doctrine which he had formerly maintained in the presence of Innocent himself; and so far was it from exciting passion or resentment in the breast of the pontiff that, as soon as he received it from his agent, he wrote a letter in exculpation of his conduct, and proposed a remedy for the abuse of provisions. After spending eight-and-twenty years in the administration and improvement of his diocese, Grosseteste died in 1253; his death was lamented as a public loss: his virtues were embalmed in the recollection of posterity.

CHAPTER XI

EDWARD I. 1272-1307

EDWARD was in the East when his father died. His own followers did not amount to one thousand men; yet there was a magic in the name of a prince whose blood was derived from the same source with that of the "lion-hearted Richard;" and both Christians and infidels expected that he would equal the fame of that hero. But though he remained eighteen months at Acre, an expedition to Nazareth, the capture of two small castles, and the surprise of a caravan, comprehend the whole history of his military labours. Instead of the laurels of a conqueror, accident invested him with the glory of a martyr. One day, while reposing in his tent, a messenger from the emir of Joppa entered, and aimed a desperate blow at the heart of the prince, who received it on his arm, grappled with him, and throwing him on the ground, despatched him with his own weapon. Still, however, the danger was great; the dagger had been dipped in poison; several wounds had been received in the struggle, and Edward, aware of the probable consequences, hastened to prepare and sign his will. Fortunately every dangerous symptom was removed by the skill of an English surgeon, who pared away the sides of the wounds; and in a few weeks the king, through the attentions of an affectionate wife, and the aid of a vigorous constitution, was restored to perfect health.

The conclusion of a truce with the sultan, for ten years, gave a long respite to the Christians of Acre, and allowed the prince an opportunity of returning to Europe with honour. As he travelled through Sicily and Calabria, he received the first news of his father's death. His journey through Italy was a triumphal procession; he was considered as the champion of Christendom, the martyr of the cross. He proceeded to Paris, and did homage to Philip for the lands which "he held by right of the crown of France." From Paris it was expected that he would hasten to England; but he was called back to Guienne

Edward in
the Holy
Land.

Edward
returns to
England, and
is crowned
at West-
minster, 1274.

by the distracted state of that province, and detained there till the following year. He came to England in August, 1274, and was crowned at Westminster with his consort. Almost two years had elapsed from Henry's death, and yet the kingdom had remained tranquil.

Edward's first contest was with Wales. Prince Llewellyn aspired to the honour of asserting the independence of his country, and had resolved not to acknowledge a superior, unless he were compelled by the fortune of arms. At first, the English prelates and barons interceded in his favour; his excuses and delays exhausted their patience; they pronounced him a rebel, and granted supplies towards the expenses of the war. Edward's

**Conquest of
Wales
begun, 1275.**

military tenants assembled in the counties of Shropshire and Cheshire; at midsummer he crossed the Dee, advanced along the coast, took and fortified the two castles of Flint and Rhuddlan, obtained possession of Anglesea, and with his fleet cut off the communication between Snowdon and the sea. Llewellyn, confined to barren mountains and forests, soon felt the privations of famine; and in a few weeks was compelled to throw himself without reserve on the mercy of his adversary.

Edward made peace on stringent conditions, but did not insist on their performance. In the opinion of Edward, the subjugation of Wales was now accomplished. He flattered himself that what he had begun by force, he had completed by kindness. But he had formed a false estimate of the Welsh character at that period. Hatred of the English had been bequeathed to the natives as a sacred legacy, by their fathers, through many generations; nor was there an individual, from the prince to the peasant, who was not ready at any time to draw the sword for the independence of his country.

On Palm Sunday, 1282, David, brother of Llewellyn, surprised the strong castle of Hawarden. This was the signal of a

**Completed
1282.**

general insurrection. Llewellyn immediately joined his brother, and besieged the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan; the different chieftains assembled their families and dependants; and the Welsh poured from their mountains into the marches, laid the country waste with fire and sword, and inflicted every calamity on the inhabitants. The Welsh had added artificial to the natural defences of their mountains; the king either could not or would not attempt to force their position. He reduced Anglesea; but the advantage was balanced by a severe disaster. A bridge of boats had been

hastily thrown across the Menai, and a numerous force passed from the island to discover the position of the enemy. As they incautiously ascended the hill, a party of Welshmen suddenly started from a place of concealment. Their appearance and shouts intimidated the English, who fled in confusion to the beach; but the tide had divided the bridge, and the fugitives poured in such numbers into the boats that they sank, and almost the whole party was lost.

Llewellyn refused the terms which Edward offered, and trusted to the severity of the winter for the dissolution of the invading army. Edward had ordered a strong force to assemble in the vicinity of Carmarthen; and Llewellyn, leaving the defence of Snowdon to his brother, hastened to Bluit, in Radnorshire. The English, under Edmund Mortimer and John Giffard, appeared on the left bank of the Wye. They defeated the Welsh in a battle, and Llewellyn was slain in a barn.

The independence of Wales expired with Llewellyn. As soon as his death was known, the other chieftains hastened to make their submission, and were received with kindness by the policy of Edward. David alone held back. He was soon, however, taken prisoner by Edward, who caused him to be tried and executed.

Edward spent more than a year in Wales, or near the borders, that he might secure the permanency of his conquest. To allure the Welsh from the roving manner of life to which they had been accustomed, he established corporate bodies of merchants in the principal towns; and to restrain their habits of violence and bloodshed, introduced the jurisprudence of the English courts, divided the country into shires and hundreds, and issued new forms of writs, adapted to the Welsh manners and tenures. During the king's stay in the country, Eleanor, his queen, was delivered of her son Edward, in the castle of Carnarvon. The natives claimed the child as their countryman; and when he was afterwards declared prince of Wales, joyfully hailed the event, as if it had proclaimed the restoration of their independence. The title "Prince of Wales" has since been always conferred on the eldest son of the sovereign of England.

Edward's
government
of Wales.

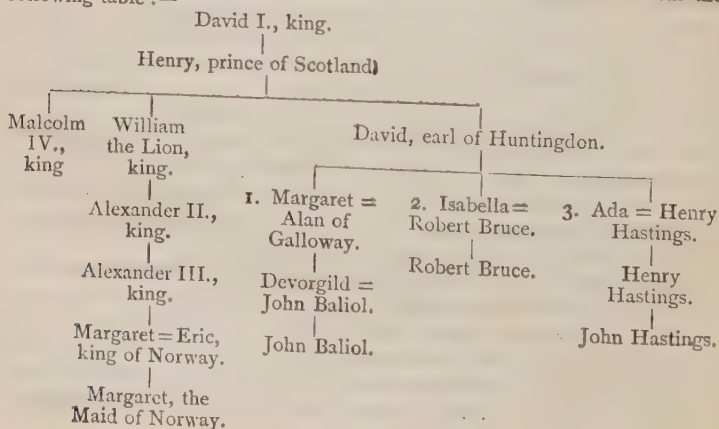
First Prince
of Wales.

From the final pacification of Wales to the commencement of the troubles in Scotland, elapsed an interval of four years, one of which was spent by Edward in England, in legislating for his own subjects, the rest on the continent in the difficult but honourable office of arbitrator between the kings of France, Arragon, and Sicily. While Edward was thus employed in the concerns of

foreign states, the people of England complained that he neglected the interests of his own kingdom. The refusal of a supply by the parliament admonished him to return; and he soon found in the unfortunate situation of Scotland an ample field for the exercise of his policy and ambition. His sister Margaret had been dead fifteen years, and her daughter Margaret alone of the Scottish royal family survived. Edward saw, and resolved not to forfeit, the opportunity. He had it now in his power to unite the English and Scottish crowns on the head of his own son, by marrying him to the infant queen, whose death, however, soon put an end to the negotiations which were entered on.

By the demise of Margaret, the posterity of the three last kings of Scotland had become extinct; and no fewer than thirteen claimants appeared, who, with one exception, founded their pretensions to the crown on their descent from the royal family. The true heir, however, was to be sought among the descendants of David, earl of Huntingdon, the brother of king William. From Margaret, the eldest of his daughters, was sprung John Baliol; from Isabella, the second, Robert Bruce, and from Ada, the third, John Hastings. The point, therefore, to be decided was, whether the crown belonged of right to Baliol, the representative of the elder daughter, though more remote by one degree, or to Bruce, the representative of the second daughter, because he was nearer by one degree.* The conflicting claims of Bruce and Baliol split

* The claims of the chief competitors will be best understood from the following table:—



the whole nation into two factions. The decision was referred by common consent to the judgment and impartiality of Edward. Edward accepted the office, not as arbitrator selected by the parties, but as lord paramount, whose duty and right it was to administer justice in disputes between his vassals. He had already announced his pretensions to the prelates, barons, and commonalty of Scotland, and summoned them to meet him at Norham, on the borders of the two kingdoms. After much delay, the decision was unanimously in favour of Baliol, and that prince swore fealty to Edward.

Edward arbitrates as lord paramount, 1292.

Baliol, to obtain a crown, had consented to wear it as a vassal. He soon felt the consequences of vassalage, and was taught by a succession of petty indignities to regret the more humble station from which he had risen. Every suitor in his courts, who was dissatisfied with the decision of the king, could appeal to the equity of his superior lord. The only appeal which could give uneasiness to the new king was brought by Macduff, the son of Malcolm, earl of Fife. During the Scottish interregnum, the regents, by the command of the king of England, had heard his claim, and adjudged to him the possession of certain lands. Baliol, however, by the advice of his council, and on the ground that these estates ought to remain in the hands of the king during the minority of another claimant, cast Macduff into prison. Macduff appealed to the equity of their common lord; and Baliol was summoned to answer his complaint in the king's court, in Trinity term. Baliol attended, and as soon as the complaint of Macduff had been read, arose, disclaimed all intended contempt of Edward, and maintained that he was not bound to answer the appellant. The court decided against him, and Macduff prayed judgment in his own favour. Edward observed to Baliol that he had sworn fealty. The king of Scots replied, that it was a matter which regarded the rights of his crown, and in which he did not dare to answer without the advice of the good men of his realm. Edward now required the advice of the prelates, lords, and judges forming his council, by whom it was resolved, that Baliol had offered no defence; that the king of Scots by refusing to answer had committed a manifest contempt and disobedience; and that until he made satisfaction for such contempt and disobedience, three of his castles in Scotland, with their royalties, should be sequestrated in the king's hands. But before this judgment was pronounced,

Baliol swears fealty.

Appeals made from Baliol to Edward.

Baliol obtained an adjournment till the following Easter. Baliol continued to obtain adjournment after adjournment, till the war ensued, which deprived him of his kingdom.

While Edward thus exercised his newly acquired superiority over his vassal, the king of Scots, he was doomed to experience, as duke of Aquitaine, similar mortifications from the superior jurisdiction of his lord, the king of France. The pretended offence, for which that monarch deprived him of Gascony, grew out of a private dispute between some sailors on the French coast. The mariners of each country took part in the quarrel, and the seas were covered with hostile squadrons, which without any commission from their sovereigns, made war on each other, and under the influence of passion, perpetrated outrages unknown to legitimate hostility. A Norman fleet, amounting to more than two hundred sail of all descriptions, after riding for some time triumphant in the Channel, pillaged the coast of Gascony, and returned with their plunder to St. Mahé, a port in Bretagne. Here they were discovered by the mariners at Portsmouth and the cinque ports, who had collected eighty stout ships, well manned, and prepared for battle. A challenge was given and accepted. The English captured every ship of the enemy, and, as no quarter was given, the majority of the crews perished in the ocean.

This defeat, so murderous and disgraceful, provoked the resentment of Philip. From the king of England he could only demand redress; from the duke of Aquitaine he could exact it. A peremptory summons was issued, ordering Edward to appear, and answer for these offences and contempts against his sovereign. The king, who saw the real object of Philip, endeavoured to appease his resentment. Philip said that his sole object was to guard his honour; and a promise was given that, if Gascony were surrendered to him during forty days, it should, at the expiration of that period, be faithfully restored. The citation against Edward was withdrawn, and possession was given of Gascony to the French king. At the expiration of forty days, Philip was reminded of his engagement, but he gave a positive refusal. Edward prepared to enforce his right at the head of a powerful army. But the elements seemed to have conspired with his own subjects to frustrate his design. For seven weeks he was detained at Portsmouth by contrary winds; and the Welsh, who believed him to have sailed, rose in every part of the principality.

Quarrel with France.

Edward, as duke of Aquitaine, cited before Philip, 1294.

Rebellion in Wales, 1294-1295.

A second time the conquest of Wales was achieved. Edward condemned the chieftains who had joined in the rebellion to close confinement in separate castles; their estates he gave to their heirs, but with a threat, that if they should imitate the perfidy of their fathers, they must expect a more severe punishment. The admonition was remembered; and from that period the Welsh began to attend to the cultivation of the soil, the profits of commerce, and the arts of peace.

When Edward returned to his capital, he prepared to recover his transmarine dominions; again he was recalled to oppose his adversaries within the island. The Scottish barons longed to assert the independence of their country, but, warned by the fate of the Welsh insurgents, sought to fortify their efforts with the aid of the French monarch. The timid mind of Baliol wavered; he calculated the power of Edward, and trembled at the consequences of a failure. At last, he yielded, and an alliance, offensive and defensive, was hastily concluded with France. Edward cited the king of Scots before his court, to be held at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in the beginning of March, 1296. Had Baliol obeyed the summons, he would have found himself in the midst of an army of forty thousand men; but his barons were careful to keep him secluded in the Highlands, and made the most active preparations for the invasion of England. The English army invested Berwick; the next day it was carried by assault, and seven thousand men perished in the massacre. For this loss the Scots consoled themselves with the destruction of Corbridge and Hexham, and Baliol sent to the English monarch a formal renunciation of homage. Scotland was soon subdued, and Baliol met the deputies of his conqueror, and expressed his sorrow for his alliance with the French king, and for his rebellion against his liege lord. But this did not remove the resolution of the king of England. Baliol had refused to hold Scotland of Edward, he was therefore deemed unworthy to recover it, and was compelled to sign at Kincardine an instrument, in which he acknowledged the right of Edward to enter into possession of Scotland. Edward appointed the tower of London for his residence, and granted to him the full liberty of a circle of twenty miles round the walls of the city. Baliol soon retired to France, by Edward's permission, and died in 1305.

At this period Scotland owed little to the exertions of her nobles. It was an individual hitherto unknown, the youngest

War with
Scotland,
1296.

Alliance of
France and
Scotland.

Baliol
deposed.

son of a country gentleman, who kindled and nourished the flame of Scottish patriotism. William Wallace was born in the neighbourhood of Paisley. He had committed murder; he fled from the pursuit of justice to the woods; and there was joined by men of similar fortunes. There was another leader of outlaws, sir William Douglas, who had been made prisoner at

**William
Wallace
heads rising
of the Scots,
1297.**

Berwick, and had received both liberty and a grant of his property, from the generosity of Edward. He joined with Wallace in an attempt to surprise at Scone the chief justiciar, Ormsby, who lost his treasures but saved himself by flight. Animated by their example, other independent chieftains arose in different counties, and assaulted the English. The steward of Scotland and the bishop of Glasgow determined to collect these parties into one body, and invited the different leaders to rally round them. The summons was obeyed by Wallace and Douglas, by sir Alexander Lindsay, sir Andrew Moray, and sir Richard Lundy. The younger Bruce, earl of Carrick, was solicited to support their cause. He knew not how to decide, but at last hastened with his retainers to the camp of the patriots.

Edward had now undertaken the recovery of Guienne; nor could he be diverted from his object by the danger of losing Scotland. He cherished the hope that his deputy might be able to put down the insurgents. Two armies were formed, one on the eastern, the other on the western coast. The latter, under Henry lord Percy and sir Robert Clifford, discovered the Scots near Irvine, on the right bank of the river. But the ardour of the patriots had been chilled by the dissensions of their chieftains, and they all abandoned the cause except Wallace and Moray.

The king's general, Warenne, with a numerous army, reached the town of Stirling. Wallace and Moray assembled all their forces behind the hills in the neighbourhood of Cambuskenneth. Warenne ordered the English to cross the Forth by a bridge, which was so narrow that no more than two armed men could march over it at the same time. Wallace at a distance watched their movements; and as soon as he saw about five thousand horse and foot on the left bank of the river, ordered his followers to pour down from the heights. All who had crossed, with very few exceptions, fell by the sword, or perished in the river. Warenne withdrew as speedily as possible into England. Wallace and Moray now styled themselves "the generals of John king of

**Defeat of the
English at
the battle of
Stirling,
1297.**

Scotland ; " they crossed the borders and ravaged the open country in Northumberland and Cumberland.

From this period we lose sight of Moray. His associate, Wallace, appears alone on the scene as "the guardian of the kingdom, and general of the armies of Scotland," under which title he summoned a parliament to meet at Perth. But he had now reached the meridian of his greatness—and his fall was even more rapid than his rise. As long as the attention of the king was directed to the recovery of his transmarine dominions, Wallace had triumphed. But Edward, as soon as he was freed from all danger on the part of the French monarch, landed at Sandwich, met his parliament at York, and repaired to Roxburgh, where he found himself at the head of eight thousand horse, and eighty thousand foot, principally Irish and Welsh. Wallace with his Scots lay in the forest of Falkirk ; here he engaged Edward's army, and was defeated. From twenty to forty thousand Scots are said to have perished. Wallace himself escaped. But his sun had now set for ever—he hastened to resign his office of guardian, and spent the rest of his life a wanderer in the forests.

**Battle of
Falkirk,
1298.**

After his victory, Edward traversed Scotland in different directions ; but the impossibility of procuring provisions for his army compelled him to return to England. William Lamberton, bishop of St. Andrew's, Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, and John Comyn the younger, were appointed a council of regency to govern in the name of Baliol. The regents despatched envoys to Rome, who interested the pope in their favour. They referred their quarrel with the king of England to his decision. The pontiff interfered, and a letter was written to Edward, in which the former expressed his hope that the king, desisting from an unjust aggression, would set at liberty the bishops, clergy, and natives of Scotland, whom he held in captivity. He concluded by reserving to his own decision every controversy pending between England and Scotland.

**The pope's
claim to
arbitrate
between
England and
Scotland
rejected.**

Edward refused to acknowledge the pope as a judge, but was willing to explain his right to him as a friend. A long letter was written, in which he enumerated every instance which he could collect, of homage done by the kings of Scotland to the Saxon or Norman princes ; and contended, in a tone of triumph, that these formed a satisfactory justification of his conduct.

At this period, the pope had a dispute pending with Philip of France ; and, during the progress of this quarrel, each was anxious

to obtain and preserve the friendship of Edward: the pontiff therefore ceased to interfere in the contest between England and Scotland.

In the following year, 1303, hostilities were resumed. Edward passed the borders at the head of an army, with which it would have been folly for the Scottish patriots to contend. The Scots hastened to make their peace; and after some consultation, a very comprehensive treaty was concluded between Edward and Comyn, the Scottish guardian. All the Scotch accepted the conditions of peace, except Wallace, who preferred the life of an outlaw, his original profession, and endeavoured to elude the vigilance of his enemies among his native forests and mountains; and sir William Oliphant, who defended Stirling for ninety days, when he at last surrendered to Edward. The successful siege of Stirling completed the reduction of Scotland. Wallace was soon the prisoner of the English monarch. He was surprised, it is said, in his bed, by sir John Menteith, and in a few days he stood at the bar in Westminster Hall, with a wreath of laurel round his brow, in derision of a prediction attributed to him, that he would one day be crowned at Westminster. The king had already appointed a commission of five justices, not to preside at the trial, but to pronounce judgment after a certain form which had been sent to them. Wallace was sentenced and led to execution on the 23rd August, 1305.

The countrymen of Wallace revered him as the proto-martyr of their independence; his blood animated them to vengeance; the huts and glens, the forests and mountains which he had frequented, became consecrated in their eyes; and as the remembrance of his real exploits gradually faded, the aid of fiction was employed to embellish and eternize the character of the hero. If we may believe the Scottish writers, who lived a century or two after his death, he was gigantic in stature, powerful of limb, and patient of fatigue beyond his contemporaries. He knew no passion but the love of his country. His soul was superior to bribery or insult; and at the call of liberty he was, as ready to serve in the ranks as to assume the command of the army. His courage possessed a talismanic power, which led his followers to attempt and execute the most hazardous enterprises; and which on Stainmore compelled the king and army of England to flee from his presence, even before they entered upon action. Under so brave and accomplished a leader, Scotland might have been saved. She was

lost through the jealousy of her nobles, who chose to crouch in chains to a foreign despot rather than owe their deliverance to a man of inferior family! Of all this a part may perhaps be true, but much is contradicted by history.

To settle the government of his late acquisition, Edward summoned a Scottish parliament at Perth, in which ten commissioners were chosen to confer with the king in person at London. The result of their deliberation was, that John de Bretagne, Edward's nephew, should be appointed guardian of the realm, with the aid of the present chamberlain and chancellor, both Englishmen; and that for the better administration of justice, Scotland should be divided into four districts.

Having carried our narrative so far respecting Scotland, we must now go back a little in time, to consider some other portions of Edward's reign. To support the expense of his various wars, Edward had recourse to a system of **Edward's oppressive taxation.** At last preparations were made by the people for resistance to his exactions.

Edward had, in 1297, assembled two bodies of troops, with one of which he intended to sail to Flanders, the other he destined to reinforce the army in Guienne. At Salisbury he gave the command of the latter to Bohun earl of Hereford, the constable, and to Bigod earl of Norfolk, the marshal of England; but both of these noblemen refused the appointment, on the alleged ground, that by their office they were bound only to attend on the king's person. Edward, in a paroxysm of rage, addressing himself to the marshal, exclaimed, with an oath: "Sir earl, you shall either go or hang." "Sir king," replied Bigod, also with an oath, "I will neither go nor hang." Hereford and Norfolk immediately departed, and arranged a plan of resistance to the royal exactions. Edward appointed a new constable and marshal; and, to divide and weaken his opponents, sought to appease the clergy, and to move the commiseration of the people. He received the primate with kindness, ordered the restoration of his lands, which had been confiscated, and named him one of the council to prince Edward, whom he had appointed regent. On a platform before the entrance of Westminster Hall, accompanied by his son, the archbishop, and the earl of Warwick, he harangued the people. He owned that the burdens which he had laid on them, were heavy; but protested that it had not been less painful to him to impose than it had been to others to bear them. "Behold," he concluded, "I am going to expose myself to danger for you. If I return, receive me again, and I will make you

amends; if I fall, here is my son; place him on the throne, and his gratitude shall reward your fidelity." At these words the king burst into tears; the archbishop was equally affected; the contagion ran through the multitude; and shouts of loyalty and approbation persuaded Edward that he might still depend on the allegiance of his people. This exhibition was followed by writs to the sheriffs, ordering them to protect the clergy from injury, and to maintain them in the possession of their lands.

He now ventured to proceed as far as Winchelsea on his way to Flanders. Here a paper was put into his hands, purporting to be a national remonstrance. It complained that the last royal summons had called on the people to accompany the king to Flanders, a country in which they were not bound to serve; that even if they were, they had been so impoverished by taxation as to be unable to bear the expense; and that to undertake an expedition to Flanders in the existing circumstances, was imprudent, since it would expose the kingdom without protection to the inroads of the Welsh and Scots. Edward replied, that he could return no answer on matters of such high importance without the advice of his council, a part of which had already sailed for Flanders.

At length the king sailed, accompanied by the barons and knights who had espoused his cause; and, two days later, Bohun and Bigod with a numerous retinue proceeded to the Exchequer. The constable, in presence of the treasurer and judges, complained of the king's extortions, and forbade them, in the name of the baronage of England, to levy the last tax which had been granted by the great council. From the Exchequer they rode to the Guildhall, where they called upon the citizens to join in the common cause. The citizens gave assurance of their co-operation to the barons, who immediately retired to their respective counties.

The king was soon informed of these proceedings, and ordered the barons of the Exchequer to disregard the prohibition. But in a few weeks his obstinacy was subdued by a succession of untoward events. The people and clergy universally favoured the cause of the earls; the Scots, after their victory at Stirling, had burst into the northern counties; and Edward himself lay at Ghent in Flanders, unable to return to the protection of the kingdom, and too weak to face the superior force of the French king. In these circumstances, the lords who composed the council of the young prince summoned a parliament. In the conferences which followed, several very valuable additions were

**Resistance
to the royal
extortions.**

made to the national charters. The most important of these was one by which the crown relinquished the claim of levying taxes without the consent of the nation. In return, an aid in money was granted both from the clergy and laity, and a common letter was written to the king, assuring him that his faithful barons were ready at his word to join him in Flanders, or to march against his enemies in Scotland ; but requiring at the same time, and in a tone of defiance, his ratification of the acts done by his son against the sixth day of December. With a reluctant hand, Edward signed the confirmation of the two charters with the additional articles, and a separate pardon for the earls and their followers.

Charter
relinquishing
tax levying
without con-
sent of the
nation, 1298.

As soon as an armistice had been concluded between him and the king of France, Edward returned to England. When he met his parliament at York, the earls of Hereford and Norfolk required that he should ratify his confirmation of the charters. He stated as an objection, the necessity of hastening to oppose the Scots, solemnly promised to comply with their request on his return, and brought forward the bishop of Durham and three earls, who swore "on his soul" that he should fulfil his engagements. The victory of Falkirk and a long series of successes gave a lustre to his arms ; still, when the parliament assembled the next year, he was reminded of his promise ; and at last he ratified his former concessions, but with the addition of a clause, which, by saving the rights of the crown, virtually annulled every provision in favour of the subject. Bohun and Bigod instantly departed with their adherents ; and the king, to ascertain the sentiments of the people, ordered the sheriffs to assemble the citizens in the cemetery of St. Paul's, and to read to them the new confirmation of the charters. The reading of the document was repeatedly interrupted by shouts of approbation ; but when the illusory clause was recited, the air rang with expressions of discontent, and curses were poured on the head of the prince, who had thus disappointed the expectations of his people. Edward took the alarm ; summoned a new parliament to meet him in three weeks, and granted every demand. He afterwards, however, sent deputies to the pope to ask the pontiff to annul the concessions which he had made. The pope declared all such concessions invalid ; but this declaration proceeded on the supposition that the concessions were contrary to the rights of the crown, and was accompanied with a clause saving to the king's subjects the rights of which they were previously in possession. Whether it were that with these

limitations the papal rescript did not fully meet the king's wishes, or that he was intimidated by the rebellion of the Scots, he made no public use of its contents ; but suffered the concessions, galling as they were, to remain on the statute-roll at his death, and to descend to future sovereigns as the recognized law of the land. Thus, after a long struggle, was won from an able and powerful monarch the most valuable of the privileges enjoyed by the commons of England at the present day. If we are indebted to the patriotism of cardinal Langton, and the barons at Runnymede, the framers of the great charter, we ought equally to revere the memory of archbishop Winchelsea, and the earls of Hereford and Norfolk. The former erected barriers against the abuse of the sovereign authority ; the latter fixed the liberties of the subject on a sure and permanent foundation.

But if the king met with opposition in his attempts to plunder his own people, he plundered and oppressed the Jews with impunity ; for he always professed himself their enemy and persecutor. They were forbidden to erect synagogues, were forced to wear distinctive dress, were subjected to an annual capitation tax. They were coin-clippers : two hundred and eighty of them were hanged for this offence in London alone ; their sufferings did not end here ; on an appointed day in 1287 all the Jews in England were arrested and thrown into prison, and in 1290 the whole race was banished the kingdom.

Notwithstanding the instances of oppression which we have mentioned, Edward has obtained the name of the English Justinian, from the improvements which were made during his reign in the national code and the administration of justice ; improvements for which his people were perhaps as much indebted to his necessities as his wisdom ; since they were always granted at the request of his parliament, and purchased with the vote of a valuable aid.

That the courts of king's bench, exchequer, and common pleas, might not encroach on each other, the limits of their respective jurisdictions were accurately defined. The institution of itinerary judges was retained ; and for the more prompt administration of justice, it was enacted that two of the number, aided by one or more discreet knights, should hold assizes in each county thrice in the year. For the preservation of the peace was enacted the celebrated statute of Winchester, which revived the ancient custom of

Edward and
the Jews.

Edward
improves the
national code
of laws.

Statute of
Winchester.

statute of

requiring sureties from strangers and lodgers ; established the watch and ward from sunset to sunrise in all cities and boroughs ; regulated the hue and cry ; and ordered all hedges and underwood to be cleared away to the distance of two hundred feet on each side of the high roads leading from town to town, that they might not afford shelter to robbers.

During Edward's reign several alterations were made in the laws respecting the transmission or alienation of real property, which are wholly or partially in force at the present day. Originally, lands were given to a man and the heirs of his body, in failure of which heirs they were to return to the donor. A custom of alienation at the will of the holder had crept in : a law was enacted, taking from the feoffee the power of disposing of his lands, and ordained a return to the original practice. The object of this statute was to secure the transmission of estates through the different generations of the same family, by depriving the actual possessor of the power of alienation.

**Creation of
estates
entail.**

Statutes were also enacted to prevent corporate bodies, ecclesiastical or secular, from acquiring lands in mortmain. For as such bodies cannot die, the immediate lords of those lands were deprived of the feudal profits which they derived from the decease of individual proprietors.

**Statutes of
mortmain.**

To remedy the inconvenience, bodies corporate had long been incapacitated from acquiring lands without the previous consent of the mesne lord, and the king ; but they had found means to evade the prohibition. In 1279, a statute was passed, by which all alienations in mortmain, by whatever pretext they might be effected, were forbidden under pain of forfeiture. But an expedient was soon discovered by which the provisions of the statute were eluded ; and in 1285, a new statute was passed, by which all such cases were sent to a jury, and wherever fraud was discovered, the land was forfeited to the immediate lord. Still the ingenuity of the clergy, who were principally interested in the contest, was not exhausted. They distinguished between the possession and the use ; estates were no longer conveyed to the body corporate, but to others for its use ; thus while the land was in the nominal possession of one or more persons, all its profits and emoluments came to the possession of those for whom the vendor or grantor originally intended it.

It had employed Edward thirteen years to forge the fetters of Scotland ; in less than six months she was again free. To understand this important revolution, we must advert to the rival

houses of Baliol and Bruce. Baliol was dead; and before his death he had more than once renounced for himself and his

State of Scotland. posterity all right to the crown. As the renunciation had been made in captivity, and was the effect of

compulsion, it would probably have been disregarded by the Scots; but his only son was a prisoner in the Tower of London, and the task of supporting the rights of the family devolved on the next heir, John Comyn of Badenoch, the son of Marjory, Baliol's sister, a nobleman already distinguished by his efforts to recover the independence of his country. From the fatal battle of Falkirk to the last expedition of Edward, he directed as guardian the councils of Scotland. To the king of England he had long been an object of peculiar jealousy; at the late pacification a sentence of temporary banishment was pronounced against him; and though that sentence had been recalled, he had still been fined in thrice the amount of his yearly income.

Scotland again demanded Edward's attention in 1306. The pretensions of Robert Bruce, the original competitor for the crown, had descended to his grandson of the same name, and then about twenty-three years of age.

It chanced that Comyn (another aspirant to the Scotch throne, as being the nephew of Baliol), and Bruce arrived at Dumfries about the same time, in the year 1306, probably to meet the justiciars who were holding their court in the town. Bruce requested a private conference with Comyn in the choir of the church of the Minorites. They met; the conversation grew

Murder of Comyn, 1306. warm; Bruce plunged his dirk into the breast of Comyn, and one of his followers completed the

murder. Edward was rather irritated than alarmed at the intelligence. Orders were sent to his lieutenant, Aymar de Valence, earl of Pembroke, to chastise the presumption of Bruce. The king vowed that he would revenge the death of Comyn; and conjured his nobles in the event of his own death in the expedition, to keep his body unburied till they had enabled his son to accomplish his vow. The son swore that he would not sleep two nights in the same place till he had entered Scotland to execute his father's commands. The prince of Wales with his knights companions, departed for the borders; Edward followed by easy journeys; and his military tenants received writs to join him at Carlisle.

Bruce, by the murder of Comyn, had staked his life; he could save it only by winning a sceptre. He assumed the title of king, summoned the Scots to his standard, and was crowned without any

opposition at Scone. Bruce and his followers were soon defeated by a relative of Comyn. He embarked in a small ship, steered to the north of Ireland, and, in the unfrequented Island of Rathlin, buried himself during the winter from the knowledge and the pursuit of his enemies. **Bruce assumes the title of king.**

About the end of winter, Bruce and his followers issued from their retreat. His brothers were defeated, but he was more fortunate. He sailed to Scotland, surprised the English in the vicinity of Turnberry, and hastened for security to the hills and forests. By degrees he was joined by his former vassals, and gained some advantages.

To Edward, then in a weak state of health, the success of his antagonist, trifling as it was, became a continued source of vexation. In July, 1307, he felt a marked improvement in his health, and ordered the army to advance into Scotland. But the very exertion of mounting his horse threw him back into his former state of weakness; his progress in four days was confined to six miles; and the next evening he expired at Burg-on-the-Sands, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign. **Death of Edward I.**

Edward was twice married. His first wife was Eleanor of Castile, who bore to Edward four sons and eleven daughters, of whom several died in their infancy, and not more than three are known to have survived their father. Her death happened at Hardley, near Lincoln, in 1290. The king's affection induced him to follow the funeral to Westminster, and to erect, wherever the corpse rested for the night, a magnificent cross to her memory. Some of these crosses still remain, and are of considerable elegance. His second wife was Margaret of France, by whom he had a daughter, who died in her infancy, and two sons, who survived him.

Edward was tall, but well-proportioned. In temper he was warm and irascible, impatient of injury, and reckless of danger; but his anger might be disarmed by submission, and his temerity seemed to be justified by success. He aspired to unite in himself the sovereignty of the whole island of Great Britain. Nor was he entirely disappointed. Wales was incorporated with England; and the independence of Scotland sought an asylum in the midst of morasses, forests, and mountains. The subjugation of the former, and the attempt to subjugate the latter, comprised, as we have seen, the most interesting occurrences of his reign. **Edward's appearance and character.**

CHAPTER XII

EDWARD II. 1307-1327

Of the six sons of the late king, three had preceded him to the grave. The eldest of the survivors, three-and-twenty years of age, bore the name, but inherited little of the character of his father. From his childhood he had lived in habits of intimacy with Piers de Gaveston, who possessed a taste for dissipation and pleasure; as they advanced in age, the attachment of their early years increased. The king frequently reprehended the excesses of the heir apparent; and about three months before his death, he banished Gaveston from the kingdom, and exacted from his son a promise upon oath that he would never recall his favourite without the royal consent. Affairs required the presence of the young prince in London; but before he departed from Carlisle, Edward sent for him to his bedside; commanded him to prosecute the Scottish war, and to carry his dead bones along with the army to the very extremity of Scotland. Soon after, the king died; and his commands, no less than his advice, were forgotten. His successor hastened from the capital to the borders; received at Carlisle the homage of the English, at Dumfries that of the Scottish barons; and at the head of a gallant army advanced in pursuit of Robert Bruce. But war had few attractions for the young Edward. He halted at Cumnock, in Ayrshire; and under pretence of making preparations for his marriage and coronation, hastily returned into England.

The first object of the new king had been the recall of his favourite, on whom, during his absence, he had conferred the title of earl of Cornwall. He was made lord chamberlain, affianced to the king's niece, and, when Edward prepared to sail to France, appointed regent of the kingdom, with all those powers which the sovereign on such occasions was accustomed to reserve to himself.

Edward landed at Boulogne, where he found Philip le Bel, king of France. He did homage for Guienne and Ponthieu, and

the next day, in the presence of four kings and three queens, married Isabella, to whom he had been contracted four years before, the daughter of the French monarch, and reputed the most beautiful woman in Europe. A few days were given to feasting and rejoicings; and on his return, Edward was accompanied by the two uncles of his bride. The coronation was performed with extraordinary magnificence; but outward expressions of joy accorded ill with the discontent which secretly rankled in the breasts of the more powerful nobles.

The king's
marriage,
1308,

and corona-
tion.

The barons assembled at Westminster, and sent to Edward a petition for the redress of abuses, and the immediate banishment of the favourite. He promised to return an answer in the parliament to be held after Easter, and in the meantime endeavoured, but in vain, to mollify their resentment. At the parliament, their demands were renewed in terms which admitted of neither refusal nor procrastination; letters patent were accordingly issued; Gaveston himself was compelled to leave England; but his enemies had scarcely time to felicitate themselves on his downfall when, to their surprise and indignation, they learned that he had assumed, by royal appointment, the government of Ireland.

Gaveston
sent to
Ireland as
lord deputy.

In Ireland, Gaveston displayed the magnificence of a prince, and distinguished himself in several successful engagements with the natives. In England, the king assembled his parliament, and solicited supplies. The commons appended to their vote the unprecedented demand that their petition for the redress of grievances should be previously granted. He promised to take the demand into consideration, dismissed the commons, and ordered the lords to attend him three months later at Stamford.

During the prorogation, the great object of the king had been to procure the return of Gaveston, without whose company he appeared to consider life a burthen. By condescension and liberality he broke the union of the barons, and attached some of the more powerful to his own party. He ordered the favourite to return; flew to Chester to receive him, and conducted him to Stamford. There the prelates and barons had assembled, to give their advice respecting the petitions of the commons in the preceding session. At their request, he assented to every article, and obtained from them a grant and their consent that Gaveston might remain in England. Gaveston, once more in possession of the ascendancy, indulged in all his former extravagance.

Renewed
ascendancy
of Gaveston.

At length, the exhausted state of the treasury compelled Edward to convoke a council at York; but the principal barons refused to attend, under the pretence that they were afraid of Gaveston. Edward prevailed on Gaveston to withdraw to some secret asylum, and called a parliament to meet at Westminster. The barons obeyed; but their leaders came attended by their retainers in arms. Edward soon found himself completely in their power, and reluctantly consented to the appointment of a committee of peers, who, under the name of Lords Ordainers, should redress the grievances of the nation.

**Lords
Ordainers,
1309.**

The committee sat in London. Edward was glad to withdraw from their presence, and summoned his military retainers to follow him into Scotland. Out of ten earls, three only joined him; and of these one was Gaveston. In Scotland, the king penetrated as far as the Forth without finding an enemy. He passed the winter at Berwick, and in the spring ordered Gaveston, at the head of the army, to resume the war; but the caution of Bruce allowed him no opportunity of gaining laurels. The time approached, when it was necessary for Edward to meet his parliament, and the king proceeded to London. The barons demanded that all grants which had been made by Edward in favour of Gaveston, should be revoked; that the king should not leave the kingdom, or levy war without the consent of the barons; that the new taxes on wool, cloth, wine, and other merchandise should be abolished; that Gaveston should be banished for ever; and that to prevent delay in the administration of justice, parliaments should be holden at least once, and if need be, oftener than once every year. Edward objected, complained, and entreated; but the barons were positive and inexorable; and the king, after a long struggle, consented to sign and publish the ordinances. Gaveston landed in France; but Edward and he soon joined each other at York, and a royal proclamation followed, stating that the favourite had returned in obedience to the king's orders.

Among the English nobility, the most powerful was Thomas, the grandson of Henry III., who united in his possession the five earldoms of Lancaster, Lincoln, Leicester, Salisbury, and Derby. The confederate barons appointed him their leader, and he, not finding the king in York, hastened his march towards Newcastle. Edward embarked with Gaveston on board a vessel, and landed in safety at Scarborough. The favourite, for greater

**Gaveston
taken
prisoner and
executed,
1312.**

security, remained in the castle ; the king repaired to York, and unfurled the royal banner. The unfortunate Gaveston, finding the place untenable, surrendered, and was soon put to death.

The first news of this event threw the king into the most violent transports of grief, which gradually subsided into a fixed purpose of revenge. On his way to London, he summoned a parliament, solicited succours from France, and assembled a considerable body of forces. But conferences were held between the deputies of the king and of the barons, in the presence of the foreign ministers, and a form of reconciliation was unanimously adopted.

**King and
barons
reconciled.**

It is now time to return to the affairs of Scotland. Bruce had obtained several advantages, and at length the news arrived that Mowbray, governor of Stirling, had consented to surrender that important fortress, if it were not relieved before the feast of St. John the Baptist, 1314. Edward, apparently at peace with his own subjects, judged the opportunity favourable for an expedition into Scotland. A week before the day fixed for the surrender of Stirling, he marched from Berwick, whither he had proceeded, and, though the army was encumbered by a long train of provision-waggons and military engines, reached the neighbourhood on the eve of the festival. Bruce had employed the time in making preparations for the combat. His army, consisting of thirty thousand picked men, stretched from the burn of Bannock, on the right, to the neighbourhood of the castle on the left. Douglas and Stewart commanded the centre ; Edward then took charge of the right, and Randolph of the left wing. At day-break, Bruce's soldiers gathered round an eminence, on which Maurice, abbot of Inchaffray, celebrated

**Progress of
affairs in
Scotland.**

**Battle of
Bannock-
burn, 1314.**

mass, and harangued his hearers on the duty of fighting for the liberty of their country. At the close of his discourse, they answered with a loud shout, and the abbot, barefoot, with a crucifix in his hand, marched before them to the field of battle. The Scots, with very few exceptions, fought on foot, armed with battle-axes and spears. The king appeared in their front, and bore the same weapons as his subjects. The attack was made by the infantry and archers of the English army, and so fierce was the shock, so obstinate the resistance, that the result long remained doubtful. Bruce was compelled to call his reserve into the line ; and, as a last resource, to order a small body of men-at-arms to attack the archers in flank. This movement decided the fate of the English infantry. They fled in confusion ; and the knights,

with the earl of Gloucester at their head, rushed forward to renew the conflict ; but the horses were entangled in pits, the riders were thrown, and the timely appearance of some Scottish reserves, who had been stationed in the valley, scattered dismay through the ranks of the English. Edward, who was not deficient in personal bravery, spurred on his charger, to partake in the battle ; but the earl of Pembroke wisely interposed, and led him to a distance. He fled from Bannockburn with a party of Scottish cavalry at his heels, nor did he dare to halt, till the earl of March admitted him within the walls of Dunbar, whence he proceeded by sea to England. His privy seal and treasures, with the military engines, and provisions for the army, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Bruce thought it was a favourable moment to propose a treaty between the two nations ; but when Edward refused him the title of king, the indignant Scot put an end to the negotiation, called his parliament, and proceeded to settle the succession. His only child was an unmarried daughter, called Marjory ; and, to avoid the dangers which, in the present circumstances, might attend the reign of a female, it was ordained, with her consent, that if the king died without leaving a son, the crown should go to his brother Edward Bruce, and the heirs male of *his* body, failing whom it should revert to Marjory and her descendants.

But the Scots were not content with asserting their own independence ; they undertook to free Ireland from the English yoke.

War in Ireland.

That island was now divided between two races of men, of different languages, habits and laws, and animated with the most deadly hatred towards each other. The more wild and mountainous districts, and the larger portions of Connaught and Ulster, were occupied by the natives ; the English had established themselves along the eastern and southern coasts, and in all the principal cities and towns. By the Irish the efforts of the Scots were viewed with a kindred feeling. The patriots were fighting against the same nation by which *they* had been so cruelly oppressed. They were of the same lineage, spoke a dialect of the same tongue, and retained in many respects the same national institutions. When intelligence arrived of the victory at Bannockburn, it was received with enthusiasm, and the conviction that the English were not invincible awakened a hope that Ireland might recover her independence. Edward discovered that an active correspondence was carried on between the men of Ulster and the court of Bruce. Alarmed for the safety of his Irish dominions, he despatched the escheator, the lord Ufford, with instructions to treat with the native chieftains, the tenants of the

crown, and the corporations of the boroughs ; but, before that nobleman could execute his commission, Edward Bruce, the brother of the king of Scots, with an army of six thousand men, had landed in the neighbourhood of Carrickfergus. He was immediately joined by the O'Nials, who directed his march. They burnt Dundalk, and the greater part of Louth was laid desolate. But the approach of Butler, the lord deputy, and of the earl of Ulster, warned the confederates to return. They retired, and Bruce, continuing his retreat, despatched the earl of Moray to Scotland for reinforcements. When they arrived, he penetrated as far as Kildare, defeated the English at Arscoll, in that county, and as he returned, obtained a second victory at Kenlys, in Meath. His presence animated the Irish of Leinster. The O'Tooles, O'Briens, O'Carrolls, and Archbalds, were instantly in arms ; Arklow, Newcastle, and Bree, were burnt ; and the open country presented one continued scene of anarchy and devastation. A treaty was concluded between Edward Bruce and Donald O'Nial, called in Edward's writs prince of Tyrone, but who styled himself hereditary monarch of Ireland. By letters patent, the rights of O'Nial were transferred to Bruce, who was immediately crowned, and entered on the exercise of the regal power.

At Athenree, the English troops were successful, but to balance the exultation caused by this victory, intelligence was brought to Dublin that Robert Bruce, the king of Scotland, had landed with a numerous army in Ulster. The garrison of Carrickfergus, after a most obstinate defence, was compelled to surrender. The two brothers, at the head of twenty thousand men, Scots and Irish, advanced into the more southern counties ; and the citizens of Dublin were compelled to burn the suburbs for their own protection. But the Scots, unprepared to besiege the place, ravaged the country, and penetrated as far as the vicinity of Limerick. But it was the depth of winter ; numbers perished through want, fatigue, and the inclemency of the season ; and the English had assembled an army at Kilkenny, to intercept their return. With difficulty the Bruces eluded the vigilance of the enemy, and retired into Ulster. It is not easy to assign the reason of this romantic expedition, undertaken at such a season, and without any prospect of permanent conquest. To the Scots it was more destructive than a defeat ; and Robert Bruce, dissatisfied with his Irish expedition, hastened back to his native dominions. Soon afterwards, Edward Bruce advanced to the

**Natives
helped by the
Scots, 1315.**

**Robert
Bruce, king
of Scots,
lands in
Ireland, 1316.**

neighbourhood of Dundalk. He was met by John, lord Birmingham, and fell in battle, with the greater part of his forces. With Bruce fell the hopes of the Irish patriots; the ascendancy of the English was restored; and the ancient system of depredation and revenge universally revived.

About this period, England suffered severely from famine and pestilence. The Scotch resumed hostilities, and the pope sent legates to proclaim a truce. Bruce refused to obey, as he was not styled king, and besieged Berwick. The town was taken by surprise; and after a few days the castle surrendered. The fall of Berwick was followed by the reduction of Wark, Harbottle, and Mitford; Northallerton, Boroughbridge, Scarborough, and Skipton, were burnt; and Ripon would have experienced the same fate, had it not been redeemed by the payment of a thousand marks.

It was evident that Bruce owed the success which had so long attended his arms, not to any superior prowess or skill, but to the dissension which continued to rage between Edward and his barons. The loss of Berwick opened the eyes both of Edward and of his opponents to the disastrous consequences of their quarrel. The chancellor, by order of the king, repeatedly visited the earl of Lancaster; by mutual consent commissioners were appointed; and at last, in a meeting at Leek, a plan of reconciliation was adopted. Soon afterwards, a truce for two years was concluded between Edward and Bruce.

This suspension of hostilities was employed by the king of Scotland in causing a letter, signed by eight earls, and thirty-one barons, in the name of the commonalty of Scotland, to be sent to the pope. This instrument requested the pontiff to employ his influence with the king of England, and advise him to be content with his own dominions, and to leave to the Scots their own barren soil, the most remote of habitable lands, but which was dear to them, because it was their own, and which it was their only object to possess in peace. To the king of England the pope wrote a letter of advice, and earnestly exhorted him to improve the present opportunity, and conclude a useful and lasting peace. Edward assented: commissioners from the pope and king of France were appointed to attend the congress; and hopes were confidently entertained of a favourable result. But the conferences, if any were held, proceeded slowly; the king of England was too much occupied with the rebellion of his barons to attend to

**Bruce
invades Eng-
land, 1320.**

**The pope
invited to
intervene by
the Scots.**

other concerns ; and Bruce expected to obtain better terms by aiding the rebels than by treaty with the sovereign.

Edward now had another favourite, a young man whose name was Hugh Spenser, and who by his talents and assiduity had acquired the esteem of his sovereign. His growing opulence awakened the jealousy of the nobles. A movement **Hugh Spenser.** took place against Spenser and his father. The elder Spenser, whose fate was thus connected with that of his son, was one of the most powerful barons, far advanced in age, whose only crime seems to have been his near relationship to the favourite, and his influence in the king's council. Lancaster led the confederates towards the capital, allowing them to live at free quarters on their march, and to plunder the estates belonging to the elder Spenser. From St. Albans he sent a message to Edward, requiring the banishment of the father and son, and an act of indemnity for the confederate barons. The king replied with spirit, that the elder Spenser was beyond the sea employed in his service, the younger, with his fleet, guarding the cinque ports ; that he would never punish the accused before they had an opportunity of answering their accusers ; and that it was contrary to the obligation of his coronation oath to pardon men who disturbed the tranquillity of his kingdom.

The parliament was now sitting at Westminster ; and Lancaster advancing to London, cantoned his followers in the neighbourhood of Holborn and Clerkenwell. The confederates spent a fortnight in consultations. At length, they proceeded to Westminster, filled the hall with armed men, and without informing the king of their intentions, ordered a paper to be read. It was an act of accusation against the Spensers, consisting of eleven counts, charging them with usurping the royal power, and sentencing them to exile. Against this sentence, **The** the prelates protested in writing, but the king and **Spensers** the barons of his party, intimidated by the armed **banished,** men in attendance, gave their assent ; the banishment **1321.** of the two Spensers was duly entered on the rolls ; and a general pardon was granted to Lancaster and his associates.

The king felt the indignity which had been offered to his authority, and two months had not elapsed before he had the opportunity of revenging it. The queen, on her way to Canterbury, proposed to lodge during the night in one of the royal castles. The custody of the castle had been entrusted by Edward to the lord Badlesmere. He was absent, but the lady Badlesmere refused admission to the queen, and during the altercation several

of the royal attendants were killed. Isabella complained loudly of this insult; the chivalrous feelings of the nation were aroused; and the king found himself in a condition to demand and enforce redress. Edward took the castle, hanged Colepepper, the governor, and eleven of his knights, sent the others to different prisons, and confined in the Tower the lady Badlesmere and her female attendants.

This act of vigour infused new life into the king's friends. Many came forward with the offer of their services, the two Spensers successively returned to England, and the king gladly took the favourite and his father under the royal protection, till a parliament should assemble to repeal the sentence enacted against them.

The popularity of the earl of Lancaster had been for some time on the decline. He joined Bruce in 1322, when the truce expired, and was taken prisoner in a battle in the north of England. The captors conducted him by water to York, and thence to the castle of Pontefract. He was brought before the king, six earls, and the royal barons; of his guilt there could be no doubt; he was told that it was useless to speak in his defence, and was condemned to death, and was beheaded.

From Pontefract Edward had repaired in triumph to York, where the parliament had assembled. All the members were, or pretended to be, royalists; and every measure proposed by the crown was carried without opposition. The petitions of the Spensers were heard and granted, and the award against them was ordered to be reversed.

The victory which Edward had gained over his domestic enemies, inspired him with the hope of wiping away the disgrace of Bannockburn, and of re-establishing his superiority over the kingdom of Scotland. With this view, he assembled the most numerous army that England had seen for many years. But, after advancing as far as the Forth, he was compelled to return without performing one splendid action, or achieving a single conquest.

At length, the destructive war which with a few pauses had continued three-and-twenty years, and had repeatedly involved one half of Scotland and the northern counties of England in bloodshed and misery, began to draw to a close. Bruce was sensible that his kingdom required a long interval of tranquillity to repair the havoc of so many campaigns; and experience had taught Edward to doubt

Thomas,
earl of
Lancaster,
beheaded,
1322.

Invasion of
Scotland,
1323.

Truce with
Scotland.

the ultimate success of any attempt to enforce his claim of superiority. The proposal was made by the Scots ; Bruce consented to waive the title of king in the treaty ; and a suspension of arms was concluded for thirteen years between the two nations, to remain in force till the end of that term, even in the event of the death of one, or of both of the contracting parties.

At peace with foreign nations, and with his own subjects, Edward might now expect to enjoy that tranquillity to which he had so long been a stranger. But the Lancastrian party was not extinct, nor without the hope of rising from its ashes. There was one man especially,

**Roger, lord
Mortimer.**

Roger, Lord Mortimer of Wigmore, whose activity and resentment Edward feared. He had twice been convicted of treason, and twice owed his life to the clemency of the king. Having been taken a prisoner in battle, he was sent to the Tower, but escaped to France, entered the service of Charles de Valois, and in a short time wreaked his vengeance on the prince who had refused to take his life when it was forfeited to the law.

Charles le Bel had now succeeded his brother Philip le Long on the throne of France. Of the real object of this prince in his quarrel with Edward, it is impossible to form a correct notion ; this only is evident, that he sought pretexts for hostilities, and rejected the most equitable offers. He complained that Edward had not attended at his coronation, nor done him homage for Guienne. The king replied that he had never been summoned to do homage ; at the same time he offered to do homage at an appointed day, if the French army were to be recalled from Guienne. But Charles was inexorable, and it was only by the surrender of the last fortress in that province, that Edmund, earl of Kent, and brother to Edward, could purchase a truce for a few months.

During this interval, the pontiff employed all his influence to restore peace, and it was artfully suggested to the papal envoys, that if the queen of England would visit the French court, the king might grant to the solicitations of a sister what he would withhold from an indifferent negotiator. Edward fell into the snare : Isabella proceeded to France with a splendid retinue ; and a treaty was concluded on terms most injurious to the interests of Edward. He now began his journey to France, to do homage at Beauvais, but was detained at Dover by sickness, and sent a messenger to Charles to account for his delay. An answer was returned, that if Edward would transfer the possession of Guienne and Ponthieu to his son : Charles, at the prayer of Isabella, would

receive the homage of the young prince on the same terms on which he had consented to receive that of the father. The offer, though it bore a suspicious aspect, was accepted; the necessary resignations were made; and the young Edward, a boy of twelve years of age, after promising his father to hasten his return, and not to marry during his absence, sailed with a splendid retinue to the French coast. But to the general astonishment, though the ceremony was speedily performed, week after week passed away, and neither mother nor son appeared inclined to revisit England. Mortimer had joined Isabella at Paris; he was made the chief officer of her household; and it was soon publicly reported that

Queen Isabella and Mortimer, 1326. the daughter of France and queen of England had abandoned her husband for a rebel and an exile. Edward repeatedly ordered Isabella to return, and was repeatedly disobeyed. Her designs soon began

to unfold themselves, for levies of troops were made in her name. At the same time, the king of France, to distract the attention or multiply the perplexities of the English government, sent bodies of troops to make inroads into Guienne. Edward was now fully aware of his danger; he wrote in strong terms to his son and to the king of France; and at last declared war against the latter for the invasion of Guienne, and the detention of his wife and of the presumptive heir of his crown. Charles was induced by a letter of severe but merited reproach from the pope, to dismiss Isabella from Paris; but he had secretly prepared an asylum for her in the court of his vassal, William, count of Hainault. Here all her plans were matured under the direction of Mortimer.

Isabella lands in England at the head of forces. She signed a contract of marriage between her son Edward and Philippa, the second daughter of the count; a body of more than two thousand men at arms, under John de Hainault, was placed at her disposal; all the exiles of the Lancastrian faction crowded round her person; and on the twenty-fourth of September she landed, with her followers, at Orwell in Suffolk.

Edward's friends deserted him, and the unfortunate monarch knew not whom to trust. Afraid to summon the military tenants of the crown, he commanded the men of the neighbouring counties to come to his aid, and offered a free pardon, with a reward of a thousand pounds, for the head of Mortimer.

Isabella, at her landing, was generally hailed as the deliverer of the country. The Lancastrian lords hastened to meet her; the primate supplied her with a sum of money to pay her followers; and the king's brothers were amongst her adherents. At her

approach towards the capital, Edward, as a last resource, threw himself on the loyalty and pity of the citizens. Their answer was cold, and Edward immediately departed, with the two Spensers, to the marches of Wales, where lay the estates of his favourite. But the Welshmen were indifferent to the distress of their lord and of their sovereign; and Edward, with his favourite, took shipping for Lundy, a small isle in the mouth of the Bristol Channel which had been previously fortified and plentifully stored with provisions.

The queen was not slow to pursue her fugitive consort. She hastened to Bristol; and the earl of Winchester surrendered the town and castle to her, but was executed by her followers. At Bristol, it was ascertained that Edward had put to sea, and the prelates and barons in the queen's interest, assuming the powers of parliament, resolved that by the king's absence the realm had been left without a ruler; and therefore they appointed his son guardian of the kingdom, in the name and by the right of his father.

Edward's evil fortune pursued him by sea as well as land. He was unable to reach the isle of Lundy; and after contending for some days with a strong westerly wind, he landed at Swansea, retired to Neath, and sought to elude the search of his enemies. At length, Henry, earl of Leicester, got possession of Spenser, and Edward, it is said, immediately came forward, and voluntarily surrendered to his cousin, by whom he was sent to the strong fortress of Kenilworth. Spenser was arraigned at Hereford, and, as was to be expected, immediately put to death.

Isabella, with Mortimer and her son, soon proceeded by slow journeys to meet the parliament, at Westminster. The hall was filled with the citizens of London. Not a voice was raised in the king's favour. His greatest friends thought it a proof of courage to remain silent. The young Edward was declared king by acclamation, and presented in that capacity to the approbation of the populace. But though the prince was declared king, his father had neither resigned nor been deposed. To remedy the defect, on 13th January, 1327, a bill of six articles was exhibited against Edward, charging him with the violation of his coronation oath, oppression of the Church, and cruelty to the barons, and it was resolved that the reign of Edward of Carnarvon had ceased, and that the sceptre should be entrusted to the hands of his son, Edward of Windsor.

The elder
Spenser
taken and
executed.

Edward
surrenders.
The younger
Spenser
executed.

Edward II.
deposed,
January 13,
1327. Ed-
ward III.
proclaimed.

The queen pretended to lament the misfortune of her husband, declared that the parliament had exceeded its legitimate powers, and exhorted her son to refuse a crown which belonged to his father. To silence her pretended scruples, a deputation was instructed to proceed to Kenilworth, to give notice to Edward of the election of his son, and endeavour to procure from him a voluntary resignation of the crown. His answer has been differently reported by his friends and opponents. According to the former, he replied that no act of his could be deemed free, as long as he remained a prisoner. By the latter, we are told that he expressed his sorrow for having given such provocation to his people. The barons declared that they renounced their allegiance, and sir Thomas Blount, the steward of the household, as was always done at the king's death, broke his staff of office and declared that all persons engaged in the royal service were discharged. In three days, the deputation returned from Kenilworth, and the young prince was soon crowned as Edward III.

Edward of Carnarvon was destined to add one to the long catalogue of princes, to whom the loss of a crown has been but the prelude to the loss of life. The attention of the earl of Lancaster to alleviate the sufferings of his captive did not accord with the views of the queen and Mortimer. He was given to the custody of sir John de Maltravers, who, to conceal the place of Edward's residence, successively transferred him from Kenilworth to Corfe, Bristol, and Berkeley, and, by the indignities which were offered to him and the severities which were inflicted, laboured to deprive him of his reason or to shorten his life. It was in vain that the deposed monarch solicited an interview with his wife, or to be indulged with the company of his children. Thomas, lord Berkeley, the owner of Berkeley Castle, was soon afterwards joined with sir John Maltravers in the commission of guarding the captive monarch. It chanced that the former was detained at his manor of Bradley by a dangerous malady, during which the duty of watching the king devolved on two of his officers, Thomas Gournay and William Ogle. One night (21st September, 1327), while he was under their charge, the inmates of the castle were alarmed by the shrieks which issued from his apartment: the next morning the neighbouring gentry, with the citizens of Bristol, were invited to behold his dead body. Externally, it exhibited no marks of violence; but the distortion of the features betrayed the horrible agonies in which he had expired; and it was confidently whispered that his death had been procured

Death of
Edward II.

by the forcible introduction of a red-hot iron into his body. No investigation was made; and the corpse was privately interred in the abbey church of St. Peter, in Gloucester.

The first Edward had been in disposition a tyrant. As often as he dared, he had trampled on the liberties, or invaded the property of his subjects; and yet he died in his bed, respected by his barons and admired by his contemporaries. His son, the second Edward, was of a less imperious character; no acts of injustice or oppression were imputed to him by his greatest enemies; yet he was deposed from the throne, and murdered in a prison.

Character of Edward II.

Of this difference between the lot of the father and the son, the solution must be sought in the manners and character of the age. They both reigned over proud and factious nobles, jealous of their own liberties, but regardless of the liberties of others; and who, though they respected the arbitrary sway of a monarch as haughty and violent as themselves, despised the milder and more equitable administration of his successor. That successor, naturally easy and indolent, fond of the pleasures of the table and the amusements of the chase, willingly devolved on others the cares and labours of government. But in an age unacquainted with the more modern expedient of a responsible minister, the barons considered the elevation of the favourite as their own depression, his power as the infringement of their rights. The result was, as we have seen, a series of associations, having for their primary object the removal of evil counsellors, as they were called, from the person of the prince, but gradually invading the legitimate rights of the crown, and terminating in the dethronement and assassination of the sovereign. For the part which Isabella acted in this tragedy no apology can be framed. In a few years, her crime was punished with the general execration of mankind. She saw Mortimer expire on a gibbet, and spent the remainder of her life in disgrace and obscurity.

In Edward's reign, the abolition of the Knights Templars took place. That celebrated order was established in 1118, by the patriarch of Jerusalem, and originally consisted of nine poor knights, who lived in community near the site of the ancient temple, and took on themselves the voluntary obligation of watching the roads in the neighbourhood of the city, and of protecting the pilgrims from the insults of robbers and infidels. By degrees, their number was surprisingly augmented; they were the foremost in every action of danger; their military services excited the gratitude of

Abolition of the order of the Templars, 1312.

Christendom ; and in every nation legacies were annually left, and lands bestowed on the Templars. But wealth and power generated a spirit of arrogance and independence, which exasperated both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities ; and after a long investigation into some charges against the order, pope Clement V., in 1312, published a bull suppressing the institute, not by way of a judicial sentence establishing its guilt, but by the plenitude of his power, and as a measure of expediency rather than of justice. The possessions of the Templars had reverted as escheats to the lords of the fees, and an act of parliament was passed in 1324, assigning them to the Hospitallers, for the same purposes for which they had been originally bestowed on the Templars.

CHAPTER XIII

EDWARD III. 1327-1377

FOR some years, Isabella and Mortimer enjoyed the results of their guilt. Of the forfeited estates of the Spensers and their partisans, the larger portion, with the title of earl of March, fell to the lot of Mortimer, and a council of regency was appointed, to consist of four bishops, four earls, and six barons.

The first measures of the new government were disconcerted by an unexpected occurrence. Of the truce with Scotland, only a few years had expired; but the state of affairs in England offered to the Scottish king a temptation which he had not the virtue to resist. He determined, in violation of his engagements, to wrest, if possible, from the young king a solemn renunciation of that superiority which had been claimed by his father and grandfather. Aware of the intentions of Bruce, the English government had recourse to every expedient to avert hostilities, and it was at last agreed that ambassadors should meet on the borders, and treat of a final peace. The negotiators met: the Scots insisted on their own terms; and when the English demurred, an army of twenty-four thousand men under Randolf and Douglas crossed the borders, and ravaged the county of Cumberland.

**The Scots
violate the
truce and
invade
England.**

Edward consumed six weeks at York, waiting for the arrival of his forces. At length the English, amounting to more than forty thousand men, marched to Durham, but were unable to obtain any certain intelligence of the enemy, and the armies did not meet for some weeks. They encamped near each other on 1st August, 1327, in the neighbourhood of Stanhope; but the Scotch retreated to Scotland without waiting for an engagement. The English army marched back to Durham, and thence to York, where it was disbanded.

This was followed by a peace. It was agreed that there should be final and perpetual concord between the kingdoms of England and Scotland, and that David, the Scottish prince, should be married to the sister of Edward. A parliament was immediately

summoned to meet at York; and in it Edward was persuaded to execute a deed of renunciation, for himself and his successors, of all claims of superiority over the crown of Scotland.

**England
resigns its
suzerainty
over Scot-
land, 1328.**

When the council of regency was appointed, it had been directed that out of the number one bishop, one earl, and two barons should daily attend the king, and give him their advice on all matters of importance. But as Mortimer superseded them all, his conduct naturally excited the jealousy of the great barons, and associations were formed to remove him from court. Mortimer, in October, 1328, with a numerous army entered Salisbury, where a parliament had been summoned, and Henry, earl of Lancaster, the nominal guardian of the king's person and president of the council, commanded an inferior force near Winchester. The favourite, taking with him the king and queen, advanced towards Winchester. From Winchester he led his followers to Leicester, and plundered the domain of the earl of Lancaster. That nobleman had hitherto retired before Mortimer; he was now joined by the king's uncles, but was soon deserted by them; and despairing of success, submitted to ask pardon before the two armies, and entered into recognizances not to oppose the king or his council.

When the parliament assembled at Winchester, the earl of Kent, the king's uncle, the archbishop of York, the bishop of London, with several knights and gentlemen, were unexpectedly arrested on the charge of having conspired to depose the king, and to replace his father, whose death they disbelieved, on the throne.

**Execution
of the earl
of Kent, 1330.**

Kent was adjudged to suffer the penalty of treason, but it was believed that his birth would save him from punishment. Isabella, however, was inexorable; the son of the great Edward was led by the order of his nephew to the place of execution, and, after a painful suspense of four hours, a felon from the Marshalsea (no other could be found to perform the office) was induced by a promise of pardon to strike off his head.

Edward was now eighteen, an age when his predecessors had been deemed capable of governing the realm; and Philippa of Hainault, whom he married in 1328, had borne him a son, the same who is so celebrated in history under the name of the Black Prince. He felt the state of dependence in which he was kept, and viewed with concern the conduct of his mother. He confided his thoughts to the discretion of the lord Montacute, who exhorted him to assume the exercise of the royal authority. The

king lent a willing ear to the proposal; a design was formed to seize the person of Mortimer, and it was fixed to make the attempt during the session of the parliament at Nottingham.

When the time came, Isabella, with her son and her favourite, took up her residence in the castle; the prelates and barons were lodged in the town and the neighbourhood. Mortimer had taken every precaution for his security; but his enemies entered the castle one night, and they were joined by Edward on the staircase leading to the principal tower. They mounted in silence, till they heard the sound of voices in a room adjoining to Isabella's apartment, where Mortimer was engaged in consultation with the bishop of Lincoln and his principal advisers. The door was instantly forced, and two knights, who endeavoured to defend the entrance, were slain. The queen had retired to rest in the adjoining apartment. Alarmed at the noise, she burst into the room. But in defiance of her tears and exclamations, Mortimer was secured; and the next morning the king announced by proclamation that he had taken the reins of government into his own hands, and summoned a new parliament to meet in a few weeks at Westminster.

Mortimer seized.
Edward III. takes the reins of government into his own hands.

By this parliament Mortimer was condemned and executed at Tyburn, 29th November, 1330. Isabella, at the solicitation of the pope, was spared the ignominy of a public trial; but Edward reduced her income to three thousand pounds, and confined her to the manor of Risings, where she passed in obscurity the remaining twenty-seven years of her life. The king annually paid her a visit of ceremony; he even added a thousand pounds to her yearly income; but he never more allowed her to assume any share of political power. After these executions he asked the advice of John XXII. for the regulation of his subsequent conduct; and was exhorted by that pontiff to shun the danger of favouritism; and, instead of following the interested counsels of a few individuals, to govern by the united advice of his barons, prelates, and commons assembled in parliament.

Execution of Mortimer, 1330.
Fate of Queen Isabella.

Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, had lived to see the independence of his crown acknowledged by the king of England. At his death he left to Randolph, earl of Moray, the guardianship of his son David, who was only in his seventh year. Disputes took place respecting the

Troubles in Scotland.

restoration of certain estates belonging to English barons, landholders in Scotland, which had been seized during the last war. These barons were joined by Edward Baliol, the son and heir of John Baliol, whom the king's grandfather had compelled to resign his crown. After some consultation, they resolved to appeal to the sword; a resolve which placed Edward in a very delicate situation. On the one side he had sworn to observe the peace; on the other, the minority of David offered the most favourable opportunity of recovering that superiority, which he would not have surrendered had not Bruce taken the advantage of similar circumstances to invade England, in violation of his oath. His counsellors, however, determined not to tolerate any open infraction of the treaty; and the sheriffs of the five northern counties were enjoined to forbid the perpetration of any act which could be deemed a violation of the peace. Baliol sailed with about three thousand men from Ravenspur, a port in the mouth of the Humber, to Kinghorn in Fife, ordered his fleet to the mouth of the Tay, and hastened to meet an enemy whose force was twenty times greater than his own. At first he succeeded, and was crowned at Scone by the bishop of Dunkeld. Astonished at the rapidity of his success, his enemies solicited a suspension of hostilities, and proposed a convention of the states to settle the kingdom. Baliol consented; was surprised at Annan by the earl of Moray during the armistice; and with difficulty escaped to the English marches, a solitary and helpless fugitive.

Edward had secretly concluded two treaties with Baliol. By the first the new king acknowledged that the crown of Scotland was a fief belonging to the crown of England; transferred to Edward the town and castle of Berwick; offered to marry the Princess Jane, if her marriage with David Bruce did not proceed; and engaged to grant to that young prince such an establishment as the king of England should think proper. By the second, each monarch bound himself to assist the other with all his power against every domestic enemy. The expulsion of Baliol suspended the effect of these treaties.

But the real wishes of the English king were soon gratified by the impetuosity of the Scots, and the war was renewed. The campaign was opened by Baliol with the siege of Berwick, which was gallantly defended by the earl of March. Two months elapsed before the king of England arrived; but the operations of the siege

Edward's
secret
treaties with
Baliol.

Edward
makes war
on Scotland,
1333.

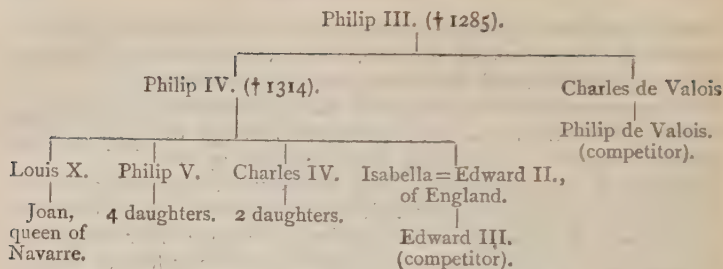
were immediately pushed with new vigour; and in a general assault the town was set on fire. The Scottish army advanced in four bodies to attack the besiegers. Edward drew up his army on Halidon Hill, from which the archers annoyed the enemy, as they struggled through the marshy ground at the foot, and climbed up the declivity of the mountain. The Scots were fatigued and disordered before they could reach their opponents; the obstinacy with which they fought served only to increase their loss; and the slaughter is said to have exceeded that of any former defeat. The town and castle were immediately surrendered; and the young king, with his wife, the sister of Edward, was conveyed, for greater security, from Dumbarton into France, where he resided for several years.

**Battle of
Halidon Hill,
July 19, 1333.**

Baliol was now again seated on the throne of Scotland, and Edward required him to fulfil his former engagements. A parliament was called at Edinburgh; and all the country to the east of a line drawn from Dumfries to Linlithgow, was by general consent separated from the crown of Scotland, and annexed to that of England. This enraged the Scots; while the dissensions among the English barons, who had been restored to their estates, encouraged the friends of David. A new guardian or regent was appointed; the cause of independence again triumphed, and Baliol was compelled to take refuge in the lands which he had ceded to Edward. For several years he contrived to struggle against the obstinacy of his opponents and the perfidy of his followers. As long as he was supported by the king of England, he rose victorious from every disaster; but from the moment that Edward determined to claim the crown of France, the war was suffered to languish; fortress after fortress surrendered to the adherents of David; that prince at length ventured to revisit his kingdom; and Baliol, instead of wielding the sceptre of Scotland, was employed in protecting from insult the northern counties of England.

Edward was engaged during the remainder of his reign in his memorable contest with France. In 1334 he was advised by his parliament, sitting at Northampton, to claim the French crown, as being, of all the male descendants of Philip III., the nearest in blood to the last monarch. Edward's claim will, perhaps, be better understood from the following table:—

**Edward's
claim to the
crown of
France.**



Philip IV. died in 1314, and left three sons, Louis, Philip, and Charles, who all, in the short space of fourteen years, successively came to the throne, and all died without male issue. At the decease of Charles IV., the youngest brother, it was necessary to seek for the true heir among the descendants of their predecessors; and two competitors appeared, Edward of England, and Philip of Valois, the former as grandson of Philip IV., by his daughter Isabella; the latter as grandson to the father of that monarch, Philip III., by his son Charles of Valois. It had, indeed, been decided at the death of Louis, in 1316, who left a daughter, Joan, that females were by the Salic law excluded from the French throne; but Edward contended that, though his mother's sex might be a disqualification as far as personally regarded herself, it could be no bar to the succession of her son; while Philip, on the contrary, maintained that a mother could not transmit to her issue any right of which she was never in possession herself. Hence it will be seen that Edward, to prove his claim, was obliged to maintain three principles: (1) that females were excluded from the crown of France, otherwise Joan, the daughter of Louis X., ought to have succeeded to that crown as well as to the crown of Navarre; (2) that the male issue of such females was not excluded, otherwise he could have had no right himself; and (3) that such male issue, to inherit the crown, must have been born during the lifetime of the grandfather; otherwise the grandsons of Philip V. and Charles IV. would have had a better title than Edward. This important cause was brought before the twelve peers and the barons of France; the claim was radically bad; and by their unanimous vote it was rejected. Philip of Valois was crowned with the full consent of the states, and summoned his English competitor to come and do homage to him as his liege lord for the duchy of Guienne.

Philip kept possession of several fortresses in Guienne,

claimed by the king of England ; and Edward, when he consented to do homage, did it in general terms, omitting the liege promise of faith and loyalty. In 1331 a partial adjustment of their differences took place ; but the opposite interest which each felt in the affairs of Scotland awakened their former jealousy, and hurried them into hostilities.

When David was driven from his throne, Philip took him under his protection and aided his partisans. Edward beheld this conduct with displeasure, and turned his arms from Scotland against France. To carry into execution the mighty designs which he had formed, Edward concluded alliances with the emperor of Germany and other princes. Neither did Philip neglect the storm which he saw gathering around him ; and soon more than half of the sovereigns of Europe were arrayed against each other, and the eyes of all Christendom were directed to the issue of the contest.

Edward, to defray the expenses of his intended expedition, had recourse to forced loans, and he even pawned his jewels and crown. In the summer of 1338 he sailed with a numerous fleet to Antwerp ; but to his disappointment, he soon learned that every attempt to draw the Flemings into the field was fruitless. In the spring of 1339, he summoned his allies to assemble at the appointed time ; and about the middle of September he was able to lead an army of fifteen thousand men-at-arms to the walls of Cambray. No important result followed from this campaign, and Edward soon disbanded his army. The pope soon afterwards wrote a long and expostulatory letter to Edward, advising peace ; but the king was immovably fixed in his purpose, and immediately afterwards publicly assumed the title of king of France. To raise money for the payment of his debts and the expenses of another campaign, he determined to revisit England, and left his queen at Ghent as an hostage for his speedy return. From his parliament he obtained supplies ; and was preparing to fulfil his engagement, when advice was brought that Philip, to intercept him on his passage, had assembled, with the aid of the Genoese and Normans, a powerful fleet in the harbour of Sluys. The king immediately collected every vessel in the southern ports, and the next evening discovered the French fleet, over which he gained an important victory.

**Edward
begins the
war with
France, 1338.**

**The pope
exhorts him
to peace.**

**England's
sea victory
off Sluys,
1340.**

Crowned with laurels, Edward landed, and marched at the

head of two hundred thousand men to undertake, at the same time, the two sieges of Tournay and St. Omer. Yet these mighty preparations, after a few weeks, ended in nothing. Edward asked money from England, but the exchequer was unable to satisfy his wants. Some of the courtiers improved the

**The king
returns to
England,
suspicious of
his ministers.**

opportunity to instil into his mind suspicions of the fidelity of his ministers; and suddenly he sailed, in stormy weather, from a port in Zealand, stole unperceived up the Thames, landed about midnight at the Tower, and the next morning displaced the chancellor, treasurer, and master of the rolls, confined three of the judges, and ordered the arrest of most of the officers employed in the collection of the revenue. He returned to France in a few months with twelve thousand men; but by attempting too much, effected nothing. He divided his forces into three divisions, with which, at the same time, he pretended to invest Rennes, Nantes, and Vannes, which had lately been retaken by Charles; but the arrival of the duke of Normandy, the eldest son of Philip, compelled him to concentrate and entrench his forces. The French did the same; and the two armies remained for several weeks' during the depth of winter in the vicinity of each other. At this

**Truce con-
cluded, 1343;
but Edward
renews
hostilities in
1345.**

juncture, to the equal satisfaction of both parties, two cardinals arrived, and a truce was concluded for three years and eight months. Preparations for the renewal of war were, however, made on both sides. The English parliament recommended the renewal of hostilities, and an army proceeded to Guienne under the command of the king's cousin, the earl of Derby. Edward having collected a numerous force, sailed from Southampton, with the intention, as he gave out, of invading the southern provinces of France, suddenly altered his course and anchored in the road of La Hogue, on the coast of Normandy. The province was defenceless, and Edward obtained some important advantages. Philip advanced against him with a very large force, and Edward retreated before him for a time, but at length

**Battle of
Crecy, July
26, 1346.**

resolved to give him battle. The spot on which he determined to receive the enemy was the high ground beyond Crecy, lying between the river Maye on the right, and Wadicourt to the left. In the evening he invited his barons to supper, entertained them with cheerfulness, and dismissed them with a promise of victory. When they were gone he entered his oratory, threw himself on his knees before the altar and prayed that God would preserve his honour. It was

midnight when he retired to his bed ; he slept little, and at the dawn of the morning assisted at mass, and received holy communion with his son, the young prince of Wales, who had just reached his fifteenth year.

As soon as the troops had breakfasted, the marshals issued their orders, and each lord, under his own banner and pennon, marched to the ground which had been allotted to him on the preceding day. All were dismounted, to take away the temptation of pursuit or flight. The first division, under the nominal command of the prince, the real command of the earls of Warwick and Oxford, consisted of eight hundred men-at-arms, a thousand Welsh infantry, and two thousand archers. At some distance behind them, but rather on their flank, was placed the second division of eight hundred men-at-arms, and twelve hundred archers. The third, under the command of the king, comprised seven hundred men-at-arms, and two thousand archers, and was stationed as a reserve on the summit of the hill. The archers of each division formed in its front in the shape of a portcullis ; and orders were issued that no man should encumber himself with the charge of a prisoner, or quit his post to pursue a fugitive. Edward, on a small palfrey, with a marshal on each side, rode from company to company, speaking to all, exhorting them to defend his honour and expressing his confidence of victory. About ten o'clock he ordered them to take refreshment. They sat in ranks on the ground, with their bows and helmets before them.

The king of France had marched from Abbeville about sunrise ; but the multitude of his followers advanced in so disorderly a manner, that the knights who had reconnoitred the English army advised him to postpone the battle till the morrow, and employ the interval in marshalling his army. Two officers were immediately despatched, one to the van, the other to the rear, crying out, "Halt, banners, in the name of God and St. Denis." But these orders increased the confusion. By some they were obeyed, by many misunderstood, and by the greater part disregarded. Philip suffered himself to be carried forward by the stream ; and, as soon as he saw the English, he lost his temper, and ordered the Genoese to form, and begin the battle.

The Genoese were a body of six, or, according to some writers, fifteen, thousand Italians, who fought with cross-bows under two celebrated leaders, Antonio Doria and Carlo Grimaldi. They were supported by the king's brother, the count d'Alençon, with a numerous cavalry superbly accoutred. The king himself followed with the rest of the army in four divisions ; the amount

of the combatants has been estimated by different writers, at every intermediate number between sixty and one hundred and twenty thousand men.

Never, perhaps, were preparations for battle made under circumstances so truly awful. On that very day the sun suffered a partial eclipse; birds in clouds, the precursors of a storm, flew screaming over the two armies; and the rain fell in torrents, accompanied with incessant thunder and lightning. About five in the afternoon the weather cleared up, the sun in full splendour darted his rays in the eyes of the enemy. The Genoese, setting up three shouts, discharged their arrows. But they were no match for the English archers, who received the volley in silence, and returned their arrows in such numbers and with such force, that the cross-bowmen began to waver. The count d'Alençon, calling them cowards, ordered his men to cut down the runaways; but he only added to the disorder. Many of his knights were unhorsed by the archers, and, as they lay on the ground, were despatched by the Welshmen, who had armed themselves with long knives for the purpose.

At length the passage was cleared; the count on one side, and his colleague the earl of Flanders on the other, skirted the English archers, while a numerous body of French, Germans, and Savoyards, forced their way to the men-at-arms under the command of the prince. The second division immediately closed for his support; but the conflict grew fierce and doubtful, and sir Thomas Norwich was sent to request a reinforcement. Edward, who from a wind-mill watched the chances of the battle, and the movements of the armies, inquired if his son were killed or wounded. The messenger replied, "No." "Then," said he, "tell Warwick that he shall have no assistance. Let the boy win his spurs. He and those who have him in charge shall earn the whole glory of the day." This answer was hailed as a prediction of victory, and infused new courage into the combatants.

D'Alençon, unable to make any impression on the English in his front, attempted to turn their position by penetrating through a narrow pass on one side of the hill; but he found the outlet barricaded with carts and waggons from the camp, and was repulsed with great slaughter by a body of archers posted behind them. In the mean time, Philip, who had hitherto been only a spectator of the action, grew impatient; he hastened with his force to the aid of his brother; and fought, as if it had been his object to refute the taunt of cowardice so often applied to him by Edward. He was wounded in two places; his horse was killed

under him; he retired till the blood was stanch'd, and then mounting another charger, rushed into the midst of the combatants. But the day was already lost; his brother, with the flower of the French chivalry, had fallen; and John of Hainault, seizing the king's bridle, and bidding him reserve himself for victory on some future occasion, led him by force out of the field. With a slender escort of five barons and sixty knights he escaped to the city of Amiens.

The flight of Philip did not terminate the contest. Many of the French continued in detached bodies to charge their adversaries; but as their efforts were made without concert, they generally ended in the destruction of the assailants. As the darkness increased, the fighting gradually ceased; the voices of men seeking the banners from which they had wandered were no longer heard; and the English congratulated themselves on the repulse of the enemy. The king, ignorant of the extent of his victory, ordered fires to be kindled, and forbade his men to quit their posts. Eager to testify his approbation of the prince, he sprang to meet him, and clasping him in his arms exclaimed, "Fair son, continue your career. You have behaved nobly. You have shown yourself worthy of me and the crown!" The young Edward sank on his knees, and modestly attributed all the merit to his father.

Eleven princes and twelve hundred knights were slain in this battle. Report made the total number of those killed amount to thirty thousand. A truce of three days was proclaimed for the burial of the dead; and the king himself attended in mourning at the funeral service.

Among the slain, the most distinguished was John, king of Bohemia. His motto, "Ich dien" (I serve), was adopted by the prince of Wales, and has been always borne by his successors.

At this time David, king of Scotland, exhorted by the king of France, seized the opportunity of Edward's absence, and confident of success, invaded England at the moment when the whole chivalry of England was lying before the walls of Calais or fighting in the south of France. But an army was collected by queen Philippa, who rode among them, and addressed them in kind and animating language bidding them protect their country from ravage, and the honour of their sovereign from insult. The English awaited the attack of the Scots on an eminence near Neville's Cross, in Durham. The Scottish cavalry becoming entangled among the hedges during their advance, were exposed to the unerring aim of the archers; and the most

Battle of
Neville's
Cross, Octo-
ber 17, 1346.

distinguished knights were successively unhorsed or slain. After several sharp contests the wings and main body were routed, and the king himself was taken prisoner, and conveyed to London. In Guienne, the earl of Derby obtained several most important advantages over the French. Edward was engaged in the siege of Calais, a siege which formed a new era in the military history of the age. Contrary to all precedent, not an assault was given, not a single engine was erected against the place. Instead of force, the king relied on the slower but less fallible operation of famine. A numerous fleet blockaded the harbour; and communication with the interior was intercepted by the besiegers. The governor turned out of the town every individual who did not possess a sufficient supply of provisions for several months. Men, women, and children to the number of seventeen hundred persons, advanced in mournful procession to the English camp. Edward ordered them to be received, gave them a plentiful repast, and at their departure distributed to each two pieces of silver. Five hundred more of the inhabitants were driven without the gates. The English lines were, however, shut against them, and the unfortunate sufferers, without covering or provisions, perished miserably.

The king of France approached near Calais to relieve the besieged, but retired without rendering them any aid. It was in vain that the governor solicited terms of capitulation. Edward insisted that he should surrender at discretion; and the inhabitants who knew that the king had expressed a resolution to punish their habits of piracy, and that his former enmity had been embittered by the obstinacy of their resistance, received the answer with feelings of despair. They met in the market-place to consult; and the common gloom was dispelled by the generous devotedness of Eustace de St. Pierre, who offered to stake his life for the safety of his fellow-townsmen. Five others imitated his example, and the procession walked from the gate to the English camp. It was headed by the governor, riding on a palfrey, on account of his wounds; fifteen knights followed with their heads bare, and their swords pointed to the ground; and then came the six townsmen, barefoot and bareheaded, with halters in their hands. By Edward they were received with an air of severity. The governor presented to him his sword, and the keys of the town; and joining his companions in misfortune, implored on his knees the mercy of the conqueror. The king affected to be inexorable, rejected the intercession of his barons, sent for the executioner, and, if he at last yielded, it was with apparent reluctance, to the tears and entreaties

of his queen Philippa. The prisoners were left to the disposal of their fair advocate, who clothed them, invited them to a plentiful repast, and at their departure made to each of them a present of six nobles. Thus was Calais severed from the French crown after a siege of twelve months. To secure his conquest, Edward expelled the natives who refused to swear fealty to the king of England, and repeopled the town with a colony of his own subjects. It rapidly became a place of considerable opulence; it was appointed the general mart for the sale of merchandise exported from England; and it continued to flourish for more than two centuries under the protection of its conqueror and his successors.

Fall of
Calais,
August, 1347.

Writers have not always sufficiently appreciated the benefits which mankind derived from the pacific influence of the Roman pontiffs. In an age which valued no merit but that of arms, Europe would have been plunged in perpetual war had not pope after pope laboured incessantly for the preservation, or restoration of peace.

A truce con-
cluded under
the mediation
of the pope.

They rebuked the passions, and checked the extravagant pretensions of sovereigns; their character, as the common fathers of Christians, gave to their representations a weight which no other mediator could claim; and their legates spared neither journey nor fatigue to reconcile the jarring interests of courts, and interpose the olive-branch of peace between the swords of contending armies. As soon as the war recommenced between Edward and Philip, Clement had resumed his pacific endeavours; for two years he ceased not to entreat, to admonish, to reprehend; the violence and obstinacy of his belligerent children did not exhaust his patience; and as soon as the French army had reached Whitsand, the cardinals of Naples and Clermont offered their services, to prevent the effusion of blood. But Philip refused to deliver up a town which had so long set at defiance the power of his adversary, and Edward would not forego the expected reward of his perseverance in so tedious a siege. When Calais had fallen, the legates renewed their offer; each king was now willing to admit of a temporary respite; and an armistice, which was concluded for a few months, was, at the repeated instances of the Holy See, gradually prolonged for six years. It was a breathing time necessary to the king of France, that he might restore his finances and the spirit of his people; it was welcome to the king of England, who could now repose with satisfaction under the laurels which he had gained. The victories of Crecy and Nevile's Cross had stamped the reputation of the English, and raised their sovereign to the

first rank among the princes of Europe ; and two of the chief of his opponents, David king of Scots, and Charles de Blois, duke of Bretagne, were his prisoners.

In the first week of August, 1348, a plague made its appearance in England. Of its victims, many expired in the course of

The great
pestilence,
1348-1349.

six hours, and few lingered more than two or three days. From man, the exterminating malady spread itself to the brute creation. The labours of husbandry were neglected ; no courts of justice were opened ; the parliament was repeatedly prorogued by proclamation ; and men, intent only on their own safety, fled from the care of the infected, and slighted every call of honour, duty, and humanity.

When historians tell us that one-half or one-third of the population perished, we may suspect them of exaggeration ; but it is easy to form some idea of the mortality from the fact that all the cemeteries in London were soon filled.

The consequences of the mortality were far-reaching. The price of provisions rose enormously ; the land fell out of cultivation ; learning was at a standstill. So many parishes lost their clergy, and the dearth of candidates for holy orders was so great, that untrained and ignorant men had perforce to be admitted to orders, with the consequent decay of religion. The position of the lower orders was, however, raised, for labour being more scarce, the surviving agricultural labourers were able to force a higher rate of wages from their employers. To counteract this, parliament passed the *Statute of Labourers* in 1349, to prevent the exaction or payment of higher wages than before, but in vain.

Edward now awakened from the dream of his ambition, and, convinced by experience that the French crown lay beyond his reach, offered, in 1355, to renounce his pretensions in exchange for the sovereignty of the provinces which he held as a vassal in his own right, and in the right of his queen. By Philip, the proposal, previously made, had been rejected with scorn. Philip had died in 1350 ; John, his son and successor, discovered, perhaps feigned, a willingness to accept it. But this prospect, so consoling to the friends of humanity, was closed by the pride of the French people.

War with
France re-
newed, 1355.

Edward again took up arms ; and a plan of combined operations was concerted between him and his eldest son, now called, from the colour of his armour, the Black Prince. The latter, in 1355, opened the campaign with an army of sixty thousand men. In the short space of seven weeks he had laid in ashes more than five hundred cities,

towns, and villages, in a populous district, which for a century had not been visited with the horrors of war.

During this expedition, the king of England marched from Calais at the head of a gallant army; but all his plans were disconcerted by the superior policy of John, who cautiously shunned an engagement, but was careful, as he retired before his adversary, to lay waste the country around him. The English had not reached Amiens when the want of provisions compelled them to return. A scanty supply was procured in the Boulonnois; and they entered Calais on the tenth day after their departure from it. Here the French monarch sought to amuse Edward with proposals for a general battle; while his allies the Scots surprised Berwick, poured over the borders, and spread devastation through the northern counties. But at the first intelligence the king hastened to England, met his parliament at Westminster, obtained a liberal aid for six years, and ordered his forces to assemble in Northumberland. Berwick was recovered by the sole terror of his approach; and at Roxburgh he purchased from Baliol his patrimonial property in Galloway, together with his rights to the Scottish throne.

The next year was signalized by the ever-memorable victory of Poitiers. The honour and plunder of the late campaign stimulated the prince of Wales to a similar attempt in a different direction. With a small army of twelve thousand men, he left Bordeaux, ascended the Garonne, and overran the fertile provinces of Querci, Limousin, Auvergne, and Berri. Conquest was not his object, but to inflict on the natives the injuries of war, and to enrich his followers at the expense of the enemy. The harvest was trodden under foot; the cattle were slaughtered; the wines and provisions which the army could not consume were destroyed; the farm-houses, villages, and towns were reduced to ashes; and every captive able to pay his ransom, was conducted to Bordeaux. He turned from Issoudun and Bourges, which threatened a vigorous resistance; but took Vierzon by storm, and Romorantin by setting it on fire. In this desolating expedition, it does not seem to have occurred to the young prince that it was dangerous to penetrate so far into a powerful kingdom, or that his retreat might probably be intercepted by a more numerous force. The king of France had ordered his vassals to join him at Chartres, and crossing the Loire at Blois, pushed forward to the city of Poitiers. Edward, when it was too late, had commenced his march for the same city; but it was his misfortune to know nothing of his enemy but from vague and suspicious reports, while his own motions were

Victory of
Poitiers,
July 6, 1356.

accurately observed and daily notified to the French monarch. One day, after a fatiguing march, the English had reached in the afternoon the village of Maupertuis, about five miles from Poitiers, when their van unexpectedly fell in with the rear of the enemy. The danger of his situation immediately flashed on the mind of the prince. "God help us," he exclaimed, "it only remains for us to fight bravely."

In stating the amount of the hostile armies, historians are greatly at variance; but of their relative numbers a probable estimate may be formed from the testimony of sir Thomas Gray, that John had eight thousand, Edward, one thousand nine hundred coats of arms under his command. This superiority was partially balanced by the advantage of a position most unfavourable to the operations of the cavalry, which formed the real, the only strength of the French army. It was a rising ground, covered with vineyards, and intersected with hedges, accessible only in one point through a long and narrow lane, which in no part would admit of more than four horsemen abreast. In the morning, the prince ordered his men-at-arms to form on foot in front of the road; one half of his archers he posted before them in the favourite figure of a portcullis or harrow; the other half he ordered to line all the hedges between the main body and the moor on which the enemy was encamped. John arrayed his army in three divisions on foot, under the separate command of his cousin, the duke of Orleans, of his three eldest sons, and of himself and his fourth son, a youth in his sixteenth year. He retained on horseback only three small bodies, one of which, consisting of three hundred knights and esquires, selected from the whole army, was destined for the hazardous attempt of dispersing the archers in front of the English line. These arrangements were hardly completed when the cardinal Talleyrand Perigord arrived on the field, and with uplifted hands besought John to spare the blood of so many noble knights; nor stake on the uncertain issue of a battle the advantages which he would certainly obtain by negotiation. His repeated entreaties wrung from the king a reluctant consent; and riding to the prince, he represented to him the danger of his situation. "Save my honour," said the young Edward, "and the honour of my army, and I will readily listen to reasonable conditions." "Fair son," replied the cardinal, "you have answered wisely. Such conditions it shall be my task to procure." The legate was indefatigable in his endeavours. He rode from army to army; he laboured to subdue the reluctance of the prince, and to lower the

confidence of the king. Edward offered to restore his conquests, his spoil, and his captives, and not to bear arms against France for seven years. John, at the persuasion of the bishop of Chalons, and Eustace de Ribeaumont, demanded as his ultimatum, that the prince and a hundred of his knights should surrender themselves prisoners of war. The proposal was indignantly rejected; the prospect of a pacification vanished; and the night was spent in preparations for battle. To judge from the opposite numbers, no doubt could be entertained of its issue; but the recollection of the battle of Crecy cheered the English with a gleam of hope, and occasionally staggered the confidence of their enemies.

With the dawn of light, the trumpets summoned the two nations to their respective posts. The English had improved the interval by throwing up trenches, and forming a barricade of waggons, where their position seemed the least difficult of access. The French had made no other alteration than to place a body of reserves under the duke of Orleans in the rear, and to give the command of the first division to the two marshals, Arnold d'Andreghen and John de Clermont. The cardinal Talleyrand was again in the field; but his entreaties were fruitless, and he then rode to convey the tidings to the prince, who coolly replied: "God defend the right!" and the departure of the legate was made the signal for the commencement of the battle. The French marshals at the head of their cavalry, fearlessly entered the lane, and were suffered to advance without molestation. At last the order was given; the archers behind the hedges poured in destructive volleys of arrows; the passage was choked with men and horses in the agonies of death; and the confusion became irremediable from the increasing pressure of the rest of the column. A few knights forced their way through every obstacle; others broke down the hedges, and in small bodies reached different points in front of the English; but not one could penetrate as far as the main body. The arrows were directed with too sure an aim to be eluded by address, and flew with a rapidity not to be resisted by ordinary armour. D'Andreghen was unhorsed and taken; Clermont was killed; the survivors, dismayed by their fate, paused, then retired slowly, and at last fled with precipitation to the second division, which received them within its ranks.

But that division now began to waver. The archers, the terror of the men-at-arms at a distance, advanced in front; and a body of six hundred English was unexpectedly seen to cross a neighbouring hill, and fall on the left flank. The knights in the

rear hastily left their banners to secure their horses, and the lords who had the charge of the three princes, alarmed for their safety, sent them to Chauvigni under a guard of eight hundred lances. The departure of so large a body was mistaken for a flight, and the whole division in a few minutes dispersed.

The men-at-arms under Edward had hitherto been spectators of the combat. "Sir," said sir John Chandos to the prince, "the field is won. Let us mount, and charge the French king. I know him for an intrepid knight, who will never flee from an enemy. It may be a bloody attempt; but, please God and St. George, he shall be our prisoner." The advice was approved, and the army advanced from the enclosures to the moor, which had become the theatre of battle. The duke of Athens, constable of France, was the first to throw himself in their way; his shout of "Mountjoy and St. Denis!" was answered by the national cry of "St. George for Guienne!" and in a few minutes the duke, with the greater part of his followers, was slain. The German cavalry next charged the English, but were easily dispersed, with the loss of the three earls, their commanders. Lastly, John himself, animated by despair (for his reserve had fled already), led up his division on foot, and fought for honour, when it was evidently too late to fight for victory.

When kings have fallen, or have been taken in battle, it has always been the fashion to describe them as performing prodigies of valour; but John does not owe his reputation to flattery or pity; it had been previously established in several engagements, and was equally acknowledged by friends and foes. For a while he maintained the unequal contest. He had received two wounds in the face; was beaten to the ground; and was surrounded by a host of adversaries, each of whom was anxious to secure so noble a prize. A young knight, bursting through the crowd, bent his knee, and requested him to surrender, or he would lose his life. He asked for his cousin, the prince of Wales. "He is not here," returned the knight, "but surrender to me, and I will conduct you to him." "But who are you?" enquired the king. "Denis de Morbecque," he replied, "a knight of Artois, but compelled to serve the king of England, because I have been banished from France." John surrendered to him; and his son Philip was made prisoner at the same time.

Thus ended the battle of Poitiers, in which the whole chivalry of France was defeated by a handful of Englishmen, and the king became the captive of the prince whom he persuaded himself he

had enclosed in his toils. If on such an occasion, the youthful mind of the conqueror had betrayed symptoms of vanity, it would have been pardonable ; but Edward's moderation in victory added to the admiration which he had inspired by his conduct in battle. There were in his army many knights who could have disputed with him the palm of personal bravery ; there was not, perhaps, one his equal in the more amiable accomplishments of modesty and courtesy.

**Modesty of
the Black
Prince.**

He behaved to his royal captive with the respect due to a sovereign, waited on him at table, and soothed his afflictions. The next morning he continued his march with his prisoners to Bordeaux, and having concluded a truce for two years with the dauphin, the regent of France, returned to England in the spring. He landed with John at Sandwich, and proceeded by easy journeys to London, where arches were thrown across the streets ; and the road was lined with crowds of spectators. The king of France was mounted on a cream-coloured charger with magnificent trappings ; the young Edward rode on a small pony, without anything to distinguish him ; but he did not elude the eager eyes of the spectators, who hailed with loud acclamations the conqueror of Poitiers. The cavalcade reached Westminster Hall, where the king was seated on his throne, surrounded by his prelates and barons. When John entered he rose, descended to embrace him, and led him to partake of a splendid banquet. The palace of the Savoy, and afterwards the castle of Windsor, was allotted to him and his son for their residence.

Negotiations for the ransom of David of Scotland occupied much attention for a long time. At length a treaty was agreed upon for a stipulated sum. David died before all was arranged ; but the great truce (so it was called) was carefully observed, and the money was faithfully paid by Robert, his successor, the first of the house of Stuart who sat on the Scottish throne.

But to adjust the rival claims of the kings of England and France was a matter of infinitely greater difficulty. Edward required an enormous ransom for the king and the other prisoners, and demanded, in return for his renunciation of all claim to the crown of France, the restoration of the provinces which had formerly belonged to his ancestors, to be holden by him in full sovereignty, without any dependence on the French monarch. John, though he delayed, at length acceded to Edward's demands ; but a peremptory refusal was unanimously returned by the French when asked to ratify the treaty. Edward complained that

**Negotiations
for ransom of
French king
fall through.**

he was deceived by his adversaries, and bade them prepare for war.

In autumn, 1359, the king sailed from Sandwich with eleven hundred transports, conveying the most numerous and best appointed army which had been raised in England for more than a century. He marched from Calais through Picardy, Artois, and Cambresis, as far as Rheims, which he besieged, but without success.

Edward soon planted his banner before the gates of Paris. After wreaking his vengeance on the suburbs by setting them on fire, he departed, with a threat that he would soon pay the capital a second and more formidable visit. Peace was, however, concluded shortly afterwards, at Bretigny. The king of England renounced his pretensions to the crown of France, and his claim to the ancient

patrimonial possessions of his family, Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, and Maine; he restored all his conquests, with the exception of Calais and Guisnes; and reserved to himself Poitou and Guienne with their dependencies, and the county of Ponthieu, the inheritance of his mother. The dauphin on the part of his father, consented that Edward and his heirs should possess for ever the full sovereignty of the countries secured to him by the treaty; that a ransom of three million crowns of gold should be paid for John within the course of six years; and that Edward should receive and detain as hostages twenty-five French barons, sixteen of the prisoners made in the battle of Poitiers, and forty-two burghers from the most opulent cities in France. John came back to England on public business, in 1364, and died in London.

The king of England, soon after the peace with France, had united all his dominions between the Loire and the Pyrenees into one principality and had bestowed it on his eldest son, the Black Prince, with the title of prince of Aquitaine. At this period Pedro the Cruel, who was king of Castile, was attacked by some of his subjects aided by French mercenaries under the famous Bertrand du Guesclin. Pedro was driven out of Castile, and taking refuge in Bordeaux enlisted the help of Edward the Black Prince, who, raising an army of English and Gascons, crossed the Pyrenees, with the intention of restoring Pedro to his kingdom. At Navarette he routed the Castilians and their French allies, and took Bertrand du Guesclin prisoner. But Pedro then refused to repay the money spent by Edward in raising his army, whereupon that prince withdrew in anger to Bordeaux, with an exhausted

Edward again invades France, 1359.
Treaty of Bretigny, 1360.
War in Castile.
Battle of Navarette, 1367.

from different points to besiege him with their united forces. He declared that his enemies should find him in the field; unable to ride, he was carried forth in a litter; his standard was unfurled at Cognac; and there was still such a magic in his name, that the French princes disbanded their armies, and garrisoned their conquests. Amongst these was Limoges, which the prince had

**Massacre of
Limoges,
1370.**

always distinguished with particular marks of his attachment. Exasperated by the rebellion of the citizens, he stormed the town, and issued orders for the promiscuous massacre of the whole population; a deed that has deeply stained his otherwise untarnished fame. But the military career of the prince was now terminated. The effort had exhausted his enfeebled constitution; and by the advice of his physicians he returned to England, where, at a distance from the court and from political concerns, he lingered till 1376, cheering the gloom which hung over him with the hope that his second son Richard (the eldest was dead) would succeed to the crown, and uphold the renown of his family.

In the year 1374, England retained of her transmarine possessions only Calais, Bordeaux, Bayonne, and a few places on the Dordogne. Edward, weary of this succession of disasters, obtained a truce, which at short intervals was repeatedly prolonged till his death. The pope continually exhorted the kings to convert the truce into a peace; but their resentments were too violent, their pretensions too high, to allow any adjustment.

Edward, in his latter years, lived in obscurity at Eltham. On the morning of his death his domestics separated to plunder the palace; but a priest, who chanced to be present, hastening to the bed of the dying monarch, admonished him of his situation, and bade him prepare himself to appear before his Creator. Edward, who had just strength sufficient to thank him, took a crucifix into his hands, kissed it, wept, and expired on the 21st June, 1377.

**Death of
Edward III.,
1377.**

The king had been once married, to Philippa of Hainault, who died in 1369, and was buried at Westminster. She bore him a numerous family, seven sons and five daughters; of whom three sons and one daughter survived him. His death happened in the sixty-fifth year of his life, and the fifty-first of his reign.

In personal accomplishments Edward is said to have been superior, in mental powers to have been equal, to any of his

predecessors. More than usual care had been bestowed on his education ; and he could not only speak English and French, but also understood German and Latin. His elocution was graceful, his conversation entertaining, his behaviour dignified, but also attractive. To the fashionable amusements of hunting and hawking he was much addicted ; but to these he preferred the more warlike exercise of the tournament ; and his subjects, at the conclusion of the exhibition, often burst into transports of applause, when they found that the unknown knight, whose prowess they admired, proved to be their own sovereign. Of his courage as a combatant, and his abilities as a general, the reader will have formed a competent opinion from the preceding pages. The astonishing victories, which cast so much glory on one period of his reign, appear to have dazzled the eyes both of his subjects and foreigners, who placed him in the first rank of conquerors ; but the disasters which clouded the evening of his life, have furnished a proof that his ambition was greater than his judgment. He was at last convinced that the crowns of France and Scotland were beyond his reach ; but not till he had exhausted the strength of the nation by a series of gigantic but fruitless efforts. Before his death all his conquests, with the exception of Calais, had slipped from his grasp ; the greater part of his hereditary dominions on the continent had been torn from him by a rival, whom he formerly despised ; and a succession of short and precarious truces was sought and accepted as a boon by the monarch who, in his more fortunate days, had dictated the peace of Bretigny.

Character of Edward.

His ambitions a failure.

Still the military expeditions of Edward, attended as they were with a great expenditure of money and effusion of blood, became in the result productive of advantages, which had neither been intended nor foreseen by their author. By plunging the king into debt, they rendered him more dependent on the people, who, while they bitterly complained of the increasing load of taxation, secured by the temporary sacrifice of their money, permanent benefits both for themselves and posterity. There was scarcely a grievance, introduced by the ingenuity of feudal lawyers or the arrogance of feudal superiority, for which they did not procure a legal, and often an effectual remedy. It was not, indeed, a time when even parliamentary statutes were faithfully observed. But during a reign of fifty years, the commons annually preferred the same complaints ; the king annually made the same grants ;

Advantages derived from his wars.

and at length, by the mere dint of repeated complaint and repeated concession, the grievances were in most cases considerably mitigated—in some, entirely removed.

One of the most intolerable of these grievances was that of *purveyance*, which in defiance of former enactments, continued to press heavily on the people. This was the furnishing of carriage and provisions for the court wherever and whenever the king travelled; such requisitions, moreover, were often, though illegally, assumed by the great officers of state, and occasionally by powerful noblemen. Payment was hard to obtain; and the consequent loss to those from whom the requisitions had been made was very great. But by successive statutes, a strong barrier was at last opposed to these extortions; the right itself, however, was not completely abolished till the reign of Charles II. three centuries later.

Much also was done at this period to clear the administration of justice from many of its abuses. To silence the complaint, and remove the temptation of bribery in the judges, a competent addition was made to their salaries; and as a check on the proceedings of the courts, it was ordained that all informations should be laid, and all pleas should be held in English instead of in Norman-French. This was a most valuable improvement, operating as a powerful stimulus to fidelity in the advocate, and impartiality in the judge.

Another improvement, the benefit of which is still felt by the inhabitants of these realms, was, the statute of treasons, passed in the "Blessed Parliament," as it was called, in 1351. High treason is, of all civil offences, the most heinous in the eyes of the law, which for that reason, subjects the culprit to the utmost severity of punishment. Yet this crime was so loosely defined, that the judges claimed the power of creating constructive treasons, and frequently convicted of that offence persons whose real guilt amounted only to felony or trespass. In 1351 it was at length, after many previous efforts, determined that treason should, for the future, be confined to seven specified offences.

The people had now learnt to appreciate the utility of parliament as a check on the power of their sovereigns, and as a means of extorting from them the redress of grievances, and of securing liberties through the control they exercised in the granting of supplies. The form parliaments assumed, and the manner in which they

**Adminis-
tration of
justice.**

**Statute of
Treasons,
1351.**

**Parliament;
its consti-
tution and
functions.**

were conducted during the period must therefore prove interesting. A full parliament consisted of the three estates of clergy, lords, and commons. But as the first estate, the clergy, came to meet exclusively in their own ecclesiastical gathering, called convocation, refused to interfere in civil enactments, and communicated with the king through their prelates, who were members of the house of lords; the word *parliament* soon came to signify the other estates assembled to consult with the king. The second estate comprised the lords who held by barony of the crown, and these were subdivided into spiritual and temporal peers, consisting of all the bishops, earls, and barons, several abbots, and a few priors. To these must be added the judges of the king's courts, and the ordinary members of the king's council.

The third estate was composed of the knights of the shires, and the representatives of the cities and boroughs. The several estates did not sit and vote together, but deliberated separately. The law was said to emanate from the king, at the petition of the subject; but laws granted by the king at the prayer of one estate, if they affected, in their bearings, any of the other estates, required their assent also. But the clergy seldom, perhaps never, gave their assent to the petitions of the lords or commons. This principle of assent being necessary for the validity of laws was the chief weapon with which the commons fought all their battles. To every unjust imposition, every oppressive ordinance, they opposed the unanswerable argument that their assent was necessary to make it legal. As the petitions granted were sometimes forgotten, the commons began to require that the more important of them should be put into proper form, published, and enrolled; and thus they could be appealed to as matters of record. The commons, from their situation in life, were best acquainted with the wants and the grievances of the nation; and while they were, therefore, employed in framing new statutes or soliciting the execution of old ones, the lords devoted themselves to the exercise of their judicial duties, settling cases in dispute, and determining those points of law on which the judges had not dared to pronounce of their own authority in the king's courts.

From the reign of Edward I., it had been illegal to levy an aid, or impose a tallage, by the sole authority of the sovereign; this made him dependent on the bounty of his subjects. The wars of Edward III. compelled him annually to solicit an aid; and thus, during the course of a long reign, was firmly established the *practice* of what

**System of
taxation.**

before was the *law*, though imperfectly grasped—the right of the people to tax themselves.

The most ancient method of raising a supply was by a tallage on moveable property, varying from a thirtieth to a seventh. Under John, each individual swore to the value of his own property; bailiffs swearing in the place of prelates, earls, and barons. By Henry III., every man was compelled to swear not only to the amount of his own moveables, but to that of the moveables belonging to his two next neighbours; if there was a discrepancy, the truth was enquired into by a jury of twelve. By moveables were understood not only corn, cattle, and merchandise, but money, fuel, furniture, and wearing apparel.

In addition to tallage, a duty on the export of wool and hides furnished a plentiful source of revenue. The king also received in addition the tax, afterwards known by the appellation of *tonnage* and *poundage*, of two shillings on every ton of wine imported, and of sixpence on every pound of goods imported or exported. It was granted on condition he should keep a fleet at sea for the protection of commerce. There was also another tax of one hundred and sixteen shillings levied on each parish throughout the kingdom.

By means of these levies on the national wealth, the armies, which were so long the terror of France, were maintained. The

Military service.

king could, indeed, summon to his standard all the male population of the country; but the exercise of this right was lawful only in actual danger of invasion; he could compel his tenants to follow him to foreign war, but the obligation of service was limited to forty days, too short a space for operations on a great scale; hence, he was willing to accept pecuniary aid instead of personal service, for therewith mercenaries could be hired. The levies consisted of men-at-arms. These were divided into (1) *heavy cavalry*, who were covered with armour of iron from head to foot, bearing a shield for defence, and lance, sword, battle-axe, or mace for offensive weapons. (2) The *hoblers* were more lightly-armed cavalry. Then came (3) the *archers*, armed with bows, six feet in length. The victories gained by the English during the reign of Edward III. were mainly owing to this destructive weapon. (4) In the last place came the rest of the *foot soldiers*, furnished with skull caps, quilted jackets, and iron gloves. The earl constable and earl marshal held the principal commands under the sovereign. The officers who undertook the charge of the cavalry were called constables; the infantry was divided and subdivided into thousands,

hundreds, and twenties, commanded by their respective leaders, centenars and vintenars.

At this period the same vessel served alternately for the purposes of commerce and war; the king claimed the right of purveyance of ships as well as of other articles; and mariners were pressed into his service to man them.

Naval
service.

During the fourteenth century, the rivalry already mentioned between the civil and ecclesiastical judicatures continued to exist, and each accused the other of attempted encroachments. As the limits of their respective authorities had not been accurately defined, it is probable that their complaints were not unfounded; and many causes might in one aspect belong to the cognizance of the spiritual, and under another to that of the civil judge. But the latter possessed an advantage in the power of issuing prohibitions by which he could stay proceedings in the spiritual court. But in process of time, through the power of voting or withholding aids, the clergy extorted from the sovereign certain privileges, such as withdrawing clerks from the secular courts, except in cases of treason.

Affairs of
the Church;
spiritual and
temporal
courts.

The popes continued to require pecuniary aids to enable them to conduct the government of the universal church. The papal revenues derived from England arose from four principal sources. (1) The *Peter-pence*, established in Saxon times, being a tax of one penny on every householder of a certain rating. It remained at a certain fixed sum per annum for centuries. The increase of wealth and population in England made the popes desirous of an increase in the amount of this tribute, but the demand was resisted. (2) The grant made by king John, of one thousand marks a year, called the *census*, as an acknowledgment that he held the crown in fee of the pope. This tribute was regularly paid till Edward III.'s wars caused it to fall into arrears for thirty-three years, when, in 1366, Urban V. demanded payment. The king consulted the lords, spiritual and temporal, who decided that neither John nor any other person could subject the kingdom to another power without the consent of the nation; and the commons concurring, and determining to resist the claim, the question of the census was set at rest for ever. (3) The *first-fruits*, originally a gift made by each bishop to the pope on his consecration, came to be a fixed charge, regulated by the value of the benefice, and insensibly grew to be rated at one year's

Demands of
the popes.

income. (4) It may be proper to notice the manner in which the provisions to bishoprics devolved on the holy see. After the concession of the Great Charter, it became the custom, on the vacancy of a see, for the chapter to solicit a *congé d'élire* to choose the future bishop, and to present him to the king for the royal approbation. When the election had been confirmed by the pope or the metropolitan, the confirmation was notified to the king, who received the homage of the new bishop, and gave him the temporalities of his bishopric. It lay in the power of the pope, however, in order to secure a proper person for the episcopal office, to reject any individual he might think unfit; hence it was usual for our monarchs to exert all their influence at the Roman court to free themselves from an obnoxious, and to exalt a favourite prelate. The popes, when they thought fit, exercised the right of institution, and, by means of "provisions," appointed to vacant bishoprics. Nor did the king view this with displeasure; if he acquiesced in the papal choice, he might in return expect that equal attention would be paid to his own recommendations. He was probably a gainer in the long run. Little by little, the papal "provisions" came to be so worded that the pope appeared to entrust to the new bishops the care of the temporalities as well as the spiritualities of their sees. Protests were raised; but as the court of Rome persisted in the use of the obnoxious form, the crown instituted a formal instrument to be signed by every bishop, whereby he renounced every clause of the papal provision prejudicial to the rights of the crown; and this course continued to be regularly pursued, till "provisions" were finally abolished in the reign of Henry VIII.

But provisions to inferior benefices created much more general dissatisfaction; the rights of patrons were considered to be invaded: livings were bestowed on clergy non-resident in England, and even ignorant of the language; and the wealth of the English church occasionally went to support those advocating the cause of the enemies of England. At the same time, it must be borne in mind that occasionally, indeed, frequently, the sovereign solicited "provisions" for his own servants, thus exonerating himself from the obligation of remunerating them out of the revenues of the crown.

The pope kept papal procurators in England more in a temporal than spiritual capacity. It was their duty to collect the moneys referred to, to execute the letters of provision, to serve citations, and to notify judgments on appeal. But they were always objects of suspicion and jealousy to the crown,

and were subjected to rigorous restrictions and limitations of their powers.

The different claims of the pontiffs became the subject of parliamentary investigation in 1307. In 1343, an act was passed, forbidding, under pain of forfeiture, any person to bring into the realm, or to receive, or execute, provisions, reservations, or letters of any other description, which should be contrary to the rights of the king, or of his subjects. In 1341, the penalty to be incurred by offenders was outlawry, perpetual imprisonment, or abjuration of the realm. In 1351, a new statute provided that ecclesiastical elections should be free, and the rights of patrons should be preserved; that if the pope disturbed such rights, the collation should fall to the crown, when the patron neglected to exercise his right. This merely substituted the king for the pope; so, in 1353, it was further enacted, that whoever should plead in a foreign court on matters whose cognizance belonged to the king's courts, should suffer various penalties. This prevented appeals to Rome. In 1364, all the former statutes were confirmed.

Of the primacy of the pontiff, or of his *spiritual* jurisdiction, there was never any question; both these were repeatedly acknowledged by the commons in their petitions, and by the king in his letters. But it was contended that the pope was surrounded by subtle and rapacious counsellors, who abused for their own emolument the confidence of their master; that by their advice he had assumed a *temporal* authority, to which he could have no claim; and this was resisted by the very same men who received with deference the doctrinal decisions and disciplinary regulations of their chief pastor. This dispute is important in our history, as it proves beyond contradiction that the distinction between the spiritual and temporal power of the pope, which is maintained by the catholics of the present day, was a principle fully recognized by their catholic ancestors many centuries ago.

The obstinacy with which the court of Rome urged the exercise of these obnoxious claims tended to loosen the ties which bound the people to the head of the church, to nourish a spirit of opposition to his authority, and to create a willingness to listen to the declamations, and adopt the opinions of religious innovators, such as Wyclif, respecting the life of which extraordinary man, a few words may now be said.

It is in the history of Edward III.'s reign that the name of Wyclif is first mentioned. He was, about 1360, engaged in a controversy with the different orders of friars. They had been established in England for more than a century; and by their

zeal, piety, and learning, had deservedly earned the esteem of the public. Some taught with applause in the universities; many lent their aid to the parochial clergy in the discharge of their ministry; several had been raised to the episcopal dignity; and others had been employed in difficult and important negotiations by their sovereigns. This controversy had no immediate result; but it was the origin of that violent hostility to the friars which Wyclif displayed in every subsequent stage of his life. By degrees he diverted his invectives from the friars to the whole body of the clergy. The pope, the bishops, the parish clergy, and the monks, smarted successively under the lash.

The coarseness of Wyclif's invectives soon became the subject of astonishment and complaint. In the last year of Edward, while the parliament was sitting, he was summoned to answer in St. Paul's before the primate and the bishop of London. He obeyed; but made his appearance between the two most powerful subjects in England, the duke of Lancaster, and Percy the lord marshal. Their object was to intimidate his opponents; and the attempt was begun by Lancaster, who ordered a chair to be given to Wyclif. Courtenay, the bishop of London, replied that it was not customary for the accused to sit in the presence, and without the permission, of his judges. A vehement altercation ensued, and the language of Lancaster grew so abusive, that the populace rose in defence of their bishop, and had it not been for his interference, would have offered violence to his reviler. Though the duke escaped with his life, his palace of the Savoy was pillaged.

Wyclif found it necessary to make the best apology in his power, and was permitted to depart with a severe reprimand, and an order to be silent for the future on those subjects which had given so much cause for complaint.

The sequel of Wyclif's history will be related in the narrative of the reign of the next monarch.

CHAPTER XIV

RICHARD II. 1377-1399

WHILE Edward yet lay on his death-bed, a deputation of the citizens of London waited on Richard of Bordeaux, the son and heir of the Black Prince, and offered him the throne. The same day his grandfather died; the next afternoon Richard made his entry into the capital as king, and was crowned on the 16th July, 1377. **Succession and coronation of Richard II., 1377.**

The following day the prelates and barons held a great council to arrange the form of the new government during the minority of the king, and they chose, "in aid of the chancellor and treasurer," twelve counsellors, two bishops, two earls, two barons, two baronets, and four knights.

The truce between England and France had expired before the death of Edward; and Charles had taken the opportunity to renew hostilities, and add to his former conquests. His fleets insulted the English coasts; and he obtained the co-operation of the Spaniards. The king summoned parliament after parliament to demand the aid of his people; and these assemblies, imitating those of the last reign, accompanied every grant with petitions, which procured the confirmation of the statutes already enacted, and led to the acquisition of new and valuable privileges, still enjoyed by the house of commons at the present day. **Renewal of hostilities with France.**

The duke of Lancaster conducted an army to Bretagne, besieged the town of St. Malo, lay during several weeks before the walls, and then returned to England without fighting the enemy, or achieving a single conquest. The Scots at the same time violated the truce, burned Roxburgh, and surprised Berwick, which was soon recovered by the earl of Northumberland. Several petty engagements were fought at sea by private adventurers. The French had successively obtained possession of every fortress in Bretagne, with the exception of Brest. Charles flattering himself that he **Expedition to Bretagne, 1378.**

was secure of his conquest, by a definite judgment annexed the duchy to the French crown; a precipitate and injudicious measure, which instantly awakened all the national prejudices of the Bretons. They combined to assert their independence, recalled their duke, expelled the French, and earnestly solicited assistance from England. The first expedition under sir John Arundel was dispersed by a storm, in which the general and the greater part of the men-at-arms perished. A second army was raised, and placed under the command of the earl of Buckingham, the king's uncle. He crossed from Dover to Calais, and directed his march through the heart of France. Charles soon died, the Bretons transferred their jealousy from the French to their allies; and peace was made with the regency which governed France during the minority of Charles VI.

At this period a secret ferment seems to have pervaded the mass of the people in many nations of Europe. Men were no longer willing to submit to the impositions of their rulers, or to wear the chains which had been thrown round the necks of their fathers by a warlike and haughty aristocracy. In England a spirit of discontent agitated the whole body of the *villains* or bondsmen, who remained in almost the same situation in which they had been at the Norman conquest. They now rose, and by their union and perseverance contrived to intimidate their lords, and set at defiance the severity of the law. The revolt began in Essex, and in a few days all that county was in a state of insurrection, under the command of an ill-conducted priest, who had assumed the name of Jack Straw.

Discontent amongst the lower orders.
Insurrection, 1381.

The men of Kent were not long behind their neighbours in Essex. At Dartford one of the collectors had demanded the tax for a young girl, the daughter of a tyler. Her mother maintained that she was under the age required by the statute; and the officer was proceeding to indecent conduct, when her father, who had just returned from work, killed him with a stroke from his hammer. His courage was applauded by his neighbours. They swore that they would protect him from punishment, and by threats and promises secured the co-operation of all the villages in the western division of Kent.

At Maidstone, they appointed Wat the Tyler of that town leader of the commons of Kent. The mayor and aldermen of Canterbury were compelled to swear fidelity to the good cause; several of the citizens were slain; and five hundred joined them

in their intended march towards London. When they reached Blackheath, their numbers are said to have amounted to one hundred thousand men. To this lawless and tumultuous multitude one John Ball was appointed preacher, and assumed for the text of his first sermon the following lines :

When Adam dived, and Evé span,
Who was then the gentleman ?

The king, with his cousin Henry earl of Derby, Simon archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor, and about one hundred serjeants and knights, had left the castle of Windsor, and repaired for greater security to the Tower of London. The next morning, in his barge, he descended the river to receive the petitions of the insurgents. To the number of ten thousand they waited his arrival at Rotherhithe ; but their horrid yells and uncouth appearance so intimidated his attendants, that instead of permitting him to land, they took advantage of the tide, and returned with precipitation. Tyler and Straw, irritated by this dis-
Excesses in
London.
 appointment, led their men into London, where they demolished Newgate, and liberated the prisoners, plundered and destroyed the magnificent palace of the Savoy, belonging to the duke of Lancaster, and burned the Temple with the books and records. To prove, however, that they had no views of private emolument, a proclamation was issued, forbidding any one to secrete part of the plunder ; and so severely was the prohibition enforced, that the plate was hammered and cut into small pieces, the precious stones were beaten to powder, and one of the rioters, who had concealed a silver cup in his bosom, was immediately thrown with his prize into the river. To every man whom they met they put the question, "With whom holdest thou?" and unless he gave the proper answer, "With king Richard and the commons," he was instantly beheaded.

The princess of Wales held a council with the ministers in the Tower ; and a resolution was taken to try the influence of promises and concession. In the morning, the Tower-hill was seen covered with an immense multitude. A herald ordered them, by proclamation, to retire to Mile-end, where the king would assent to all their demands. Immediately the gates were thrown open ; Richard with a few unarmed attendants rode forward ; the best intentioned of the crowd followed him ; and at Mile-end he saw himself surrounded with sixty thousand petitioners. Their demands were reduced to four : the abolition of slavery ; the reduction of the rent of land to fourpence the

acre; the free liberty of buying and selling in all fairs and markets; and a general pardon for past offences. **Some of the popular demands granted by charter.** A charter to that effect was granted; and the whole body, consisting chiefly of the men of Essex and Hertfordshire, retired, bearing the king's banner, as a token that they were under his protection.

But Tyler and Straw had formed other and more ambitious designs. The moment the king was gone, they rushed at the head of four hundred men into the Tower, and killed the archbishop, Simon of Sudbury, and five others. The next morning as the king rode through Smithfield, with sixty horsemen, he encountered

Murder of the archbishop of Canterbury. Tyler at the head of twenty thousand insurgents. As soon as he saw Richard, he made a sign to his followers to halt, and boldly rode up to the king. A conversation immediately began; Tyler, as he talked, affected to play with his dagger; at last he laid his hand on the bridle of his sovereign; but at the instant

Wat Tyler is killed. Walworth, the lord mayor, fearful of his design, plunged a short sword in his throat. He spurred his horse, rode about a dozen yards, fell to the ground, and was despatched by Robert Standish, one of the king's esquires. The insurgents who witnessed the transaction drew their bows to revenge the fall of their leader, and Richard would inevitably have lost his life, had he not been saved by his own intrepidity. Galloping up to the archers, he

The insurgents quelled. exclaimed: "What are you doing, my lieges? Tyler was a traitor. Come with me, and I will be your leader." Wavering and disconcerted, they followed him into the fields at Islington, whither a force of one thousand men-at-arms hastened to protect the young king; and the insurgents falling on their knees, begged for mercy. Many of the royalists demanded permission to punish them for their past excesses; but Richard firmly refused, and ordered the suppliants to return to their homes.

As soon as the death of Tyler and the dispersion of the men of Kent and Essex were known, thousands became eager to display their loyalty. At the head of forty thousand horse, the king published proclamations, revoking the charters of **Punishment of the insurgents; repeal of the charter.** manumission which he had granted. In several parts, the commons threatened to renew the horrors of the late tumult in defence of their liberties; but the approach of the royal army dismayed them; and numerous executions in different counties effectually crushed the spirit of resistance.

When the parliament met, the two houses were informed by the chancellor, that the king had revoked the charters of emancipation which he had been compelled to grant to the *villeins*; but at the same time wished to submit to their consideration, whether it might not be wise to abolish the state of bondage altogether. The minds of the great proprietors were not, however, prepared for the adoption of so liberal a measure; and the charters were repealed by authority of parliament.

In 1382, Richard married Anne of Bohemia, the daughter of the late emperor, Charles IV., a princess of great accomplishments, and of still greater virtue, who during the twelve years of their union possessed the affections of her husband, and after her death was long remembered by the people under the appellation of the "good queen Anne."

Before we proceed to the subsequent transactions of this reign, it will be proper to resume the history of Wyclif. The insurrection of the commons had created a strong prejudice against the new doctrines of that reformer. A few weeks before the death of the late king, eighteen propositions, selected from the works and lectures of Wyclif, had been laid before Gregory XI.; and the writer was summoned to explain his opinions in the presence of the primate, and of the bishop of London. At his trial he exhibited to the prelates a paper professing his readiness to submit to the correction of the church, and a revocation of whatever he may have taught contrary to the doctrine of Christ. He then endeavoured to explain, qualify, and defend his propositions; and was dismissed, with an order to abstain from the use of language calculated to perplex and mislead the ignorant. Wyclif died suddenly at the close of the year 1384.

In 1382, the king had reached his seventeenth year. The resolution and intrepidity which he had displayed during the insurrection seemed to portend a fortunate and glorious reign; and the qualities of his heart were recommended by the superior beauty of his person, and the elegance of his manners. And yet, his reign from this period became a succession of errors and misfortunes, which ultimately cost him his crown and his life. His ministers were not selected from the higher classes in the state; and the favour which they enjoyed was construed into a crime by the ancient families. This systematic opposition to his favourites exasperated the king. At first, the duke of Lancaster had been the chief object of suspicion. The prince thought proper to seek an

Proceedings
against
Wyclif:
increase of
lollardry.

The king
assumes the
reins of
government.

asylum at the Scottish court; nor did he return till the king by proclamation bore testimony to his innocence. Some time afterwards, however, a Carmelite friar put into the king's hands the written particulars of a real or pretended conspiracy to place the crown on the head of Lancaster. Richard was advised to communicate it to the duke, who swore that it was false, offered to prove his innocence by battle, and required that the informer might be committed to close custody for future examination. The friar persisted in his story, and was given to the care of sir John Holand, who strangled him with his own hands. This murder did not remove the secret suspicions of Richard, but he dissembled; and Lancaster crossed the sea to obtain a prolongation of the armistice. A resolution was, however, taken to arrest him on his return; but he disappointed his enemies, and shut himself up in his strong castle of Pontefract, till the king's mother, by repeated journeys and entreaties, reconciled the uncle and nephew, and also obtained a full pardon for sir John Holand.

In consequence of a treaty concluded at Paris, the king of France had sent to Scotland an aid of one thousand men-at-arms. The allied forces, after some delay, burst at length into Northumberland, and took three castles; but the approach of Richard with an army of eighty thousand men, compelled them to retire with precipitation.

This was the first time that the young king had appeared at the head of an army. While he was at York his mother died. The king of Scots, sensible of his inability to arrest, did not attempt to oppose the progress of the English army. Edinburgh, Dunfermline, Perth, and Dundee were reduced to ashes; and the vanguard had reached the walls of Aberdeen, when advice was received that the Scots were ravaging the counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland. The army was disbanded; and the Scots and French boasted that the havoc which they had wrought in Cumberland and Westmoreland more than balanced the destruction caused by the English in Scotland.

In the next parliament the king confirmed the honours which he had bestowed during the expedition. His uncles, the earls of Cambridge and Buckingham, had been created dukes of York and Gloucester. Henry of Bolingbroke son to the duke of Lancaster, and Edward Plantagenet son to the duke of York, were made earls of Derby and Rutland. At the same time, to cut off the ambitious hopes of his uncle Lancaster, he

**Campaign
in Scotland,
1385.**

**Roger, earl
of March,
declared
heir-pre-
sumptive to
Richard II.**

declared Roger earl of March, the grandson of Lionel duke of Clarence, the presumptive heir to the throne.

At this time an embassy from Portugal arrived in London, to solicit the aid of the duke of Lancaster in a quarrel between that country and Castile. The duke accepted the proposal with pleasure; and Richard was glad of any pretext to remove him out of the kingdom. The expedition sailed to Portugal, where the duke was met by king

**Duke of
Lancaster
goes to
Spain.**

John, and to cement their friendship a marriage was celebrated between that prince and the eldest daughter of Lancaster. But the campaign proved unfortunate; the king of Castile proposed to marry Lancaster's only daughter by his present wife Constantia, and heiress to her mother's pretensions to the crown of Spain, to Henry, his son and heir. The offer was accepted. Henry and Catherine were married, in 1387, and created prince and princess of the Asturias. Their issue reigned over Spain for many generations.

Richard soon found reason to lament the absence of Lancaster, whose authority had hitherto checked the duke of Gloucester. But that prince now assumed the ascendancy; fomented the discontent of the nobility; new modelled the government; and left to his nephew little more than the empty title of king. The French, encouraged by the absence of the army in Spain, had seriously formed the design of invading England. Their preparations of arms, provisions, and ships were immense. The earl of Arundel received the command of the English fleet, with instructions to destroy the ships of the enemy as soon as they had landed their forces. The confidence of the nation revived; but the opportunity was seized by Gloucester, to plot the overthrow of the administration. The intended invasion, from unforeseen occurrences, was delayed from week to week, till it became necessary to postpone it to the following year; and Richard summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster, in which the two parties made the experiment of their strength. The session was opened by a speech from the chancellor, who informed the houses that the king intended to lead an army into France in support of his right to the French crown; and that if such a measure met with their approbation, they must provide the funds necessary to defray its expense. But the lords and commons, instead of applying to these subjects, presented a petition for the removal of the ministers. Richard retired to his palace at Eltham, and ordered the two houses to proceed to the consideration of the supply. They refused to obey

**Dissension
between the
king and the
duke of
Gloucester.**

until he should grant their petition, and return to his parliament. After a struggle of almost three weeks, he came to Westminster, and dismissed the obnoxious ministers. But this condescension encouraged his adversaries; and the commons impeached the late chancellor. He was acquitted on four charges; on the others his answers were pronounced insufficient; and he was therefore adjudged to pay a fine, and to be confined in prison during the king's pleasure. Soon after the dissolution of the parliament he was released.

The objects of the party in opposition to the court more clearly unfolded themselves, and it was proposed to establish a permanent council, with powers to reform the state of the nation. To such a measure the king declared that he would never give his assent, and threatened to dissolve the parliament. At length, when one of the lords represented to him that if he should persist in his refusal, his life would be in danger, his obstinacy was subdued; and with a reluctant hand he signed a commission to enquire into all the alleged grievances, and to provide such remedies as should appear good. The commissioners commenced their labours by examining the revenue accounts; and the sequel affords a strong presumption that the royal administration had been foully calumniated; for we do not hear of any frauds discovered, or of defaulters punished, or of grievances redressed. The earl of Arundel alone, who had been appointed admiral of the fleet, reflected a lustre on the new administration, by some very bold achievements on the French coast.

When, in 1387, Richard had reached his twentieth year, he resolved to emancipate himself from the actual control of the commissioners. He made a journey through England, and wherever he came, his arrival was distinguished by some act of grace. He held a council of several judges at Nottingham, in which he enjoined them on their allegiance to inform him what was the law of the land on the different questions which should be laid before them. In their reply they maintained, that the commission which had superseded the king in the exercise of the royal authority was subversive of the constitution. They affixed their seals to this answer, and promised on their oaths to keep it secret; but the next day it was betrayed by sir Roger Fulthorpe, one of the number, to the earl of Kent, and was by him communicated to the duke of Gloucester.

Richard, ignorant of this unfortunate discovery, proceeded to make arrangements to secure a majority in the next house of commons. The commission was to expire on the 19th of

November, 1387, and on the 10th Richard entered the capital. He was received with unusual expressions of joy and respect; the mayor and principal citizens wore his livery of white and crimson; and an immense crowd accompanied him to the church of St. Paul's, and thence to his palace at Westminster.

Elated with his reception, the king retired to rest; the next morning he learned with astonishment that a numerous body of forces had reached the neighbourhood of London under the command of the duke of Gloucester and the earls of Arundel and Nottingham, the constable, admiral, and marshal of England. The ensuing day they were joined by the earls of Derby and Warwick; and these five noblemen accused five of the king's favourites of treason. Richard, unable to resist, received them on the next Sunday. They began with the most solemn protestations of attachment and loyalty; then accused of treason the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, sir Robert Tresilian, and sir Nicholas Brembre. Richard answered, that he would summon a parliament, in which justice should be done.

Armed rising of the duke of Gloucester. The "Lords Appellant."

It now became evident that flight alone could save the obnoxious counsellors. The earl of Suffolk reached France; the archbishop concealed himself in Newcastle; and the duke of Ireland repaired to the northern borders of Wales. Here, however, he received letters from the king, authorizing him to raise forces, and promising to join him on the first opportunity. With joy he unfurled the royal banner; and his hopes were encouraged by the accession of Molyneux, the constable of Chester. In a meeting at Huntingdon, Gloucester agreed with the earls of Arundel and Warwick and sir Thomas Mortimer, to depose Richard, and take the crown under his own custody. Their intention was defeated by the opposition of the earls of Derby and Nottingham. In the mean time, the duke of Ireland at the head of five thousand men rapidly advanced towards the Thames, but Gloucester and his friends, acquainted with his motions, marched in the night by different roads from the neighbourhood of London, occupied all the passes before his arrival, and in the first contest defeated him.

On their return to London, Gloucester and Derby, and the other appellants, took from the mayor the keys of the city, and required an audience of the king, who had retired into the Tower. The intimidated monarch yielded to all their demands, and assented to the arrest of his friends.

As soon as the parliament met, Gloucester exhibited articles

of impeachment against the five who had been accused of treason; the latter, with the exception of sir Nicholas Brembre, who was in prison, were called, but did not answer to their names; and

The "Merciless Parliament."

judgment was immediately prayed against them for their default. But the decision was put off till the next day, and all the judges, with the exception of sir William Skipwith, were arrested by Gloucester's orders, on their seats in court, and committed to separate cells in the Tower.

The next morning, the king called upon the judges to give to the lords their opinion respecting the bill of impeachment; who unanimously declared that it was illegal. The peers, however, resolved to proceed, and again demanded judgment; but the house adjourned till the next day, when the demand was repeated, and the primate instantly rising, observed, that the canons forbade the clergy to interfere in judgments of blood. All the bishops and abbots immediately left the house.

Eight days were spent in examining the bill of impeachment. Of the articles in this instrument, fourteen were declared to amount to treason; the accused were found guilty of them all; and the duke, the earl, and Tresilian were separately adjudged to suffer death. The case of the archbishop of York was reserved. Of the victims, three were already beyond their reach. The earl of Suffolk had arrived at Paris; the duke of Ireland had found an asylum in Holland; and the archbishop was still concealed in Northumberland. But Tresilian and Brembre were executed.

For nearly twelve months, Richard continued a mere cipher in the hands of the party. The duke governed with greater lenity than might have been expected from his vindictive disposition; but his administration was not distinguished by any act of sufficient importance to dazzle the eyes of the nation, or to give stability to his power. The terror which Gloucester had inspired insensibly wore away; several of his partisans offered their services to the king; and Richard, by one bold action, instantaneously dissolved that authority which had been cemented with so much blood. In a great council held after Easter, he unexpectedly requested his uncle to tell him his age.

The king regains his authority, 1389. Dismissal of Gloucester.

"Your highness," the duke replied, "is in your twenty-second year." "Then," added the king, "I must certainly be old enough to manage my own concerns. I thank ye, my lords, for your past services, but do not require them any longer." A new treasurer and new chancellor were appointed; the former

council was dismissed, and the king gave his confidence to a few tried friends, with the duke of York and the young earl of Derby, who, though they originally belonged to the commission, had either never forfeited, or had regained the royal favour. Gloucester submitted with reluctance, and after an interview with his nephew retired into the country.

The king was now his own master, and for some years his administration was tranquil and happy. He preserved uninterrupted harmony between himself and his people. Though he retained a deep sense of the injuries which he had suffered, he had the prudence to suppress his resentment; and on the return of the duke of Lancaster, recalled the duke of Gloucester to a seat in the council.

A long and angry controversy took place at this time respecting the appointment of English bishops, which ended entirely to the advantage of the crown; for though the right of election remained to the clergy, it was merely nominal, as they dared not reject the person recommended by the king; and though the pope still pretended to confer the great dignities of the Church by "provision," the "provisor" was invariably the person who had been nominated by the crown.

Termination
of the dispute
with the
court of
Rome, 1391.

If the war between the kings of England and France still continued, it was more from the difficulty of adjusting their differences than from any real enmity between the two monarchs. Of late, hostilities had been suspended by a succession of negotiations which, in 1394, terminated in a truce for four years. Soon afterwards, Richard was deprived of his consort, the good queen Anne, who died at his palace of Shene, and was interred at Westminster. The king appeared inconsolable; and to divert his melancholy was advised to visit his Irish dominions. They had formerly produced a yearly income of thirty thousand pounds; now the receipts were not equal to the ordinary expenses of the government.

Expedition
to Ireland,
1394.

To understand the cause of this defalcation, we must take a hasty review of the past transactions in Ireland. After the fall of Bruce, the second Edward was too much occupied by his domestic enemies, the third by his wars with Scotland and France, to attend to the concerns of the sister island; and the natives, by successive encroachments, gradually confined the English territories within narrower limits. The greater part of Ulster was recovered by the O'Nials; the O'Connors won several districts in Connaught, and in Leinster the O'Brians maintained with

perseverance, and often with success, the cause of Irish independence. Had the natives united in one common effort, they might

Condition of have driven the invaders into the ocean; but they
Ireland. lost the glorious opportunity by their own dissensions and folly. Their hostilities were generally the

sudden result of a particular provocation, not of any plan for the liberation of the island; their arms were as often turned against their own countrymen as against their national enemies; and several septs received annual pensions from the English government as the price of their services in protecting the borders from the inroads of the more hostile Irish.

Neither did the English pale present a scene of less anarchy and disunion. The settlers were divided into two classes, the English by race and the English by birth. The former were the descendants of the first invaders, and considered themselves as the rightful heirs to the lands and emoluments which had been won by the swords of their progenitors. The further they were removed from their seat of government, the less did they respect its authority; and, as they lived in the constant violation of the English laws, naturally sought to emancipate themselves from their control. Hence many adopted the dress, the manners, the language, and the laws of the natives, and were insensibly transformed from English barons into Irish chieftains. Of these the most powerful was Thomas Fitz-Maurice, who collected, without distinction of country, every adventurer under his standard; expelled the English settlers who refused to conform to his wishes; encouraged intermarriages with the natives, and established among his dependants the customs of tanistry and gavelkind. Yet such was the weakness of the government, that to secure his fidelity, he was created earl of Desmond, and his possessions were erected into a county palatine.

The English by birth, comprised the persons born in England whom the king had invested with office in Ireland, and the crowds of adventurers whom penury or crime annually banished from their own country. To the old settlers, they were objects of peculiar jealousy and hatred; by the government, they were trusted and advanced, as a counterpoise to the disaffection of the others. Edward III. had gone so far as to forbid any person to hold office under the Irish government who was not an Englishman, and possessed of lands, tenements, or benefices in England; but the prohibition aroused the indignation of the English by race; in defiance of his authority, they assembled in convention at Kilkenny, and so spirited were their remonstrances that he

revoked the order, and confirmed to them the rights which they had inherited from their ancestors.

Edward had appointed his son Lionel, duke of Clarence, to the government of Ireland. The prince landed with an army, obtained some advantages over the natives, and left the island, having rather inflamed than appeased the jealousy between the two parties. Some years later he returned; a parliament was held under his influence; and the result was the celebrated statute of Kilkenny. Its provisions were directed not against the natives but the descendants of the English settlers, who, "to the ruin of the common weal, had rejected the laws of England for those of Ireland." It enacted that marriage, nurture of children, and *gossipred* with the Irish, should for the future subject the offender to the penalties of high treason; and that the Englishman who should adopt an Irish name, or the Irish language, or the Irish dress, should be constrained by imprisonment or forfeiture to give security that he would conform to the manners of his own country. It was, moreover, declared high treason for any Englishman to decline the authority of his own laws, and submit his cause to the decision of the Brehon judges.

**Statute of
Kilkenny.**

Still the former dissensions prevailed among the strangers, and the Irish gradually extended their conquests. To restore tranquillity, Richard, in his ninth year, created the earl of Oxford, his favourite, marquis of Dublin and afterwards duke of Ireland; bestowed on him the government of Ireland for life; and granted to him and his heirs all the lands which he should conquer from the natives, with the exception of such as had already been annexed to the crown, or conferred on former adventurers. Thirty thousand marks were allotted for the expedition by the parliament; and the most sanguine hopes of success were generally cherished; when the whole plan was defeated by the dissension between the king and his barons, and the subsequent exile and death of the duke. Now, however, the moment seemed to be arrived when the English ascendancy might be restored, and the natives reduced to the most complete submission. With four thousand men-at-arms and thirty thousand archers, Richard landed at Waterford; the duke of Gloucester, the earls of Rutland and Nottingham aided him with their advice; and though the state of the country, intersected with lakes, morasses, and forests, impeded his progress; though the enemy, by retiring into inaccessible fortresses, shunned his approach; yet, in a short time, the idea of resistance was abandoned. The northern chieftains met the

king at Drogheda; the southern, attended his deputy, the earl of Nottingham, at Carlow; and all, seventy-five in number, did homage, promised to keep the peace, and submitted to pay a yearly tribute. The four principal kings, O'Nial, O'Connor, O'Brian, and M'Murchad, followed Richard to Dublin, where they were instructed in the manners of the English by sir Henry Christal; submitted to receive, though with some reluctance, the honour of knighthood, and, arrayed in robes of state, were feasted at the king's table. Grievances were redressed, the laws enforced, tyrannical officers removed, and the minds of the natives became somewhat more reconciled to the English.

But while the king was thus establishing his power in Ireland, he was suddenly recalled to his English dominions. The disciples of Wyclif, under the denomination of lollards, had seized the opportunity of his absence to commence a fierce attack upon the revenues and the discipline of the Church, and had prepared an inflammatory petition, which was to be presented to the house of commons. No one was found to present the petition; but the prelates solicited the protection of the king, who, at his return to London, severely reprimanded the patrons of the lollards, and ordered their teachers to be expelled from the university of Oxford.

On the death of his queen, Richard solicited the hand of Isabella, the daughter of Charles VI., a princess in her eighth year. His offer was accepted, and the truce already existing between the two kingdoms was prolonged for twenty-eight years. Richard sailed to France to receive the princess; the kings feasted each other in their pavilions between Ardres and Calais; the marriage ceremony was performed by the archbishop of Canterbury, and the young queen was afterwards crowned with the usual magnificence at Westminster.

This alliance with the royal family of France encouraged Richard to execute a scheme of vengeance which he had long cherished within his own breast, but which it had been prudent to conceal. His mind was perpetually harassed by what he saw and heard of Gloucester's conduct; a repetition of petty injuries kept alive his resentment, and the memory of the past urged him to get rid of a prince who still continued to display the same hostility to his sovereign. Richard caused him to be arrested, and to be delivered to the custody of the earl of Nottingham, earl marshal,

**All the Irish
offer homage,
1395.**

**Petition of
the lollards,
1395.**

**The king's
second mar-
riage, 1396.**

**The king's
vengeance on
the Lords
Appellant.**

That nobleman pretended to conduct him to the Tower ; but, when they had reached the Thames, he put him on board a ship, sailed down the river, and lodged his prisoner in the castle of Calais, of which he was governor. Richard repaired to the castle of Nottingham, where it was determined to copy the former example of the prisoners, and to "appeal" them of treason. The time of trial was fixed for the ensuing parliament.

When parliament met, the earl marshal received an order to bring his prisoner, the duke of Gloucester, to the bar of the house, that he might reply to the "appeal" of treason. Three days later an answer was returned, that the duke had died. The time, the place, the suddenness of the death, will create a suspicion that this unfortunate prince had been murdered ; and in the next reign it was pretended that Richard had sent assassins to Calais, by whom the duke was smothered between two beds. The duke was declared to have been a traitor, and all his property confiscated to the crown.

His vengeance also fell on Nottingham and Bolingbroke, whom he had created dukes of Norfolk and Hereford. He prevailed on the latter to accuse the former of treason in speech, and on its denial, proposed a duel between them to prove the truth. When actually in the lists, Richard stopped the combat and announced that he had determined to banish both the dukes ; Norfolk for life, Hereford for ten years.

Richard having punished many other noblemen, saw himself triumphant over all his opponents. The last of the lords appellant had been banished ; and even his uncles, through affection or fear, seconded all his measures. He had attained what seems for some time to have been the great object of his policy. He had placed himself above the control of the law. But he had forfeited all that popularity which he had earned, and the security in which he indulged hurried him on to other acts of despotism, which inevitably led to his ruin. He raised money by forced loans ; he compelled the judges to expound the law according to his own prejudices ; and, that he might obtain a more plentiful harvest of fines, put seventeen counties out of the protection of the law, under the pretence that they had favoured his enemies.

**Richard's
despotic
conduct.**

The duke of Lancaster died in 1399, and his son, Henry Bolingbroke, duke of Hereford, though an exile, expected to succeed to the estates of his father. But Richard maintained that his banishment, like an outlawry, had rendered him incapable of inheriting property. This iniquitous proceeding seems to have

exhausted the patience of the nation, for Henry Bolingbroke had long been the idol of the people. Consultations were held; plans were formed: the dispositions of the great lords were sounded; and the whole nation appeared in a ferment. Yet it was at this moment, so pregnant with danger, that the infatuated monarch determined to leave his kingdom, to avenge his cousin and heir, the earl of March, who had been surprised and slain by a party of Irish.

Having appointed his uncle, the duke of York, regent, during his absence, the king proceeded to Bristol, where the report of plots and conspiracies reached him, and was received with contempt. At Milford Haven he joined his army, and embarking, arrived in two days in the port of Waterford. His cousin the duke of Albe-marle had been ordered to follow; but three weeks were consumed in waiting for that nobleman, whose delay was afterwards attributed to a secret understanding with the king's enemies. At length, Richard led his forces against the Irish. But while he was thus occupied with objects of inferior interest in Ireland, a revolution occurred in England which eventually deprived him both of his crown and his life.

When the king sailed to Ireland, Henry of Bolingbroke, the new duke of Lancaster, resided in Paris, where he was hospitably entertained, but at the same time narrowly watched by the French monarch. To elude the suspicions of the French ministers, Henry procured permission to visit the duke of Bretagne; and on his arrival at Nantes, hired three small vessels, with which he sailed from Vannes to seek his fortune in England. After hovering for some days on the eastern coast, he landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, and was joined by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland; before whom he declared upon oath, that his only object was to recover the honours and estates which had belonged to his father.

The duke of York, to whom the king had entrusted the government during his absence, was accurately informed of his motions, and had summoned the retainers of the crown to join the royal standard at St. Albans. The earl of Wiltshire had been appointed to wait on the young queen at Wallingford; but fled with precipitation to Bristol. York himself followed with the army in the same direction; he thus left open the road from Yorkshire to the metropolis, and allowed the adventurer to pursue his object without impediment. Henry was already on his

march, and the small number of forty followers, with whom he had landed, swelled by the time that he had reached St. Albans to sixty thousand men. He was received in London by a procession of the clergy and people, with addresses of congratulation, and presents, and offers of service. His stay in the capital was short. He turned to the west, and entered Evesham on the same day on which York reached Berkeley. After an interchange of messages they met in the church of the castle; and, before they separated, the doom of Richard was sealed. York united his force with that of Henry, and caused sir Peter Courtenay, who held the castle of Bristol, to open its gates. The duke of York remained at Bristol; Henry with his own forces proceeded to Chester, to secure that city, and awe the men of Cheshire, the most devoted adherents to the king.

We may now return to Richard in Ireland. Henry had been in England a fortnight before the king heard of his landing. The intelligence appears to have provoked indignation as much as alarm. But he referred the matter to his council, and was advised to cross over to England with the ships which had brought Albemarle. That nobleman diverted him from this intention.

**Richard
returns from
Ireland.**

The earl of Salisbury received orders to sail, and to summon to the royal standard the natives of Wales; Richard promised to follow from Waterford in the course of six days. The earl obeyed; the men of Wales and Cheshire answered the call; and a gallant host collected at Conway. But Richard appeared not according to his promise; distressing reports were circulated among the troops; and the royalists, having waited for him almost a fortnight, disbanded in spite of the tears and entreaties of their commander. At last, on the eighteenth day, the king arrived in Milford Haven with several thousands of the troops, who had accompanied him to Ireland. With such a force, had it been faithful, he might have made a stand against his antagonist; but on the second morning when he arose, he observed from his window that the greater part had disappeared. A council was immediately summoned, and a proposal made that

**His army
disperses.**

the king should flee by sea to Bordeaux; but the duke of Exeter objected that to quit the kingdom in such circumstances was to abdicate the throne. His opinion prevailed, and at nightfall the king, in the disguise of a Franciscan friar, stole away from the army towards Conway. His flight was soon known. The royal treasure which Richard left behind him, was plundered; Albemarle, Worcester, and most of the leaders, hastened to pay their court to

Henry, and the rest attempted in small bodies to make their way to their own counties.

The royal party reached Conway, where, instead of a numerous force, they found only the earl of Salisbury with a hundred men. In this emergency the king's brothers undertook to visit Henry at Chester, and to sound his intentions. When the two dukes were admitted into the presence of Henry, they bent the knee, and acquainted him with their message from the king. He was gratified to learn from the envoys the place of Richard's retreat, and despatched the earl of Northumberland to Conway with instructions, by artful speeches and promises, to draw him out of the fortress, and then to make him prisoner. The earl rode with only five attendants to Conway. He was readily admitted; and to the king's anxious enquiries about his brothers, replied, that he had left them well at Chester, and had brought a letter from the duke of Exeter. In it that nobleman was made to say, that full credit might be given to the offers of the bearers. These offers were, that Richard should promise to govern and judge his people by law, and that Henry should be made grand justiciar of the kingdom. Richard expressed his approbation of the articles, and departed soon afterwards towards Flint to meet Henry, according to an arrangement. They came to a steep declivity, to the left of which was the sea, and on the right a lofty rock, overhanging the road. The king dismounted, and was descending on foot, when he suddenly exclaimed: "I am betrayed. God of paradise, assist me! Do you not see banners and pennons in the valley?" Northumberland with eleven others met them at the moment, and affected to be ignorant of the circumstance. "Earl of Northumberland," said the king, "if I thought you capable of betraying me, it is not too late to return." "You cannot return," the earl replied, seizing the king's bridle; "I have promised to conduct you to the duke of Lancaster." By this time he was joined by a hundred lances and two hundred archers on horseback; and Richard, seeing it impossible to escape, exclaimed: "May God reward you and your accomplices at the last day!" and then turning to his friends, added: "We are betrayed; but remember that our Lord was also sold, and delivered into the hands of his enemies."

They reached Flint in the evening. Next day, the unfortunate king descried Bolingbroke's army, amounting to eighty thousand men, winding along the beach till it reached the castle, and surrounded it from sea to sea. He was soon summoned into

the court to receive the duke of Lancaster. Henry came forward in complete armour, with the exception of his helmet. As soon as he saw the king, he bent his knee and advancing a few paces, he repeated his obeisance with his cap in his hand.

"Fair cousin of Lancaster," said Richard, uncovering himself, "you are right welcome."—"My Lord," answered the duke, "I am come before my time. But I will show you the reason. Your people complain that for the space of twenty or two-and-twenty years, you have ruled them rigorously; but, if it please God, I will help you to govern better." The king replied: "Fair cousin, since it pleaseth you, it pleaseth us well."

Henry dismissed the greater part of his army, and conducted his prisoner to the capital. The king was sent to Westminster, and thence on the following day to the Tower.

Henry now aspired to exchange the coronet of a duke for the crown of a king. After several consultations it was resolved to combine a solemn renunciation of the royal authority on the part of Richard with an act of deposition on the part of the two houses of parliament. The next day, 30th of September, 1399, the two houses met amidst a great concourse of people in Westminster Hall. The duke occupied his usual seat near the throne, which was empty and covered with cloth of gold. A document purporting to be the resignation of the king was read; each member standing in his place signified his acceptance of it aloud; and the people with repeated shouts expressed their approbation. Henry now proceeded to the second part of his plan, the act of deposition. For this purpose the coronation oath was first read; thirty-three articles of impeachment followed, in which it was contended that Richard had violated that oath; and thence it was concluded that he had by his misconduct forfeited his title to the throne. The bishop of Carlisle, to the astonishment of the Lancastrians, rose, and demanded for Richard what ought not to be refused to the meanest criminal, the right of being confronted with his accusers; and for parliament what it might justly claim, the opportunity of learning from the king's own mouth, whether the resignation of the crown, which had been attributed to him, were his own spontaneous act. The house, however, voted the deposition of Richard; and eight commissioners ascending a tribunal erected before the throne, pronounced him degraded from the state and authority of king.

By the law of succession the throne belonged to the descendants of Lionel, the third son of Edward III.; and their

claim, it is said, had been formally recognized in parliament. All waited in anxious suspense, till the duke rising from his seat, and forming with great solemnity the sign of the cross on his forehead and breast, pronounced the following words: **Henry claims the throne by right of descent.** "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I, Henry of Lancaster, claim this realm of England." Both houses admitted the claim unanimously. The archbishop of Canterbury now took him by the hand, and led him to the throne. He knelt for a few minutes in prayer on the steps, arose, and was seated in it by the two archbishops.

With the authority of Richard had expired that of the parliament and of the royal officers. Henry immediately summoned the same parliament to meet again in six days, appointed new officers of the crown, and as soon as he had received their oaths, retired in state to the royal apartments. Thus ended this eventful day, with the deposition of Richard of Bordeaux, and the succession of his cousin, Henry of Bolingbroke.

Henry IV., for his own greater security on the throne, by the advice of the lords, consigned Richard II. to secret and perpetual confinement; and all trace of him seemed to be lost. But after a rising against the new monarch, it was given out, early in the year 1400, that Richard had expired at the castle of Pontefract. His dead body was conveyed thence to London, and then during two days exposed to the view of the people, that the spectators, acquainted with the features of Richard, might be satisfied of its identity. Henry attended the obsequies at St. Paul's, and commanded the interment to be performed at Langley; but his son and successor removed the body to Westminster, and deposited it among the remains of the kings of England.

Though Henry IV. repeatedly asserted his innocence, both natives and foreigners refused to believe that the man, whose ambition had seized the crown, would feel any scruple in taking the life of his rival. The general belief was that Richard had been starved to death. By some it was said that sir Piers Exton with seven assassins entered Richard's cell at Pontefract, who, aware of their design, darted into the midst of them, wrested a battle-axe from one of their number, and laid several at his feet. But Exton gave him a stroke on the back of the head which brought him to the floor, and with a second stroke deprived him of life. But of these surmises there is no proof. In whatever manner he died, Henry's agents concealed the truth with such fidelity that it could never be discovered.

The features of Richard II. were handsome but feminine; his manners abrupt; his utterance embarrassed. He possessed some taste for literature and occasionally gave indications of resolution and spirit. But he was passionately fond of parade and pleasure; and the loss of his crown has been sometimes attributed to his extravagance and pecuniary exactions. It would, however, be difficult to prove that his expenses were greater than those of his predecessors; it is certain that his demands on the purses of his subjects were considerably less. "What concern have you," he once observed to the commons, "with the establishment of my household, as long as I maintain it without asking you for assistance?" His misfortunes may be more correctly traced to the early age at which he mounted the throne, and to the precautions taken by his mother and her friends to defeat the supposed designs of his uncles. By these he was estranged from the princes of his blood, whose pride refused to pay court to a boy; and whose neglect compelled him to fix his affections on his ministers and companions. Jealousies and rivalry ensued, which ended in the celebrated commission of government, and the ruin, perhaps originally undeserved, of the royal favourites. When the king had recovered the exercise of his authority, he reigned in comparative tranquillity for a long period; but his conduct in the twenty-first and twenty-second years of his reign betrayed such a thirst for revenge, such habits of dissimulation, such despotic notions of government, and so fixed a purpose of ruling without control, that no reader can be surprised at the catastrophe which followed. We may, indeed, abhor the wiles by which he was ensnared; may sympathize with him in his prison; and may condemn the policy which afterwards bereaved him of life; but at the same time we must acknowledge that he deserved to be abandoned by the people, on whose liberties he had trampled, and to forfeit that authority which he sought to exalt above the laws and constitution of his country.

CHAPTER XV

HENRY IV. 1399-1413

THE new king assumed the name of Henry IV. ; and was crowned within a fortnight after the deposition of his predecessor. The new parliament had already assembled ; and, as the members were the same individuals who sat in the last, they displayed an equal obsequiousness to the will of the monarch. The attainders of the earls of Arundel and Warwick were reversed. Henry's eldest son was created prince of Wales, duke of Guienne, Lancaster, and Cornwall, and earl of Chester, and was declared in parliament the apparent heir to the throne. The lords who had formerly "appealed" the duke of Gloucester and his associates of treason, were now summoned to justify their conduct. They all made the same defence, that they had neither advised nor framed the appeal. Disputes arose, but Henry by his authority silenced them, and a compromise was effected, by which the lords appellant forfeited the honours and the estates which they had obtained from Richard in reward for their appeal.

To prevent the recurrence of those vindictive proceedings which had twice disgraced the last reign, several useful statutes were enacted. One confined the guilt of treason to the offences enumerated in the celebrated act of Edward III. ; another abolished appeals of treason in parliament, and sent the accuser to the established courts of law ; and another forbade, under the heaviest penalties, any person besides the king to give liveries to his retainers.

Before the close of the session, the earl of Northumberland delivered to the lords a message, asking their advice respecting the future treatment of the deposed monarch, whose life the king was resolved to preserve at all events. They answered that he should be conducted secretly to some castle, placed under the custody of trusty officers, and excluded from all communication with those who had formerly been in his service. Four days later, the king came to the house,

**Coronation
of Henry IV.**

**Legislation
about
treason.**

**Fate of
Richard II.**

adjudged the unfortunate Richard to imprisonment for life, and ordered him to be guarded in the manner suggested by the lords. His ultimate fate has been already referred to.

Henry was now in possession of the grand object of his ambition; but he soon learned that it was more easy to win the crown than to retain it. The hostility of foreign princes, who continued to treat him as an usurper, and the wavering fidelity of his own subjects, of whom some panted to revenge the wrongs of the late king and others were discontented that their services had not been more amply rewarded, kept him in a state of perpetual alarm. During the lapse of nine years, he was constantly harassed, sometimes by secret attempts on his life, sometimes by overt acts of rebellion; on one occasion by the inroads of the Scots, and on another by the descents of the French; but his power seemed to grow with his difficulties, and by his vigilance, temper, and activity he not only succeeded in keeping the crown on his own head, but peaceably transmitted it to his posterity.

The first attempt against him was made by five of the lords appellant, who had so narrowly escaped with their lives in the last parliament. Within a month after its dis- **Insurrection of the lords appellant, 1400.** solution, they agreed to hold a tournament at Oxford, and employ that opportunity to seize the person of the king, and subsequently to proclaim and liberate Richard. The conspirators were arrested, tried, and executed; and this premature and ill-concerted conspiracy strengthened the throne of the new king. But he had still reason to fear the hostility of a dangerous adversary, the king of France, who had been deeply offended by the deception practised upon him by Henry at his departure from Paris. At first he had an intention of sending ambassadors to the parliament; but this design was soon abandoned: the voice of his people pronounced in favour of war. To avert the threatened storm, Henry appointed commissioners to treat with Charles for a confirmation of the existing truce. They proceeded to Calais; and a herald hastened to the capital to solicit a safe-conduct for the ambassadors of the king of England; but Charles returned a peremptory refusal—he knew no king of England but Richard, his son-in-law. Charles, however, soon received intelligence which left no doubt on his mind that Richard was dead. All thought of war was instantly abandoned; he had now nothing to fight for; and on this account he signed an instrument stating that he should not disturb the truce.

The new king determined to signalize the commencement of

his reign by an expedition into Scotland. He summoned all persons possessed of fees, wages, or annuities, granted by Edward III., the Black Prince, Richard II., or the duke of Lancaster, to meet him at York, under the penalty of forfeiture; and from the banks of the Tyne, despatched heralds to king Robert and the barons of Scotland, commanding them to appear before him in the castle of Edinburgh, on the 23rd of August, 1400, and to do him homage for the Scottish crown and their several fiefs. He marched to Leith without opposition; but the castle of Edinburgh was in the hands of the duke of Rothsay, the eldest son of the king, who derided the pompous claim of his adversary. Henry waited several days in vain for the arrival of the Scottish army, and the English having consumed their provisions, retired in haste within their own borders.

From Scotland the king's attention was suddenly diverted to the principality of Wales, where, during his absence the standard of independence had been raised by Owen, commonly styled Owen Glendower. It happened that a powerful and wealthy neighbour, the lord Grey of Ruthyn, appropriated to himself without ceremony a considerable portion of Owen's patrimony; and the injured Welshman petitioned the king in parliament for redress. In scornful and insulting language a refusal was conveyed. Owen was not a man to sit down inactive under an affront. The natives burst suddenly into the English borders, and in a few days Owen appeared at their head, declaring himself the rightful prince of Wales. Thrice within two years did Henry lead a numerous force against the insurgents, and thrice was he baffled, by the conduct rather than the arms of his opponent, who retiring among the mountains, left the invaders to contend with the inclemency of the season and the asperities of the country. By degrees Glendower assumed a bolder attitude. Henry collected his retainers at Shrewsbury; divided them into three armies, under himself, his eldest son, and the earl of Arundel; and thus invaded Wales at the same time from three different quarters. Still both force and policy proved unavailing. No enemy was to be discovered in the field; the heavens fought in favour of the natives; the valleys were deluged with rain; the king's tent was torn from its fastenings, and borne away in a storm; and the monarch, convinced that it was fruitless to contend with a man who could call to his aid spirits from the vasty deep, returned with disgrace into England.

In the meanwhile Henry had committed the charge of the Scottish war to the earl of Northumberland, and his son, sir Henry Percy or "Hotspur," the wardens of the western and eastern marches. By them he was informed that an unknown Englishman had lately been received at the Scottish court under the designation of Richard Plantagenet, king of England. The vigilance of the king was excited by this intelligence. He published several proclamations against the propagators of false reports. Arrests and executions followed; and several persons, in different parts, suffered the barbarous punishment of treason.

The Scotch spread the havoc of war along each bank of the Tyne. But the earl of Northumberland, his son Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur, and the earl of March, assembled an army, and on Holyrood day, 1402, was fought a great and decisive battle. The Scots occupied the hill of Homildon, near Wooler; the English the opposite eminence. Percy ordered his archers to descend into the valley, from which they discharged their arrows with such force and precision that they provoked earl Douglas with his men-at-arms to advance and attempt to disperse them. The archers retired slowly; and, halting at intervals, with repeated volleys arrested the progress of the enemy. Douglas was pierced with six wounds, and was taken prisoner; the foremost and bravest of his companions experienced a similar fate; and the rest, disheartened and in confusion, fled towards the Tweed.

The lord Grey and sir Edmund Mortimer were at this time prisoners of war in the possession of Owen Glendower. The first with the royal permission purchased his liberty; the second, when he solicited a similar permission from the king, met with a peremptory refusal. The reason of this difference could not be concealed. From the pretensions of Grey, Henry had nothing to apprehend; but Mortimer, as the uncle, and therefore the natural protector of the young earl of March, was an object of distrust. Henry Percy, who had married Mortimer's sister, repeated the request: but the king was inexorable. The friendship between the king and the Percies had long been on the wane. Their anxiety to effect the liberation of Mortimer, gave occasion to several messages and led to one personal interview, with Glendower and Hotspur. Mortimer, to free himself from his fetters, married the daughter of Glendower, and informed the more trusty of his retainers that he had joined the Welshman in his righteous quarrel, with the view of winning the crown for king Richard, if Richard was still alive,

**Battle of
Homildon
Hill, Septem-
ber 14, 1402.**

or, if he was dead, for the earl of March, the lawful heir. Hotspur hastened to North Wales, where he possessed considerable influence. He was accompanied by Douglas and his Scottish

**Rebellion of
the Percies,
1403.**

knights; his uncle of Worcester, the lieutenant of South Wales, joined him with all the force which he could raise; and the archers of Cheshire, a race of men devotedly attached to the late king, answered his summons, calling on them to fight with him for Richard, who was still alive, against Henry of Lancaster, the mortal foe of that monarch. The king when he heard of these proceedings marched to the west; directed by messengers all his faithful subjects to join him, and entered Shrewsbury at the moment when the insurgents were first descried from the walls. Hotspur was disappointed but not discouraged; he retired to Haytleyfield, at a small distance; and though Owen with his Welshmen had not yet joined him, made preparations for a battle, which proved one of the most obstinate and bloody recorded in English history.

The two armies were nearly equal, consisting severally of about fourteen thousand men of approved valour. As soon as they were

**Battle of
Shrewsbury,
July 21, 1403.**

arrayed in front of each other, the king, apprehensive of the result, sent the abbot of Shrewsbury to his opponents with proposals of peace, which, after a long hesitation, were rejected by the advice of the earl of Worcester. "Then, banner, advance," cried Henry. The air resounded with the adverse shouts of "St. George," and "Esperance, Percy;" and the archers on both sides discharged their arrows with the most murderous effect. Percy and Douglas, who had long been rivals for glory, and were esteemed two of the most valorous knights in Christendom, rushed with thirty attendants into the centre of the enemy. Everything yielded before them. The king's guards were dispersed: the earl of Stafford, sir William Blount, and two others, who, to deceive the enemy, wore the royal arms, were slain; the standard was beaten to the ground; and the prince of Wales received a wound in his face. Their object had been to kill or secure the person of Henry; but he, by the advice of the Scottish earl of March, had changed his armour, and was performing the duty of a valiant warrior in a distant part of the field. The two chiefs, disappointed in their expectation, determined to cut back their way through the enemy, who had closed behind them; and they had nearly effected their purpose, when Percy fell by an arrow which seems to have been shot at random, and pierced his brain. With him fell the courage and the confidence of his

followers, who, as soon as the loss of their leader was ascertained, fled in every direction.

Another attempt against Henry was made in Yorkshire, in 1405, at the instigation of lord Bardolf. The insurgents, numbering eight thousand men, assembled at Shipton-on-the-Moor, a few miles from York, and were joined by archbishop Scrope and the earl marshal. To

Insurrection
in Yorkshire,
1405.

disperse them, prince John, with the earl of Westmoreland, hastened to the forest of Galtres. The latter requested and obtained a conference with the opposite leaders, in the open space between the two armies. The archbishop and the earl were unexpectedly and forcibly conducted to the army of the royalists; and the insurgents, learning the captivity of their leaders, retired to their homes. Henry, at the first rumour of these commotions, had marched towards the north: at Pontefract, the two captives were presented to him. The king commanded the chief justice Gascoigne to pronounce on them the sentence of death; but that inflexible judge refused, on the plea that the laws gave him no jurisdiction over the life of the prelate or of the earl marshal, who had a right to be tried by their peers. A more obsequious agent was found in a knight of the name of Fulthorpe, who by the king's order called them both before him, and without indictment or trial condemned them to be beheaded, which judgment was immediately carried into execution.

Execution of
archbishop
Scrope.

From York, which he deprived of its franchises, Henry advanced with thirty thousand men against the earl of Northumberland. That nobleman, at the very outset, had concluded a treaty with the regent of Scotland, and had solicited aid, but in vain, from the king of France and the duke of Orleans. As Henry advanced, he fell back on his Scottish allies. His castles of Prudhaw, Warkworth, and Alnwick were successively reduced; and the Scots, to whom he had delivered the town of Berwick, set it on fire, and retired beyond the borders. The earl and lord Bardolf accompanied them. The castle made a show of resistance; but a shot from an enormous piece of ordnance shattered one of the towers; the garrison in dismay threw open the gates; and the son of the baron of Greystock, with his six principal officers, were immediately executed. Henry returned in triumph into the south.

In the beginning of 1408, Northumberland and Bardolf burst into England, surprised several castles, raised the tenantry, who were still attached to their exiled lord, and augmenting their numbers as they advanced, penetrated as far as Knaresborough,

where they were joined by sir Nicholas Tempest. Sir Thomas Rokeby, having collected a body of tried men, prevented them from crossing the river, and following their footsteps, overtook them on Bramham Moor, in the neighbourhood of Tadcaster. The contest was soon decided between the rabble of the insurgents and an experienced soldiery. The earl fell in the field; Bardolf was taken, but died of his wounds.

**Skirmish of
Bramham
Moor, 1408.**

The history of Glendower, who, with better fortune, defied the power of Henry from the commencement to the end of his reign, may now be resumed. The whole of the north and a great part of the south of Wales acknowledged his authority; even Charles of France had received his ambassadors as those of an independent prince.

**Rebellion of
Glendower,
1402.**

Henry committed the conduct of the war to his eldest son, and the young hero gained a decisive victory over Griffith, the son of Glendower: and pursuing his career, reduced after a long siege the castle of Lampeder, in Cardiganshire. But French auxiliaries had now arrived, and had taken Caermarthen. Haverfordwest was saved by the earl of Arundel; and the king hastened to the assistance of his son; but no action of importance followed; Henry, after the loss of fifty waggons, conveying his treasure and provisions, retired; and the French, unable to subsist in a depopulated country, returned to their homes. At the end of four years, however, the southern division of Wales entirely submitted to Henry. The natives of the north, disheartened by their misfortunes, withdrew themselves from the standard of Glendower; and that chieftain, appalled by the steady advance of his enemy, ordered the greater part of his forces to burst into Shropshire, and ravage the country. They were defeated, and their leaders suffered the punishment of treason. Owen contrived to spin out the contest among the wilds and mountains of Snowdon till long after the accession of the next sovereign.

We may now return to Henry's transactions with foreign powers. It was to him a most fortunate circumstance that Charles of France continued for many years subject to fits of insanity, and that the government of that kingdom was divided by the ambitious views of the dukes of Burgundy and of Orleans. When it was rumoured that Richard was still alive, and had effected his escape into Scotland, France received the intelligence with undissembled joy, and many a French knight boasted that he was ready to peril his life in the cause of king Richard and the lady Isabella. They

**Henry's
transactions
with France.**

resolved, however, to discover the truth by sending a confidential agent to Scotland, and the result was a conviction that the real king had been murdered, and that the Richard in Scotland was an impostor. From that moment the hatred of the French people was directed against the supposed murderer. There was indeed no declaration of war, but the most powerful of the French nobles were encouraged to insult Henry and to plunder his subjects. One of them, Walleran de St. Pol, inflicted severe injuries on the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight and of the southern coast of England. Three princes of the house of Bourbon, embarking in the same cause, burnt the town of Plymouth; and the admiral of Bretagne swept the narrow seas, and carried as prizes into the French ports several ships, with nearly two thousand prisoners. But that which sank still deeper into Henry's mind was a challenge which he had received from his former friend and sworn brother, Louis duke of Orleans, to fight him with one hundred knights on a side in the marches of Guienne. After a silence of more than four months, Henry replied by an ambiguous letter, which provoked a repetition of the challenge, with reproaches of rebellion, usurpation, and murder. To the two first, Henry made but evasive replies. But the charge of murder he met with the most emphatic denial.

Some time afterwards, the duke of Orleans was murdered one evening in the streets of Paris by eighteen assassins in the pay of the duke of Burgundy; who, however, was received into favour by his weak and vacillating sovereign, and the princes of the house of Orleans, after several ineffectual petitions for justice, sought their revenge by force of arms. Henry viewed these commotions with pleasure, for they offered him the opportunity of retaliation upon France. He took part with each French faction in turn, but without results of much importance.

Henry had married Mary de Bohun, daughter of the earl of Hereford, who bore him four sons, of whom the eldest at his father's accession was in his twelfth year. An act was passed vesting the succession to the crown in his four sons and their heirs, in the order of seniority. Of the four princes, Henry, the eldest, from his proximity to the throne, chiefly attracted the public notice. In the battle of Shrewsbury he had given proofs of personal courage: the success of the war against the insurgents of Wales, which was carried on under his nominal command, reflected a lustre on his youth; and the commons, in an adulatory address, allotted to him the praise of three virtues — of filial respect for the king, of bravery in the field of battle, and

Settlement
of the Crown.

Conduct of
the prince
of Wales.

of modesty in the readiness with which on all occasions he submitted his own judgment to that of his council. His father, however, had little reason to be satisfied with his conduct. He was headstrong and impetuous in the pursuit of pleasure; and when he was not actually employed in military service, plunged without restraint into all the vices and follies of youth. Probably the reader's recollection has already transported him to those pages in which the frolics and the associates of the prince have been portrayed by the inimitable pencil of Shakespeare. It may be, indeed, that the particular facts and personages are the mere creatures of the poet's imagination; but it cannot be denied that they are perfectly in unison with the accounts of the more ancient writers, and the traditionary belief of the succeeding century. It should, however, be added, that in the midst of his excesses he occasionally displayed proofs of an ingenuous mind. It happened that one of his associates had been arraigned for felony before the chief justice Gascoigne, the same inflexible magistrate who had withstood the illegal commands of the king at York. The prince imperiously required the release of the prisoner; and, when that was refused, drew his sword on the judge. But Gascoigne coolly ordered him into confinement in the prison of the King's Bench; and the young Henry had the good sense to submit to the punishment. When the incident was related to his father, "Happy," he exclaimed, "the monarch who possesses a judge so resolute in the discharge of his duty, and a son so willing to yield to the authority of the law." This young prince was accused to his father of aspiring to the throne, but he maintained his innocence, and demanded the punishment of his calumniators.

To domestic trouble, must be added the state of the king's health and the anxieties of his conscience. Though he was only in his forty-sixth year, he bore about him all the symptoms of declining age. Soon after archbishop Scrope's insurrection, he became afflicted with the most loathsome eruptions on his face, which by the common people were considered as a punishment for the death of that prelate; and a succession of epileptic fits, gradually increasing in violence, was now hurrying him to the grave. The prospect of his fate brought, we are told, to his recollection the means by which he had acquired, and the blood by which he had preserved the crown. He began at length to doubt the certainty of his favourite maxim, that the success of the enterprise was a proof that it had received the approbation of Heaven. One day, when he was lying in a fit, and to all appearance was dead, the prince conveyed into another room the crown, which

according to custom had been laid on a cushion by the bedside. The king returning to himself, sternly asked who had borne it away; and on the report of his guards, required the immediate return of the prince. Pacified by his dutiful expressions, he asked him with a sigh: "Alas! fair son, what right have you to the crown, when you know your father had none?" "My liege," answered the young Henry, "with the sword you won it, and with the sword I will keep it." After a pause the king faintly replied: "Well, do as you think best; I leave the issue to God, and hope he will have mercy on my soul."

His last fit seized him while he was praying in St. Edward's chapel at Westminster. He was carried into the abbot's chamber, and quickly expired, on the 19th March, 1413, and in the fourteenth year of his reign. Of his three younger sons, Thomas had been created duke of Clarence, John and Humphrey remained without any title. His daughters Blanche and Philippa were married, the first to the duke of Bavaria and the other to the king of Denmark. By Jane of Navarre, his second wife, he left no issue.

**Death of
Henry IV.,
1413.**

In the preceding reigns the reader has observed the house of commons continually advancing with a silent but steady pace towards importance and authority; under Henry it assumed a still higher tone, addressed the sovereign with greater freedom, and pushed its enquiries into every department of the administration. The king's pecuniary embarrassments, the defect in his title, and the repeated insurrections in favour of Richard and the earl of March, made it his interest to court the affections of the people through their representatives; and the men who originally were deemed of no other use than to grant their money, became by almost imperceptible degrees a coequal and coefficient part of the legislature.

**Increasing
importance
of the house
of commons.**

This reign supplies the first instance of a capital execution for the theological crime of heresy. Whether it were that men refused to distinguish between fact and opinion, and on that account visited erroneous persuasion with the same punishment as criminal action, it may not be easy to determine; but we unfortunately find that, in almost every country, whatever may have been the religious belief of the sovereign and the legislature, the severest penalties have repeatedly, and till a very late period, been enacted against dissent from the doctrines established by law. Sir Edward Coke, the great luminary of the English bar in the reign of

**Crime of
heresy.**

queen Elizabeth, teaches that heresy is so extremely and fearfully punished, because it is a crime not against human but divine majesty.

In 1401, an act was passed for the protection of the Church and the suppression of the lollards, which enacted that if any person convicted of heresy should refuse to abjure such doctrines, or after abjuration should be proved to have relapsed, then the sheriff of the county, or the mayor and bailiffs of the nearest borough should, on requisition, be present at the pronunciation of the sentence, should receive the person so condemned into custody, and should cause him to be burnt on a high place before the people, that such punishment might strike terror into the minds of others. William Sawtre, who had been rector of Lynn, suffered death under this statute soon after its enactment.

CHAPTER XVI

HENRY V. 1413-1422

THE late king had outlived his popularity, and the intelligence of his death excited little regret in any part of his dominions. His eldest son, Henry of Monmouth, immediately ascended the throne. As soon as his father expired he withdrew to his closet, spent the rest of the day in privacy and prayer, and in the evening hastened to his confessor, a recluse in the church of Westminster; by whom he was confirmed in the resolution to atone for the scandal of his past, by the propriety of his subsequent conduct. The dissolute companions of his pleasures were instantly dismissed; and men of knowledge and experience were invited round the throne. As an act of justice, he set at liberty the earl of March, who from his childhood had been kept in confinement by the late monarch, for no other crime than his right to the throne; after some time he restored the son of Hotspur, an exile in Scotland, to the honours and hereditary estates of the Percies; and when the remains of the unfortunate Richard were removed by his orders from Langley to Westminster Abbey, he testified his respect for that prince by attending as chief mourner in the funeral procession.

Henry V.'s
accession;
his first acts.

The lollards were very active at this time under the guidance of sir John Oldcastle, who had been a friend of Henry when prince of Wales, and was now denounced to the king as the supporter of false doctrine. On his trial, his demeanour was as arrogant and insulting as that of his judge was mild and dignified. Not content with signifying his dissent from the established creed, he poured out a torrent of abuse against all those by whom it was upheld. He was brought to the bar on two different days, and persisting in his opinions, was pronounced an obstinate heretic. The primate, however, when he delivered him to the civil magistrate, procured from the king a respite of fifty days; during which Oldcastle found the means to escape from the Tower.

Persecution
of the
lollards.

The king next directed his attention towards the French

throne, which was still occupied by an imbecile monarch, and was daily undermined by the rage of contending factions.

Henry claims the crown of France.

To the aspiring mind of Henry, these troubles opened a most alluring prospect. He determined to revive the claim, and tread in the footsteps of his great-grandfather Edward III. A little more than a year had elapsed from his accession when he unexpectedly demanded the crown of France, with all its appurtenances, as the heir of Isabella, daughter of Philip IV. Since Henry, like Edward III., claimed the French crown on the plea that it could descend by females, on that hypothesis it belonged not to Henry, but to the earl of March. The French deemed the claim an insult to the national independence. Henry consented that Charles should continue to possess his throne, but required, as the price of his forbearance, conditions which would have reduced France to a secondary station among the powers of Europe. They were partly granted, but the concession did not satisfy the expectations of Henry. He recalled his ambassadors, summoned a parliament, avowed his intention of vindicating his right by arms, and obtained a supply. The grant being large, created considerable alarm in the French court, and Henry resolved to make a second attempt by negotiation, which proved fruitless. The king now declared his resolution "to recover his inheritance" by arms; and the duke of Bedford, one of his brothers, accepted the office of regent during the royal absence. Henry pawned his jewels, solicited loans, and by great exertions amassed the sum of five hundred thousand nobles in ready money.

The French ministers now sent ambassadors to the king at Winchester; the next day the archbishop of Canterbury informed them that his sovereign would accept nothing short of the restoration of all the territories which had ever been possessed by his predecessors.

Every preparation was soon complete; the army had assembled at Southampton; and the king superintended the embarkation.

Conspiracy against the king, 1415.

At that very moment, while his mind was occupied with visions of conquest and glory, he was suddenly alarmed with the intelligence that a conspiracy against his life had been formed in the bosom of his own family and household, of which the ringleader was his cousin Richard, a brother to the duke of York, and lately created earl of Cambridge. Several of the conspirators were tried, condemned, and after a fruitless appeal by the earl of Cambridge to the mercy of his royal relative, were executed.

Henry's impatience had hastened the trial and execution of the conspirators. As soon as the wind would permit, he left Southampton; and after a rapid voyage entered the mouth of the Seine with a fleet of fifteen hundred sail, carrying six thousand men-at-arms and twenty-four thousand archers. Three days were consumed in landing the men, stores, and provisions; and immediately Harfleur, a strong fortress on the right bank of the river, was invested by land and blockaded by water. The garrison repeatedly assailed the besiegers; but in the fifth week they submitted to an unconditional surrender. Henry marched to Calais through the hostile provinces of Normandy, Picardy, and Artois.

Henry
reduces
Harfleur.

The progress of the English was slow, and often they were compelled to pass the day without food. As they crossed the river Bresle, they were attacked by the garrison of Eu, with loud shouts and amazing impetuosity; but they received the assailants with coolness, and after a sharp contest drove them back to the fortress. A council of the French was held at Rouen, in the presence of Charles, and a resolution was taken to give battle to the English. Henry was at Monchy when three heralds were introduced to him. They delivered their message on their knees, announcing that their countrymen were ready to meet him in the field on the Friday following. The king answered with apparent indifference, that the will of God would be done. On the 24th October, 1415, the duke of York discovered several large masses of the enemy marching in the direction of Agincourt; and Henry, having reconnoitred them from an eminence, gave orders to form a line of battle. The men remained in their ranks till it was dark; but as no enemy approached, they broke up in the evening, and advanced in silence by a white road which lay before them. Fortunately it led to Maisoncelles, a large village, where they found better food, and more comfortable accommodation than they had known for some weeks.

The French general recollecting that in the fatal battles of Crecy and Poitiers, the French had been the assailants, determined on the present occasion to leave that dangerous honour to the English. On this account he selected a strong position in the fields in front of the village of Agincourt, through which it was necessary for the king of England to cut his way, unless he would consent to yield himself prisoner. His marshals had allotted their stations to the different divisions of the army; and each lord had planted his banner on the spot which he intended to occupy during the battle. The night was cold, dark, and rainy;

but numerous fires illumined the horizon; and bursts of laughter and merriment were repeatedly heard from the French lines. The men collected round their banners, spent their time in revelling and debate, discussed the probable events of the next day, and fixed the ransom of the English king and his barons. No one suspected the possibility of defeat.

**Preparations
for the battle.**

To the English it was a night of hope and fear, of suspense and anxiety. But they were supported by the spirit and confidence of their gallant leader, and by the proud recollection of the victories won in similar circumstances by their fathers. As men, however, who had staked their lives on the issue of the approaching battle, they spent the intervening moments in making their wills, and in attending to the exercises of religion. The king himself took little repose. He visited the different quarters of the army, and before sunrise summoned the men to attend at matins and mass. From prayer he led them into the field, and arrayed them after his usual manner in three divisions and two wings; but so near to each other, that they seemed to form but one body. The archers, on whom he rested his principal hope, were placed in advance of the men-at-arms. Their well-earned reputation in former battles struck terror into their enemies. Besides his bow and arrows, his battle-axe or sword, each bore a large strong stake on his shoulder, which he was instructed to fix obliquely before him in the ground, and thus oppose a rampart of pikes to the charge of the French cavalry. The king himself appeared on a grey palfrey. His helmet was of polished steel, surmounted with a crown sparkling with jewels; and on his surcoat were emblazoned in gold the arms of England and France. As he rode from banner to banner, cheering and exhorting the men, he chanced to hear an officer express a wish to his comrade that some of the good knights, who were sitting idle in England, might by a miracle be transported to the field of battle. "No," exclaimed Henry, "I would not have a single man more. If God gives us the victory, it will be plain that we owe it to His goodness. If He do not, the fewer we are, the less will be the loss to our country."

The French were drawn up in the same order but with this fearful disparity in point of number, that while the English files were but four, theirs were thirty men deep. The constable himself commanded the first division, the dukes of Bar and Alençon the second, the earls of Marle and Falconberg the third. The distance between the two armies scarcely exceeded a quarter of a mile; but the ground was wet and spongy; and D'Albret, faithful

to his plan, ordered his men to sit down near their banners, and await in patience the advance of the enemy. Their inactivity disconcerted the king, who expected to be attacked. He improved the opportunity, however, to order a plentiful refreshment to be distributed through the ranks, while two detachments stole away unperceived by the French; of which one was instructed to lie in ambush in a meadow at Tramecourt on their left flank, and the other to alarm them during the battle by setting fire to the houses in their rear. Just as the king had made every preparation for the attack, he was surprised by the approach of three French knights, who demanded permission to speak with him, and offered single combat. The king, who saw the object, instantly replied: "This is not the time for single combats. Go tell your countrymen to prepare for battle before night. Away then, and take care that we are not before you." Immediately stepping forward, he exclaimed, "Banners advance!" At the same moment sir Thomas Erpingham threw his warder into the air; **Battle of** and the men, falling on their knees, bit the ground, **Agincourt,** arose, shouted, and ran towards the enemy. **At October 25,** the distance of twenty paces they halted to recover **1415.** breath, and then repeated the shout. It was echoed back by the detachment in the meadow, which issuing from its concealment, instantly assailed the left flank of the French. At the same moment the archers, having planted their stakes, ran before them, discharged their arrows, and retired behind their rampart. The constable had appointed a select battalion of eight hundred men-at-arms to break this formidable body. Of the whole number not more than seven score ever came into action. These were quickly despatched; the others, unable to face the incessant shower of arrows, turned their visors aside, and lost the government of their horses, which, frantic with pain, plunged in different directions into the close ranks of the first division. It was a moment of irremediable confusion. Nor did the archers lose the opportunity. Slinging their bows behind them, and with their swords or battle-axes in their hands, they burst into the mass of the enemy, killed the constable and principal commanders, and in a short time totally dispersed the whole body.

Henry, who had followed with the men-at-arms, ordered the archers to form again, and immediately charged the second division. The Frenchmen, though the fate of their fellows had checked their presumption, met the shock with courage, and maintained for two hours a most bloody and doubtful contest. The king's life was repeatedly in imminent danger. Seeing his

brother, the duke of Clarence, wounded and lying on the ground, he hastily strode across his body, and bravely repelled the efforts of the assailants, till the prince was safely removed by his own servants. Soon afterwards he was charged by a band of eighteen French knights, who had bound themselves to each other to kill him or take him prisoner. One of them with a stroke of his mace brought the king on his knees; but he was instantly rescued by his guards, and his opponents were all slain. At length the duke of Alençon, the French commander, fought his way to the royal standard. With one stroke he beat the duke of York to the ground; with a second he clove the crown on the king's helmet. Every arm was instantly uplifted against him. The duke, aware of his danger, exclaimed, "I yield; I am Alençon." Henry held out his hand; but his gallant enemy had already fallen. The death of the duke was followed by the flight of the survivors.

There still remained the third and most numerous division of the enemy. Though dismayed, it was yet unbroken; and the English were preparing for the charge, when the alarming intelligence arrived that a powerful force approached the rear of the army. In this emergency, the king hastily gave orders that all the prisoners should be put to death—orders which in most instances were unfortunately executed before the mistake could be discovered. The force which had been so greatly magnified, consisted only of six hundred peasants who had profited of the moment to enter Maisoncelles, plunder the baggage, and drive away the horses of the army. That this enterprise should prove so disastrous to their countrymen, they could not have foreseen; but they were afterwards called to account, and severely punished by their immediate lord, the duke of Burgundy.

During this interval, the ranks of the third division began to waver; and their irresolution was augmented by the flames kindled in their rear by the English detachment. Of the whole number no more than six hundred could be persuaded to follow their leaders, the earls of Falconberg and Marle, who boldly rushed on the conquerors, and found, what they probably sought, captivity or an honourable death. The English were in no condition to pursue the fugitives. As soon as resistance ceased, the king with his barons traversed the field, while the heralds examined the arms and numbered the bodies of the slain. He then called to him Montjoy, the French king-at-arms, and asked him to whom the victory belonged. "To you, sir," replied Mountjoy. "And what," continued the king, "is that castle, which I see at a

distance?"—"It is called the castle of Agincourt," was the answer. "Then," resumed Henry, "let this battle be known by the name of the battle of Agincourt."

Henry soon proceeded to Calais, and assembled a council, in which it was determined to return to England, because Henry considered that he had demonstrated his right to the crown of France; that God, by granting him the victory at Agincourt, had given the divine sanction to his claim; and that the same Providence would hereafter furnish him with the opportunity of again seeking and ultimately recovering his inheritance. He sailed to Dover; the crowd plunged into the waves to meet him; and the conqueror was carried in their arms from his vessel to the beach. The road to London exhibited one triumphal procession: the lords, commons, and clergy, the mayor, aldermen, and citizens, conducting Henry into the capital.

**Henry
returns to
England.**

The "Great Schism" in the Papacy which had torn the Church for nearly half a century, was brought to an end, owing to the exertions of the emperor Sigismund, who prevailed on John XXIII. to call the Council of Constance. In this assembly Gregory XII. resigned; and the refusal of John and Benedict to copy his example, was followed by a solemn sentence of deposition. To replace them the cardinal Colona was unanimously chosen, and assumed the name of Martin V. (Nov. 11, 1417). If the schism was thus terminated, it had previously given a shock to the temporal authority of the pontiffs, from which it never recovered. The contending rivals dared not employ the imperious tone of their predecessors. It was the policy of each to conciliate, to increase the number of his adherents, and to avoid every measure which might drive men to seek the friendship of his opponent. Hence the pretensions which had given so much offence to the sovereigns, were allowed to fall into desuetude; enactments, hostile to the immunities or claims of the Church, were either passed over in silence, or but feebly opposed; and instead of the spiritual weapons of excommunication and interdict, were adopted the more persuasive means of entreaty and concession.

**Termination
of the great
Papal
Schism, 1417.**

Henry invaded France again in 1417. He came prepared now to make permanent conquests; and his army, amounting to sixteen thousand men-at-arms, and probably an equal number of archers, was provided with a long train of artillery and military engines. Fortress after fortress fell into the hands of the invaders. Touques,

**Henry in-
vades France
a second
time, 1417.**

Auvillers, and Villers surrendered after short sieges; Caen refused to capitulate, but was carried by assault; Bayeux submitted spontaneously, and obtained the confirmation of its privileges; and the campaign was terminated by the successive reduction of several other towns.

While Henry was occupied in Normandy, a feeble attempt had been made to deprive him of England. In consequence, it is said, of a secret understanding between the Scottish cabinet and the lollards, the duke of Albany and the earl Douglas suddenly crossed the borders, and laid siege, the former to the castle of Berwick, the latter to that of Roxburgh. It proved, however, a "foul raid." They had persuaded themselves that the kingdom had been left without a competent force for its protection; but when they learned that the dukes of Bedford and Exeter were approaching at the head of a numerous force, they decamped with precipitation, and disbanded their armies. At the same time sir John Oldcastle emerged from his concealment, and arrived in the neighbourhood of London. The retreat of the Scots defeated his projects. At St. Albans he eluded by a precipitate flight the pursuit of his enemies; but was taken in Wales. At the petition of the commons (the parliament was then sitting) he was arraigned before the peers, condemned, and executed.

In the spring of 1418, Henry resumed his victorious career, and by a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men, was enabled to divide his army and undertake several operations at the same time. Cherbourg, after a resistance of six months, opened its gates, and the whole of Lower Normandy was reduced. France was divided into two separate governments, more hostile to each other than to their natural enemy, the king of England, and equally desirous to purchase by concessions his assistance for their own interest. Henry listened to their proposals, but obstinately refused to accept them; and advanced to lay siege to Rouen, the capital of Upper Normandy. By the French, a confident hope was indulged that Rouen would arrest the victorious career of the English monarch. Its fortifications were strong; numerous batteries covered its walls; the Seine winding round it, served to protect it from insult; and to fifteen thousand citizens trained to war had been added four thousand men-at-arms.

Siege and capture of Rouen, 1418.

After a siege of four months, Rouen capitulated and its fall was felt to the very extremities of France. Negotiations took place, but without effect. The murder of the duke of Burgundy,

however, caused fresh dissensions amongst the French. To the partisans of the late duke it was evident that their security depended on the ruin of the dauphin, and the protection of the king of England. Henry was not slow to name the price at which he would consent to be the minister of their vengeance, or rather of his own ambition. He required the hand of the French princess Catherine, the regency of the kingdom during the life of the king, and the succession to the crown at his death, and these conditions were agreed upon in a treaty signed at Troyes, in Champagne, on May 21, 1420. According to the national custom, Henry and Catherine were first affianced to each other, and after a short interval the marriage was celebrated.

**Treaty of
Troyes, May
21, 1420.
Henry's
marriage.**

Henry, accompanied by the queen, soon bent his way towards England. His subjects, proud of their victorious monarch, conducted him in triumph to London, where Catherine was crowned with a magnificence hitherto unparalleled in the English annals. After the ceremony they made a progress through the kingdom; but at York their joy was clouded with the melancholy news of the battle of Beaujé, fought on February 23, 1421, where his brother, the duke of Clarence, whom the king had appointed his lieutenant in Normandy, was defeated and killed. Henry hastened to France, and by numerous victories avenged his brother. To add to his good fortune, his queen was delivered of a son, who received in baptism the name of his father. She soon left England, in the company of the duke of Bedford, and hastened with her child to her father and mother. Henry flew to join her; and the two courts repaired together, May 21, 1422, to Paris at the festival of Whitsuntide.

Henry's attention was now called to the secret malady which he had for some time affected to despise, but which rapidly undermined his constitution, and baffled the skill of his physicians. The progress of his disorder soon extinguished every hope of recovery. He met his fate with composure, and divided the short remnant of his time between the concerns of his soul and those of his family. On the day of his death he called to his bedside the duke of Bedford, the earl of Warwick, and four other noblemen of distinction. To their loyalty he recommended his wife and her child; and then appointed the earl of Warwick tutor to the prince, and the duke of Gloucester guardian of the kingdom. Then, turning to his physicians, he requested to know how long he might expect to live; and hearing unmoved that he could not

**Death of
Henry,
August 31,
1422.**

live more than two hours, sent for his confessor, and spent the remaining moments in exercises of devotion. While the assistants recited around his bed the penitential psalms, he interrupted them at the verse, "Thou shalt build up the walls of Jerusalem," and said in a faint voice, that it had always been his intention to visit Palestine, and free the holy city from the yoke of the Saracens. He expired on the last day of August in the year 1422.

The splendour which conquest threw around the person of Henry during his life still adheres to his memory nearly five

His

character.

centuries after his death. But he was not only a warrior, he was also a statesman. The praise of constitutional courage he may share with many of his predecessors; he surpassed most of them in the skill with which he fomented the dissensions among his antagonists, and improved to the best advantage the unexpected events which chequered the busy scene of French politics. Success, however, gave a tinge of arrogance to his character. He did not sufficiently respect the prejudices, nor spare the feelings, of his new subjects; the pomp and superiority which he displayed mortified their vanity; and the deference which he exacted from the proudest of the French nobility was reluctantly yielded by men who, under the weak reign of Charles, had been accustomed to trample on the authority of their sovereign. Continually engaged in war, he had little leisure to discharge the duties of a legislator; but he has been commended for his care to enforce the equal administration of justice, and was beloved by the lower classes, both in France and England, for the protection which he afforded them against the oppression of their superiors. To those who served him, if he were a stern, he was also a bountiful master; and though he punished severely, he rewarded with munificence. By military men he was beloved and adored. The body of the king was conveyed to Paris and Rouen, where it lay in state; and from Rouen by short journeys to Calais, where a fleet was in waiting to transport it to England, and the obsequies were performed first in St. Paul's and then in Westminster Abbey, where the corpse was interred.

CHAPTER XVII

HENRY VI. 1422-1461

THE French throne was preserved from ruin by the premature death of Henry V. The new king, the son of Henry and Catherine, was hardly nine months old. On the first advice of his father's decease, several peers assembled at Westminster, issued commissions in the name of Henry VI. to the judges, sheriffs, and other officers, and summoned a parliament to meet in the beginning of November. A council was appointed of which the duke of Gloucester was named president, in the absence of his brother the duke of Bedford, not with the title of regent, which might be construed to import a delegation of the sovereign authority, but with that of "protector of the realm and church of England;" an appellation which could serve only to remind him of his duty.

Settlement
of the new
government.

The regency of France was given to the duke of Bedford by Charles VI. But Charles survived this transaction only a few days, and the dauphin assumed the insignia of royalty with the title of Charles VII. king of France. On the other side, the regent did not neglect the interests of his nephew. The dukes of Bedford and Bretagne married each a sister of the duke of Burgundy, and then separated to raise forces in support of the common cause. It was not long before the flames of war were rekindled. The country was pillaged by both parties; towns were taken and retaken; and the fortune of the belligerents was nearly balanced by alternations of defeat and success. After some time the war was suffered to languish; and the operations on both sides were confined to skirmishes and sieges, unimportant in their consequences to the two parties, but most disastrous to the unfortunate inhabitants.

Death of
Charles VI.
of France.

The necessity of interrupting the harmony between France and Scotland being evident, the English regency proposed to king James to treat with them respecting his release from captivity. The offer was joyfully accepted, and after the terms had been

agreed to, it was suggested, in order to attach the Scottish prince more firmly to the interests of England, that he might marry an English princess. It was not, however, necessary to urge the willing mind of James by political motives. His affections were already engaged by Jane, descended through her father, the earl of Somerset, from Edward III., and through her mother, from Edward I. He married her before his departure. The event proved that an English education of nineteen years had not rendered James less fit to wear the crown of Scotland, for as a monarch, he was a blessing to his country.

After some years it was determined to cross the Loire, and to attack Charles in the provinces which had always adhered to his cause. With this view, several councils were held at Paris; the regent yielded, it is said with regret, to the majority of voices, and a resolution was taken to commence with the reduction of Orleans. Montague, earl of Salisbury, had lately returned from England with a reinforcement of six thousand men. After the earl of Warwick, he was the most renowned of the English commanders; and to him by common consent was entrusted the conduct of the siege. On the part of the French no preparation was omitted, no sacrifice spared to preserve the city, and annoy the aggressors. The English commander was killed and the command devolved on the earl of Suffolk, who received several reinforcements and successively established his men in different posts round the city. The fall of Orleans was confidently anticipated; and the most gloomy apprehensions prevailed in the councils of the French

Story of Joan of Arc. monarch when the French throne was saved from ruin by Joan of Arc, the daughter of a small farmer at Domrémy, a hamlet in Champagne, situate between Neufchateau and Vaucouleurs. This interesting personage was born about the year 1412. Her education did not differ from that of the other poor girls in the neighbourhood; but she was distinguished above them all by her diligence, modesty, and piety. The child was fond of solitude; and in her day-dreams the young enthusiast learned to invest with visible forms the creations of her own fancy. Besides religion, there was another sentiment which sprung up in the breast of Joan. Young as she was, she had heard enough of the calamities which oppressed her country, to bewail the hard fate of her sovereign, driven from the throne of his fathers. It chanced that in May, 1428, a marauding party of Burgundians compelled the inhabitants of Domrémy to seek an

asylum in Neufchateau. The village was plundered, and the church reduced to a heap of ruins. On their departure the fugitives returned, and the sight wound up the enthusiasm of Joan to the highest pitch. She escaped from her parents, prevailed on an uncle to accompany her, and announced her mission to Baudricourt, one of the French generals, who, though he treated her with ridicule, deemed it his duty to communicate her history to the dauphin, and received an order to forward her to the French court. To travel through one hundred and fifty leagues of country possessed by hostile garrisons, and infested by parties of plunderers, was a perilous attempt. But Joan was confident of success; on horseback, and in male attire, with an escort of seven persons, she passed without meeting an enemy; and at Fierbois announced to Charles her arrival and object; and the poor maiden of Domrémy was ushered into a spacious hall, filled with some hundreds of knights, among whom Charles himself had mixed unnoticed, and in plain attire. Singling out the dauphin at the first glance, she walked up to him with a firm step, bent her knee, and said, "God give you good life, gentle king." He was surprised, but replied: "I am not the king, he is there," pointing at the same time to a different part of the hall. "In the name of God," she exclaimed, "it is not they, but you are the king. Most noble lord dauphin, I am Joan the maid, sent on the part of God to aid you and the kingdom, and by His order I announce to you that you will be crowned in the city of Rheims." The following day she made her appearance in public and on horseback. From her look she was thought to be in her sixteenth or seventeenth year; her figure was slender and graceful, and her long black locks fell in ringlets on her shoulders. She ran a course with the lance, and managed her horse with ease and dexterity. The crowd burst into shouts of admiration; they saw in her something more than human; she was, they thought, a knight descended from heaven for the salvation of France. Men of every rank caught the enthusiasm; and thousands offered their services to follow her to battle.

Sixty bastiles or forts, erected in a circle round Orleans, had effectually intercepted the communication with the country; and the horrors of famine were already felt within the walls, when it was resolved by the French cabinet to make a desperate effort to throw a supply of provisions into the city. A strong body of men, under some of the bravest officers in France, assembled at Blois, and Joan solicited and obtained permission not only to join, but also to direct, the expedition. To the English commanders, she

sent orders in the name of God to withdraw from France, and return to their native country. Dunois, the governor of Orleans, led her secretly into that city, where she was received by the citizens with acclamations of joy. Her presence created in the soldiers a spirit of daring and a confidence of success. Day after day sallies were made, and the strongest of the English forts one after another fell into the hands of the assailants.

Suffolk, disconcerted by repeated losses, determined to raise the siege, and the soldiers, with feelings of shame and regret, turned their backs to the city. The earl of Suffolk was soon besieged in a neighbouring town, and the place was carried by storm. More than three hundred of the garrison perished; and Suffolk with the remainder fell into the hands of the enemy.

Joan had always declared that the object of her mission was twofold, the liberation of Orleans, and the coronation of the king at Rheims. Of these the first had been accomplished, and she vehemently urged the execution of the second. Though to penetrate as far as Rheims was an enterprise of difficulty and danger, for every intermediate fortress was in the possession of the enemy, Charles determined to trust to his own fortune and the predictions of his inspired deliverer. Having sent a strong division of troops to alarm the frontiers of Normandy, and another to insult those of Guienne, he commenced his march with an army of ten thousand cavalry. The citizens of Rheims, having expelled the Burgundian garrison, received him with joy. The coronation was performed in the usual manner; but as none of the peers of France attended, Charles appointed proxies to perform their duties. During the ceremony Joan, with her banner unfurled, stood by the king's side; as soon as it was over, she threw herself on her knees, embraced his feet, declared her mission accomplished, and with tears solicited his leave to return to her former station. But the king was unwilling to lose the services of one who had hitherto proved so useful; and at his earnest request she consented to remain with the army, and to strengthen that throne which she had in a great measure established. Bedford obtained fresh assurances of fidelity from the duke of Burgundy, withdrew five thousand men from his Norman garrisons, and received an equal number from his uncle Beaufort. With these he went in pursuit of Charles, who was unwilling to stake his crown on the uncertain event of a battle. In the neighbourhood of Senlis, however, the two armies undesignedly came in sight of each other. The English, inferior in number,

prepared for the fight after their usual manner ; the French officers, flushed with success, impatiently demanded the signal of battle. But the defeat of Agincourt had taught Charles not to rely on mere superiority of numbers. The armies separated as if by mutual consent. The regent hastened into Normandy, and Charles, at the solicitation of his maiden champion, took advantage of the duke's absence, to make an attempt on the capital. Soissons, Senlis, Beauvais, and St. Denis opened their gates. He advanced to Montmartre, published an amnesty, and directed an assault on the faubourg of St. Honoré. The action lasted four hours. At its very commencement Joan received a dangerous wound, was thrown into the ditch and lay there unnoticed, till she was discovered in the evening, and carried off by a party sent to search after her. Charles, mortified by the obstinate resistance of the Parisians, retired to Bourges ; whilst the maid, looking on her wound as an admonition from heaven that her commission had ceased with the coronation at Rheims, consecrated her armour to God in the church of St. Denis. Her services, however, were still wanted. At the solicitation of her sovereign, she consented to resume the profession of arms, and accepted a patent of nobility for herself and her family, accompanied with a grant of income equal to that of an earl.

At the commencement of spring, the duke of Burgundy undertook to reduce the city of Compiègne ; and the maid was selected to raise the siege. Her troops were defeated, however ; she was taken prisoner, and was handed over to the regent, Bedford.

Joan of Arc
taken
prisoner.

The unfortunate maid was treated with neglect by her friends, with cruelty by her enemies. If ever prince had been indebted to a subject, Charles VII. was indebted to Joan of Arc ; yet from the moment of her captivity she appears to have been forgotten. We read not of any sum offered for her ransom, or attempt made to alleviate the rigour of her confinement, or notice taken of her trial and execution. The bishop of Beauvais, in whose diocese she had been taken, claimed the right of trying her in his court on an accusation of sorcery and imposture. It is generally supposed that this claim was made at the suggestion of the duke of Bedford. The inquiry was opened at Rouen ; on sixteen different days she was brought to the bar ; the questions with her answers, were laid before the university of Paris ; and the opinion of that body concurred with the judgment of the court. Still the sentence was delayed from day to day ; and repeated attempts were made to save her from the punishment of death, by inducing her to make

a frank and explicit confession. But the spirit of the heroine continued undaunted ; she proudly maintained that she had been the inspired minister of the Almighty, and repeated her conviction that she was often favoured with visits from the archangel Michael, and the saints Margaret and Catherine. The fatal day, however, arrived, and the captive was placed at the bar ; but when the judge had prepared to pronounce sentence, she yielded to a sudden impulse of terror, subscribed an act of abjuration, and, having promised upon oath never more to wear male attire, was remanded to her former place of confinement. Her enthusiasm, however, revived in the solitude of a prison, and her judges condemned her, on the charge of having relapsed into her former errors. She was led sobbing and struggling to the stake ; but the expectation of a heavenly deliverer did not forsake her though she saw the fire kindled at her feet. She then burst out into loud exclamations,

Joan of Arc
burnt at the
stake, 1431.

protesting her innocence, and invoking the aid of the Almighty ; and just before the flames enveloped her, was seen embracing a crucifix, and calling on Christ for mercy. This cruel and unjustifiable tragedy was acted in the market-place of Rouen, on May 30, 1431, before an immense concourse of spectators, about twelve months after her capture.

No sooner had Charles been crowned at Rheims, than the duke of Bedford determined that his nephew Henry VI. should be also crowned at the same place. The young king, as a preparatory step, received the regal unction at Westminster in his eighth year ; but six months elapsed before he was enabled to leave England. At length, the sums necessary for his journey were raised by loan ; the cardinal of Winchester consented to accompany him ; and the duke of Gloucester was appointed the king's lieutenant during his absence. Henry proceeded to Rouen ; but the prospect of penetrating to Rheims grew fainter every day ; and at the end of eighteen months the coronation took place in Paris on December 17, 1431. After a few days Henry was reconducted to Rouen, where he resided a year, and then returned by Calais to England.

The war languished during the two following years, and then
Proposals of an attempt was made to cause a general pacification,
peace. Con- under the mediation of the pope, as the common
gress of father of Christian princes. To this proposal
Arras, 1435. Eugenius IV. gladly acceded ; and in 1435 was held
 the congress of Arras, the most illustrious meeting for political

purposes which Europe had yet witnessed; but the pretensions of the two courts were so opposite and extravagant, that every hope of pacification speedily vanished.

Before the dissolution of the congress of Arras, the duke of Bedford expired at Rouen, and was succeeded by Richard, duke of York. The duke of York was succeeded by Beauchamp, surnamed the Good, earl of Warwick, with the title of lieutenant-general and governor of France.

Death of the
duke of
Bedford.

The pope repeatedly exhorted the rival powers to lay aside their arms, but was thwarted by the obstinacy of the French cabinet.

During Henry's minority little occurred deserving of being recorded. He was free from vice, but devoid of capacity. Gentle and inoffensive, he was shocked at the very shadow of injustice; but, easy and unassuming, was always ready to adopt the opinion of his advisers. When he was twenty-three years old, his council suggested that it was time he should marry; and every one foresaw that the queen, whoever she might be, would possess the control over the weak mind of her husband. The choice of Henry was directed towards Margaret, the daughter of René, king of Sicily and duke of Anjou. In personal beauty she was thought superior to most women, in mental capacity equal to most men of

Marriage of
the king,
1444.

the age. The marriage was agreed on. Margaret landed at Porchester, was married to Henry at Tichfield, and crowned, May 30, 1444, with the usual ceremony at Westminster.

The deaths, in 1447, of the duke of Gloucester and cardinal Beaufort, removed the two firmest supports of the house of Lancaster, and awakened the ambition of Richard duke of York, who by the paternal line was sprung from Edward Langley, the youngest son of Edward III., and on his mother's side had become, after the death of the earl of March, in 1424, the representative of Lionel, the third son of the same monarch. He had been appointed regent of France during five years; but the duke of Somerset, who sought to succeed to the influence of his relatives, the late cardinal and the duke of Gloucester, expressed a wish to possess that command; and York was reluctantly induced to exchange it for the government of Ireland. The affront sank deep into his breast; he began to consider Somerset as a rival; and, to prepare himself for the approaching contest, sought to win by affability and munificence the affections of the Irish.

If Henry felicitated himself on the acquisition of an accomplished and beautiful wife, his dreams of happiness were disturbed by the murmurs of the people. It was said that his union with Margaret had been purchased at too great a price in the cession of Anjou and Maine. Obstacles were opposed to the cession of Maine by the persons holding grants of land in that country; and the French king, weary of the tergiversation of the English government, resolved to cut the knot with the sword, and invested the capital of the province with an army. Henry, who was in no condition for war, surrendered almost the whole province, and obtained in return a truce for two years.

Maine was soon filled with French troops; and the king and duke of Bretagne resolved to unite their forces, and sweep the English from the soil of France. Within two months one half of Normandy was in their possession. They soon also obtained the city of Rouen; and within the space of a year and six days, Normandy, with its seven bishoprics and one hundred fortresses, was entirely recovered by the French monarch.

Charles, however, was not satisfied without the conquest of Guienne; and soon the French banner waved in triumph, from the mouth of the Garonne to the very borders of Spain. When nothing but Calais remained to England, Charles offered to treat of peace. The proposal was rejected with an idle threat that Henry would never sheathe his sword till he should have reconquered all that had been lost.

Every tongue was employed in bewailing the fallen glory of England, and every place resounded with cries of vengeance on the head of the minister, Suffolk. His enemies in the lower house had formed themselves into a powerful party, who requested that he might be immediately committed to the Tower. But the lords, having consulted the judges, replied that they had no power to order any peer into confinement unless some specific charge were brought against him. Two days later the speaker returned, and accused him of having aided the king of France, who, he pretended, was then making preparations to invade the country. On this charge he was arrested and confined in the Tower.

On the day appointed for his trial he was introduced into the house of lords, and falling on his knees before the king, solemnly declared his innocence. But whatever might be his guilt or innocence, it was evident that his enemies thirsted for his blood;

nor would the commons grant any supply till their cry for vengeance had been appeased. It became therefore the policy of the court to devise the means of satisfying them without endangering his life; and he was sentenced to banishment for five years. He sailed from Ipswich with two small vessels, and sent a pinnace before him to enquire whether he might be permitted to land in the harbour of Calais. But the pinnace was captured by a squadron of men-of-war: and one of the largest ships in the navy bore down on the duke's vessels. He was ordered on board, and received on deck by the captain with the ominous salutation of "Welcome, traitor." On the second morning, a small boat came alongside, in which were a block, a rusty sword, and an executioner; the duke was lowered into it, and beheaded.

**Suffolk
banished.**

**Murdered at
sea, 1450.**

The news of this tragical event plunged the king and queen into the deepest distress; and the people of Kent were roused by rumours of the signal vengeance which Henry had determined to inflict on them for having furnished the ships which intercepted his friend. An Irish adventurer, whose real name was John Cade, but who had assumed that of Mortimer, cousin to the duke of York, seized the moment to unfurl the standard of insurrection. At the head of twenty thousand men he marched to Blackheath. Henry instantly dissolved the parliament, and summoning his forces, advanced to London. Cade demanded that the relatives of the duke of Suffolk should be banished from the court, and that the dukes of York, Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk, with the earls and barons, be employed about the king's person.

**Insurrection
of Jack
Cade, 1450.**

Henry had levied between fifteen and twenty thousand men, with whom he marched to suppress the insurgents; but Cade withdrew before the king's arrival, and was pursued. At Sevenoaks he turned on his pursuers. Henry disbanded his forces, and retired to the castle of Kenilworth, while Cade took possession of London. He was, however, soon afterwards taken and beheaded. The chief of his followers were executed; of whom some confessed on the scaffold that it had been their intention to place the duke of York on the throne.

This nobleman, leaving his government of Ireland without permission, landed in England, and hastened towards London with four thousand men. He was introduced to Henry, behaved with insolence in his presence, and extorted a promise that he would summon a parliament. The duke of Somerset now returned from

**Return of the
duke of
York.**

France. The king and queen hailed his arrival as a blessing. He was the nearest of kin to Henry, and it was hoped that his fidelity and services would prove a counterpoise to the ambition of Richard.

For several months the nation was agitated by quarrels between the adherents of the two parties, by acts of violence and bloodshed, and by fruitless attempts to effect a reconciliation. The king, at the head of an army, soon marched against the duke of York; but he, avoiding the direction of the royalists, advanced to London by a different road, and finding the gates shut against him, proceeded as far as Dartford. Henry followed him, to demand an explanation of his conduct. The duke asserted that he was come to vindicate his innocence. To satisfy him, Henry ordered the duke of Somerset into custody; on which York disbanded his army, and swore fealty to the king.

At this time the inhabitants of Guienne offered to renew their allegiance, and solicited the aid of an English army. This was granted, and the command given to the earl of Shrewsbury. The expedition, however, did not succeed, and from that period Guienne was incorporated with the dominions of the French monarch.

In 1453, the queen was delivered of a son, whom she called Edward; and the prospect of an undisputed succession was hailed with joy by the friends of tranquillity.

Henry at this time sank into a state of mental, as well as bodily incapacity. His situation rendered it necessary to prorogue the parliament, and recalled the duke of York into the cabinet. He soon gained the ascendancy over his rival, and Somerset was committed to the Tower.

A committee of peers was chosen to visit the king; and as soon as they had reported that he was incapable of transacting business, an act was passed appointing the duke protector. The king soon recovered his health, and with it the use of his reason. Though he received the duke of York with his usual kindness, he put an end to the protectorate, liberated the duke of Somerset from the Tower, and laboured most earnestly to reconcile the two dukes.

York retired from court, invited his friends to meet him in the marches of Wales, and soon saw himself at the head of three thousand men, with the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Salisbury, and his son, the celebrated earl of Warwick. At the news Henry left London, and early the next morning, as he entered St. Albans, was surprised to

Unsuccessful attempt to recover Guienne, 1452.

Duke of York appointed protector.

Duke of York takes up arms, 1455.

behold the banners of the Yorkists advancing towards the town. A battle ensued, and the king was defeated and taken prisoner. Henry, now at the mercy of his enemies, was compelled to lend the sanction of his authority to the very acts by which he had been deprived of his liberty. When the parliament assembled, York and his adherents said that all their proceedings had been actuated by sentiments of the purest loyalty, and they received a full pardon.

First Battle
of St.
Albans,
May 22, 1455.

Henry soon relapsed into his former disorder, and the duke of York was again named protector. But Henry soon recovered, and the protector's commission was revoked. Two years passed without any important occurrence, during which Henry laboured to mitigate the resentments of the two parties. Discord, however, again broke out. York and his followers rebelled. Henry granted an amnesty to the insurgents, and convoked a parliament. Its principal employment was to pass an act of attainder against the duke and duchess of York, and their children the earls of March and Rutland.

Renewal of
war, 1459.

The hopes and fortunes of the Yorkists now rested on the abilities and popularity of the earl of Warwick, who had been permitted to retain the command of the fleet with the government of Calais. He was now superseded in both; in the former by the duke of Exeter, in the latter by the duke of Somerset. But when Somerset prepared to enter the harbour, he was driven back, and Warwick sailed to Dublin, to concert measures with the duke of York. He soon, with numerous forces, landed in Kent, where he was joined by the lord Cobham with four hundred followers, by the archbishop of Canterbury, who owed his dignity to the favour of the duke during the protectorate, and by most of the neighbouring gentlemen. As he advanced, his army swelled to the amount of twenty-five, some say, forty thousand men. London opened its gates. Henry had collected his army at Coventry, and advanced to Northampton, where he entrenched himself. Warwick, after three ineffectual attempts to obtain a conference with the king, gave him notice to prepare for battle. A battle was fought, and Henry was taken prisoner. The captive monarch was conducted to London. But though he entered the capital in great pomp, the earl of Warwick riding bareheaded and carrying the sword before him, he was compelled to give the sanction of his authority to such measures as the victors proposed.

Battle of
North-
ampton,
July, 1460.

The duke of York, by his counsel, delivered to the bishop of Exeter, the new chancellor, a statement of his claim to the crown,

and requested that he might have a speedy answer. The lords resolved in favour of the duke of York; but they refused to proceed to the step of dethroning the king. To save their oaths and clear their consciences, they proposed a compromise; that Henry should possess the crown for the term of his natural life, and that the duke and his heirs should succeed to it after Henry's death. To this both parties agreed. But though the monarch had consented to surrender the interests of his son, they were still upheld by the queen. The lords who had always adhered to the house of Lancaster assembled an army at York, and the duke of Somerset and the earl of Devon joined them with their tenants from those counties. This union alarmed the other party. York met the enemy with inferior forces near

A compromise effected.

Battle of Wakefield, December 30, 1460.

Second Battle of St. Alban's, Feb., 1461.

Wakefield, and was either killed in the battle, or taken and beheaded on the spot. The queen with her victorious army advanced on the road to London, and met with no opposition till she had reached the town of St. Albans. Here by an important victory Henry was restored to his friends, and placed at the head of an army. He announced by proclamation that his assent to the late award had been extorted by violence, and issued orders for the immediate arrest of Edward, late earl of March, and son to the late duke of York. But Edward had now united his forces with those of the earl of Warwick; and their superiority of numbers induced the royalists to retire with expedition into the northern counties. They were not pursued. Edward had a more important object in view, and entered London with all the pomp of a victorious monarch. He was immediately proclaimed king in the usual style by the heralds, in different parts of the city.

On that day, 4th March, 1461, ended the reign of Henry VI., a prince whose personal character commanded the respect even of his enemies, and whose misfortunes still claim the sympathy of the reader. He was virtuous and religious; humane, forgiving, and benevolent; but nature had refused him that health of body and fortitude of mind which would have enabled him to struggle through the peculiar difficulties of his situation.

CHAPTER XVIII

EDWARD IV., 1461-1483; EDWARD V., 1483; RICHARD III., 1483-1485

THOUGH Edward had assumed the title of king, the two parties were still nearly balanced. The earl of Warwick, anxious to bring the question to an issue, marched from London at the head of a body of veterans; Edward in a few days followed with the main army. The preparations of the house of Lancaster were equally formidable. The duke of Somerset with sixty thousand men lay near York. Between the villages of Towton and Saxton, was fought, on March 29, 1461, the battle which fixed the crown on the brow of Edward. The dukes of Somerset and Exeter conducted Henry and his family to the borders, while the conqueror rode towards York, which he entered the next morning. He soon hastened to London, was crowned at Westminster with the usual solemnity, and created his two younger brothers, George and Richard, dukes of Clarence and Gloucester. Henry VI., his queen, their son Edward, and several others were adjudged by parliament to suffer all the penalties of treason.

**Battle of
Towton,
1461.**

**Edward IV.
crowned at
West-
minster.**

The cause of the red rose, the Lancastrian emblem, now appeared desperate; but it was still supported by the courage and industry of Margaret. To aid her cause, Margaret visited the continent, and invited all true knights to avenge the wrongs of the injured Henry. After an absence of five months she returned, and her hopes were cheered with a temporary gleam of success in the north; but Edward and Warwick advancing with large forces, overcame her troops.

**Exertions of
Queen
Margaret.**

The spirit and activity of Margaret exposed her to numerous privations and dangers, in her efforts to maintain her husband's cause. Henry for security had been conveyed to the castle of Hardlough, in Wales. The queen sailed to Sluys, in Flanders, and thence proceeded to Bar, in Lorraine, belonging to her father.

There she fixed her residence, watching with anxiety the course of events, and consoling her sorrows with the hope of yet placing her husband or her son on the English throne.

The Lancastrians resolved to try again the fortune of war. Henry was summoned to put himself at the head of a body of exiles and Scots; Somerset, notwithstanding his submission to Edward, hastened to join his former friends; Percy assembled all the adherents of his family. But their designs were frustrated by the promptitude of Nevile, lord Montague, the warden of the east marches. He defeated and killed Percy at Hedgley Moor, and surprised Somerset in his camp near Hexham. That unfortunate nobleman endeavoured to save himself by flight; but was taken, beheaded the same day, and buried in the abbey. Henry, who had fled from Hexham before the arrival of Montague, had the good fortune to escape, and sought an asylum among the natives of Lancashire and Westmoreland, whose fidelity enabled him for more than a year to elude the vigilance of the government; but he was at last betrayed by a monk of Abingdon. The unfortunate king was met near London by the earl of Warwick, who conducted him to the Tower. Edward now turned his thoughts to his relations with foreign states. To the pope he had already notified his accession, and sent him an abstract of the arguments on which he founded his claim. The answer of Pius II. was civil, but guarded. With Scotland, which had so long offered an asylum to his enemies, Edward concluded a peace for fifteen, and afterwards prolonged it for fifty-five years; and he was on terms of amity with almost all the powers of Europe.

In these circumstances, the king no longer hesitated to acknowledge in public a marriage which he had some time before contracted in private with Elizabeth Wydevile, a woman of superior beauty and accomplishments, the relict of sir John Gray, a Lancastrian. For this purpose he summoned a general council of peers, by whom she was acknowledged as queen.

George, the elder of the surviving brothers of Edward, had received with the title of duke of Clarence a proportionate income and had been named to the lieutenancy of Ireland, which office, on account of his age, he was permitted to execute by his deputy, the earl of Worcester. This young prince, dissatisfied at the ascendancy of the queen's relations, absented himself frequently from court, and preferred to the company of his brother that of the earl of Warwick, whose daughter he married in 1469.

Battles of
Hedgley
Moor and
Hexham,
1464.

Marriage of
Edward IV.

An insurrection burst forth in 1469. Its ostensible cause was the determination of the farmers of Yorkshire to resist some unpopular demand. The peasants flew to arms; but the earl of Northumberland, Warwick's brother, to prevent the destruction of York, attacked and defeated them with considerable slaughter. The rebels, though repulsed, were not dispersed; and in a few days were said to amount to sixty thousand men.

**Insurrection
in Yorkshire,
1469.**

On the first intelligence of the rising in Yorkshire, Edward had summoned his retainers. He advanced to Newark; but, alarmed at the disaffection which he observed on his march, he despatched letters, written with his own hand, to his brother Clarence, the earl of Warwick, and the archbishop, requesting them to hasten to him at Nottingham, with the same retinue which usually attended them in time of peace. They, however, hastened to increase their forces. A defeat at Edgecote extinguished the hopes of Edward. The earl Rivers, the queen's father, was discovered, with his son sir John Wydevile, in the forest of Deane, and they were put to death. The king's brother and the two Nevilles proceeded in search of Edward, whom they found at Olney, plunged in the deepest distress. He soon discovered that he was their captive. The few royalists who had remained with the king, dispersed with the permission of Warwick. At his command, the insurgents returned to their homes laden with plunder; and Edward accompanied the two brothers to Warwick; whence, for greater security, he was removed to Middleham in Yorkshire.

**Battle at
Edgecote,
July, 1469.**

**Edward
made
prisoner.**

England exhibited at this moment the extraordinary spectacle of two rival kings, each confined in prison, Henry in the Tower, Edward in Yorkshire. The Lancastrians seized the opportunity to unfurl the standard of Henry. Edward was released and repaired to the capital, where his return was hailed by his own friends as little short of a miracle. A council of peers was now summoned, in which, after many negotiations, Clarence and his father-in-law condescended to justify their conduct. Edward with apparent cheerfulness accepted their apology, and a general pardon was issued in favour of all persons who had borne arms against the king. Yet under this outward appearance of harmony, distrust and resentment festered in their breasts; and a singular occurrence proved how little faith was to be given to the protestations uttered on either side. The archbishop had invited the king to meet Clarence

**Edward
released.**

and Warwick at an entertainment, which he designed to give at his seat at the Moor, in Hertfordshire. As Edward was washing his hands before supper, John Ratcliffe, afterwards lord Fitzwalter, whispered in his ear that one hundred armed men were lying in wait to surprise and convey him to prison. Without enquiring into the grounds of the information, he stole to the door, mounted a horse, and rode with precipitation to Windsor.

An insurrection soon burst out in Lincolnshire, of which the king could at first discover neither the real object nor the authors.

**Insurrection
in Lincoln-
shire.**

The king attacked the insurgents at Erpingham, in Rutlandshire: his artillery mowed down their ranks, and their leaders were taken and executed. Their confessions show that the insurrection had been got up at the instigation of Clarence and Warwick, that a confidential emissary from the duke regulated the movements of the force, and that the avowed object was to raise Clarence to the throne.

Warwick and Clarence fled from England, steered their course towards Normandy, and were received at Harfleur with distinguished honours by the admiral of France. Louis XI. invited them to his court, where they met Henry's queen, Margaret of Anjou. After a struggle, Margaret suffered her antipathy to Warwick to be subdued. The earl acknowledged Henry for his rightful sovereign, and bound himself to aid her, to the best of his power, in her efforts to restore her husband to the throne. To cement their friendship, it was agreed that the prince, her son, should marry his daughter Anne; and to lull the probable discontent of Clarence, that in failure of issue by such marriage, the right to the crown should, on the death of the prince, devolve on the duke.

Soon afterwards, the exiles, under the protection of a French fleet, landed without opposition at Plymouth and Dartmouth. Edward had been drawn as far as York by an artifice of the lord Fitzhugh, brother-in-law to Warwick, who pretended to raise a rebellion in Northumberland, and on the approach of the king, retired within the borders of Scotland. Thus the southern counties were left open to the invaders. Warwick proclaimed Henry VI., ordered all men between sixteen and sixty to join his standard, and marched with an army which increased every hour, in a direct line towards Nottingham. The thoughtless king had

**Flight of
Warwick
and Clarence: they
join the
Lancas-
trians.**

**Edward flees
the kingdom.
Henry VI.
restored,
1470.**

affected to treat the invasion with his usual levity, but soon being convinced that his cause was lost, he fled to Holland.

Queen Elizabeth with her family had remained in the Tower; but perceiving that the tide of loyalty had turned in favour of Henry, she left that fortress secretly, and fled with her mother and three daughters to the sanctuary of Westminster, where she was shortly afterwards delivered of a son.

Within a few days, Clarence and Warwick made their triumphal entry into the capital. Henry was immediately conducted from the Tower to the bishop's palace; and thence walked in solemn procession, with the crown on his head, to the cathedral of St. Paul's. By a parliament summoned in the name of the restored king, Edward was pronounced an usurper, his adherents were attainted, and the crown was entailed on the issue male of Henry VI., and in default of such issue, on the duke of Clarence and his heirs.

Settlement
of the
succession.

Edward solicited assistance from the duke of Burgundy, who feared to aid him publicly, but in secret he made him a present of fifty thousand florins, ordered four large ships to be equipped for his use at Vere, in Holland, and hired fourteen vessels from the Hanse Towns to transport him to England.

Edward with ten or fifteen hundred men disembarked on March 14th, 1471, at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, the very place where Henry IV. landed to dethrone Richard II. Edward directed his march with expedition to the capital, which had been entrusted to the care of the archbishop. That prelate already began to waver.

Edward
lands in
England.

In the morning he conducted Henry, decorated with the insignia of royalty, through the streets of the city; in the afternoon he ordered the recorder to admit Edward by a postern in the walls, alleging that the party of the house of York had gained the ascendancy among the citizens; that the richest of the merchants were the creditors of Edward; that his affability and gallantries had attached numbers to his interests; and that the sanctuaries contained two thousand of his adherents, ready at a signal to unsheathe the sword in his favour.—However that may be, the archbishop secured a pardon for himself. Warwick followed Edward, expecting to find him encamped before the capital; but he, apprehensive of the Lancastrians within its walls, immediately left it, and taking Henry with him, advanced to meet the enemy.

It was late on Easter-eve when the hostile armies met, a little to the north of the town of Barnet. Warwick had already chosen his ground; Edward made his preparations during the darkness

of the night ; in consequence of which, he posted by mistake his right wing in front of the enemy's centre, while his left stretched far away to the west. But at daybreak a fog of

**Battle of
Barnet, April
14, 1471.**

unusual density concealed from both parties their relative position ; and at five o'clock the king gave by trumpet the signal for battle. It lasted four or

five hours. At length the welcome intelligence was brought to Edward, that the body of Warwick had been found, lying near

**Warwick
slain.**

a thicket, breathless and despoiled of armour. This terminated the important battle of Barnet. To

Edward the death of Warwick was of greater importance than any victory. That nobleman by a long course of success had acquired the surname of the King-maker ; and the superstition of the vulgar believed that the cause which he supported must finally succeed.

Edward entered the city in triumph, remanded the unfortunate Henry to his cell in the Tower, and resumed the exercise of the sovereign authority. But he was not long permitted to indulge in repose or festivity. He had fought at Barnet on the Sunday ; on the Friday he was again summoned into the field, as queen

**Landing of
queen
Margaret.**

Margaret had landed with a body of French auxiliaries at Weymouth. On hearing of the defeat at Barnet, she sank to the ground in despair ; and as soon as she came to herself, hastened with her son

for safety to the abbey of Cerne. But the Lancastrian lords raised a considerable body of troops to fight under her banner, and a battle took place on May 4th, 1471, at Tewkesbury. The victory was won by Edward. Of the prisoners the most important was the Lancastrian prince of Wales, who was taken to Edward in the field. To the question, what had brought him to England, he boldly replied, "To preserve my father's crown and my own inheritance." The king, it is said, had the barbarity to strike the young prince in the face with his gauntlet ; Clarence and Gloucester, perhaps the knights in their retinue, despatched him with their swords. Queen Margaret, with her daughter-in-law, and the ladies her attendants, had withdrawn before the battle, to a small religious house in the neighbourhood. They were there discovered, and presented as prisoners to the king.

A week after the battle of Tewkesbury, the conqueror made his triumphal entry into the capital ; on the next day the dead body of Henry was exposed in St. Paul's. To satisfy the credulous, it was reported, as had been formerly reported of Richard II., that he died of grief ;

**Murder of
Henry VI.**

but his death is attributed to the advice, if not to the dagger, of the youngest of the royal brothers, Richard duke of Gloucester. Margaret was confined first in the Tower, afterwards at Windsor, and lastly at Wallingford. After a captivity of five years she was ransomed by Louis of France, and closed her eventful life, in 1482, in her own country.

Thus, after many a bloody field, and the most surprising vicissitudes of fortune, was the head of the house of York seated on the throne of England, apparently without a competitor. His eldest son, who had been born in the sanctuary during his exile, and had also been named Edward, was now created prince of Wales and earl of Chester, and was recognised as the heir apparent. Edward's chief disquietude arose from the insatiate rapacity of his brothers, the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester. Clarence, who had married Warwick's eldest daughter, grasped at the succession to all that earl's property; Gloucester, who married the younger, the relict of the prince of Wales, slain at Tewkesbury, claimed for himself a proportionate share. After some time, an arrangement took place; but a secret hatred had been kindled in their breasts, which was ready to burst forth on the first and most trivial provocation.

End of the Wars of the Roses.

Being at length relieved from all cause of disquietude at home, Edward resolved to prosecute the ancient claim of the English monarchs to the French crown. The king found the nation willing to embark on the romantic undertaking: the three estates separately granted him a tenth: parliament voted supply upon supply. But an additional aid was obtained by the king's own ingenuity. He called the more wealthy of the citizens before him, and requested from each a present for the relief of his wants. No one dared refuse what Edward facetiously termed a "benevolence." By these means he raised an army and crossed to Calais. He met king Louis XI. at Pecquigny, where peace was soon made, and the wily French monarch bought him off.

Expedition to France, 1475.

An event occurred in 1477 which embittered the remainder of Edward's days. His brother Clarence, now a widower, solicited the hand of Mary of Burgundy; his suit was seconded by all the influence of his sister, the duchess Margaret; and it is thought that he would have succeeded had it not been for the resolute opposition of Edward. The king was jealous of the ambition of a brother who might employ the power of Burgundy to win for himself the crown

Imprisonment and death of Clarence, 1477-1478.

of England. From that moment the brothers viewed each other as enemies, and scarcely preserved in their intercourse the external forms of decorum. While they were thus irritated against each other, Stacey, one of Clarence's servants, was accused of practising the art of magic. On the rack he named as his accomplice a gentleman in the duke's family. They were arraigned together before the judges, and after a short trial, both were condemned and executed. On the scaffold they protested against the sentence; Clarence immediately professed himself the champion of their innocence, and Edward committed him to the Tower.

A parliament was now summoned, and the unfortunate Clarence stood at the bar of the house of lords under a charge of high treason. Not one of the peers ventured to speak in his favour: the king produced his witnesses, and conducted the prosecution. The peers were persuaded by the arguments of the royal accuser; they found Clarence guilty; and the duke of Buckingham, who had been appointed high steward for the occasion, pronounced on him the sentence of death. About ten days later, it was announced that the duke had died in the Tower. The manner of his death has never been ascertained; but a silly report was circulated that he had been drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine.

In 1480, war was declared between England and Scotland. By some writers, the rupture has been attributed to the intrigues of Louis, who secretly stimulated James to break his alliance with Edward; by others to the policy of Edward, who sought to convert to his own advantage the dissensions between the king and the nobles of Scotland. James placed himself at the head of the Scottish, the duke of Gloucester at the head of the English army, and the borderers renewed their depredations; yet two years elapsed before the war assumed a formidable appearance; and even then, though it was carried on for a time with vigour, it led to no practical results.

Edward was much disappointed respecting the projected marriage of his daughter Elizabeth with the dauphin of France. When she had completed her twelfth year, it was hoped that Louis, according to his engagement, would have sent for the princess, and have settled on her the stipulated annuity. In 1483, Louis, forgetting the princess Elizabeth, demanded Margaret of Austria for the dauphin. When the news reached Edward, he burst into a paroxysm of rage. Whether it were owing to the agitation of his mind, or to the sensual life in which he indulged, a slight ailment, which had been treated with neglect, suddenly

War with
Scotland,
1480.

exhibited the most dangerous symptoms. He spent the few days preceding his death in the exercises of religion, and directed that, out of the treasures which he should leave behind him, full restitution should be made to all whom he had wronged, or from whom he had extorted money. He expired 29th April, 1483, in the twenty-third year of his reign.

Death of
Edward IV.,
1483.

Edward is said to have been the most accomplished, and, till he grew too unwieldy, the handsomest man of the age. The love of pleasure was his ruling passion. Few princes have been more magnificent in their dress, or more licentious in their conduct; few have indulged more freely in the luxuries of the table. But such pursuits often interfered with his duties, and at last incapacitated him for active exertion. Even in youth, while he was fighting for the throne, he was always the last to join his adherents; and in manhood, when he was firmly seated on it, he entirely abandoned the charge of military affairs to his brother the duke of Gloucester. To the chief supporters of the opposite party he was cruel and unforgiving; the blood which he shed intimidated his friends no less than his foes; and both lords and commons during his reign, instead of contending like their predecessors for the establishment of rights, and the abolition of grievances, made it their principal study to gratify the royal pleasure. He was as suspicious as he was cruel. Every officer of government, every steward on his manors and farms, was employed as a spy on the conduct of all around him; they regularly made to the king reports on the state of the neighbourhood; and such was the fidelity of his memory, that it was difficult to mention an individual of any consequence, even in the most distant counties, with whose character, history, and influence he was not accurately acquainted. Hence every project of opposition to his government was suppressed almost as soon as it was formed; and Edward might have promised himself a long and prosperous reign, had not continued indulgence enervated his constitution and sown the seeds of that malady which consigned him to the grave in the forty-first year of his age. He was buried with the usual pomp in the new chapel at Windsor.

Appearance
and character
of Edward.

The king left two sons, Edward in his twelfth year, who succeeded him, and Richard in his eleventh, duke of York, and earl marshal. Five of Edward's daughters survived him. One of these, Elizabeth, who had once been contracted to the dauphin, was married to Henry VII.

As soon as the king had expired, the council proclaimed his eldest son by the style of Edward V. The young prince, accompanied by his uncle, earl Rivers, and his half-brother, lord Grey, had been sent to Ludlow in Shropshire.

Edward V. proclaimed. Richard, duke of Gloucester, having the command of the army against the Scots, was employed on the borders at the time of his brother's death; but the moment he heard of that event, he repaired to York, summoned the gentlemen of the county to swear allegiance to Edward V.; and to give them an example, was himself the first who took the oath. At the same time he despatched letters to profess his affection and loyalty to his nephew, and proceeded southward, avowedly for the purpose of assisting at the coronation. Edward reached Stony Stratford, on his road to London, on the same day on which his uncle arrived at Northampton, about ten miles behind him. Gloucester arrived the next day at Stratford, proceeded to the house where the king resided, and approached him bending the knee and professing loyalty and attachment. But after this outward demonstration of respect, he apprehended Vaughan and Hawse, his confidential servants, ordered the rest of his retinue to disperse, and forbade by proclamation any of them to return into the royal presence under the penalty of death. The prince, abandoned and alarmed, burst into tears; but Gloucester, on his knees, conjured him to dismiss his terrors, and conducted him back to Northampton. The queen-mother, foreboding the ruin of her family, retired with her second son, Richard, her five daughters, and the marquess of Dorset, into the sanctuary at Westminster. The capital was instantly thrown into confusion. The citizens armed themselves, and the adherents of the queen, without a leader, and without information, awaited the result in the most anxious uncertainty.

On the fourth of May, 1483, Gloucester conducted his captive nephew into the metropolis. He was lodged with all the honours of royalty in the palace of the bishop, but on the motion of the duke of Buckingham was soon removed to the Tower, and Gloucester was appointed protector. While orders were issued and preparations made for the expected coronation, Gloucester was busily employed in maturing his plans, and despatching instructions to his adherents. The council met daily at the royal apartments in the Tower; the confidants of the protector at Crosby-place, in Bishopsgate-street, his residence in London. One day he entered

Duke of Gloucester made protector: his schemes.

the council-chamber at the Tower, stood at first in silence knitting his brows, and then in answer to a remark by lord Hastings, called him a traitor, and struck his fist upon the table. A voice at the door exclaimed "Treason," and a body of ruffians bursting into the room arrested Hastings, Stanley, and the two prelates York and Ely. The three last were conveyed to separate cells; Hastings was immediately executed, and a proclamation was issued the same afternoon, announcing that Hastings and his friends had conspired to put to death the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham.

Murder of
lord
Hastings.

Of the royal brothers the elder had been now securely lodged in the Tower; the younger still remained in sanctuary under the eye of Elizabeth. Him also, the protector resolved to have at his mercy; and with that intention proceeded to Westminster in his barge. Arrived there, he ordered a deputation of lords with the cardinal of Canterbury at their head, to enter and demand the young prince from his mother. Elizabeth, convinced of the inutility of resistance, affected to acquiesce with cheerfulness in the demand. She called for her boy, gave him a last and hasty embrace, and turning her back, burst into tears. The innocent victim was conducted with great pomp to the Tower; and while the mother abandoned herself to the prophetic misgivings of her heart, her sons made themselves happy in each other's company, little suspecting the wiles and cruelty of their unnatural uncle.

Gloucester now began openly to aim at the crown, and on 24th June, 1483, the duke of Buckingham, attended by several lords and gentlemen, harangued the citizens of London from the hustings at Guildhall. He reminded them of Edward's tyranny and hinted that Richard duke of Gloucester was the only true issue of the duke of York. Contrary to his expectations, the citizens were still silent; he at length required an answer, whether they were in favour of the protector or not; and a few persons, hired for the purpose, and stationed at the bottom of the hall, having thrown up their bonnets, and exclaimed "King Richard," the duke gave the assembly his thanks for their assent, and the next morning with many lords and gentlemen proceeded to the palace, and demanded an audience of Gloucester. The protector affected to be surprised at their arrival; expressed apprehensions for his safety; and when at last he showed himself at a window, appeared before them with strong marks of embarrassment and perturbation. Buckingham, with his permission,

Pretence of
offering the
crown to
duke
Richard.

presented to him an address requesting that he would take upon him the crown and royal dignity.

The protector replied with affected modesty, that he was not ambitious: that royalty had no charms for him: that he was much attached to the children of his brother, and would preserve the crown to grace the brows of his nephew. "Sir," returned the duke of Buckingham, "if the lawful heir refuse the sceptre, we know where to find one who will cheerfully accept it." At these words Richard affected to pause; and after a short silence replied, that it was his duty to obey the voice of his people; that since he was deemed the true heir and had been chosen by the three estates, he would assent to their petition.

Thus ended this hypocritical farce. The next day, June 26, 1483, Richard proceeded to Westminster in state, took possession of his pretended inheritance by placing himself on the marble seat in the great hall, and ordered proclamation to be made that he forgave all offences which had been committed against him before that hour.

In less than a fortnight from his acceptance of the throne, Richard was crowned at Westminster, with his consort Anne, the daughter of the late earl of Warwick. He employed the first days of his reign in acts of favour and clemency; many of the nobility were raised to a higher rank; and the treasures amassed and left by Edward were lavishly employed in the reward of past, and the purchase of future services.

Richard affected an extraordinary zeal for the suppression of crime and the reformation of manners. In all the great towns he administered justice in person, listened to petitions and dispensed favours; and to please the men of the north, among whom he had for some years been popular, he was again crowned at York with his consort; and the ceremony was performed with the same pomp and pageantry which had been exhibited in the metropolis.

While Richard was thus spending his time in apparent security at York, he was apprised of the tempest which had been gathering behind him. The terror of his presence had before silenced the suspicions of the public; but he was no sooner gone than men freely communicated their thoughts to each other, commiserated the lot of the young Edward and his brother in the Tower, and openly condemned the usurpation of the crown by their unnatural uncle. The king, though it was unknown, had already caused the murder of his nephews. By the friends of the princes, a resolution was taken to appeal to arms; and the hopes of the

confederates were raised by the unexpected accession of the duke of Buckingham, now a determined enemy to the king; but when their hearts beat with the confidence of success, their hopes were suddenly dashed to the ground by the mournful intelligence that the two princes, for whom they intended to fight, were no longer alive.

Soon after his departure from London, Richard had tampered in vain with Brakenbury, the governor of the Tower. From Warwick he despatched sir James Tyrell, his master of the horse, with orders that he should receive the keys and the command of the fortress during twenty-four hours. In the night Tyrrel, accompanied by Forest, a known assassin, and Dighton, one of his grooms, ascended the staircase leading to the chamber in which the two princes lay asleep. While Tyrrel watched without, Forest and Dighton entered the room, smothered their victims with the bed-clothes, called in their employer to view the dead bodies, and by his orders buried them at the foot of the staircase.

The intelligence, when it was permitted to transpire, was received with horror both by the friends and the foes of the usurper; but, if it changed the object, it did not dissolve the union of the conspirators. The bishop of Ely proposed that the crown should be offered to Henry, the young earl of Richmond, the representative, in right of his mother, of the house of Lancaster; but on the condition that he should marry the princess Elizabeth, to whom the claim of the house of York had now devolved. The suggestion was approved of, and a messenger was despatched to Bretagne, to inform the earl of the agreement, to hasten his return to England, and to announce the eighteenth of October, 1483, as the day fixed for the general rising in his favour.

When the answer of Henry was received by his partisans, it soon reached the ears of Richard, who prepared for the contest, summoned all his adherents to meet him with their retainers at Leicester, proclaimed Buckingham a traitor, and sent for the great seal from London. On the appointed day, the rising took place. Had Henry then landed, the reign of the usurper would probably have been terminated. But though Henry had sailed from St. Malo with a fleet of forty sail, the weather was so tempestuous that but few could follow him across the Channel; and when he reached the coast of Devon, the insufficiency of his force forbade him to disembark. Buckingham was deserted by

**Murder of
the young
princes,
August, 1483.**

**Conspiracy
in favour of
the earl of
Richmond.**

**First rising
abortive.
Execution of
Buckingham.**

his followers, taken prisoner, and executed. The insurgents dispersed; the marquess of Dorset and bishop of Exeter crossed the Channel to the coast of Bretagne; and others found an asylum in the fidelity of their neighbours, and the respect which was still paid to the sanctuaries.

When the conqueror had traversed the southern counties, he returned to the capital, and summoned a parliament, which pronounced him undoubted king of this realm of England; and entailed the crown on his son Edward, prince of Wales. Still the king was seriously alarmed at the idea of a marriage between the young earl of Richmond and the eldest of the daughters of Edward IV. Henry of himself could not advance any right to the crown. But the Yorkists, convinced of the death of the two sons of Edward, considered his eldest daughter as rightful sovereign; and the moment Henry bound himself by oath to marry that princess, they swore fealty to him as the future husband of her who was by succession queen of England.

To defeat this project now became the chief policy of Richard. That he might draw the late queen out of the sanctuary, he tempted her with the most flattering promises, and harassed her with the most terrible threats; so that at length she repaired with her family to court, where both mother and daughters were kindly received; and marks of particular distinction were lavished upon the young Elizabeth, whom Richard had probably destined to be the wife of his son Edward. But that prince suddenly expired at Middleham. Richard's queen soon died (it was supposed by poison) and he was anxious to marry his niece, but was dissuaded from this unnatural course. At length he was informed by his emissaries, that the earl of Richmond had raised an army of three thousand adventurers, most of them Normans; and that a fleet was lying in the mouth of the Seine to transport them to England. He affected to receive the intelligence with joy; and immediately, to prepare the public for the event, published a long and artful proclamation, calling on the people to defend him against all traitors. Having issued instructions to his friends in the maritime counties, Richard sent for the great seal, and fixed his head-quarters at Nottingham. On the 1st of August, 1485, his competitor sailed from Harfleur; on the seventh he landed at Milford Haven, and directed his march through the northern districts of Wales, a tract of country in the interests of the Stanleys. He met with little to oppose or to encourage him; and when he took possession of Shrewsbury, his army did not exceed four thousand

The earl of
Richmond
lands in
Wales,
August, 1485.

men. A week elapsed before Richard heard of his landing ; but orders were instantly despatched for all his subjects to meet him at Leicester. The duke of Norfolk obeyed, as did the earl of Northumberland, the lord Lovel, and others. At Leicester the king found himself at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, which, had it been attached to its leader, might have trampled under foot the contemptible force that followed the banner of his competitor. But Henry, assured by the promises of his secret adherents, continued to press forward. On the twenty-first of August Richard rode from Leicester with the crown on his head, and encamped about two miles from the town of Bosworth. The same night, Henry proceeded from Tamworth to Atherston, where he joined the Stanleys, and was encouraged by the repeated arrivals of deserters from the enemy. **Battle of Bosworth, August 22, 1485.** In the morning both armies (that of Richard was double in number) advanced to Redmore ; and the vanguards, commanded by the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Oxford, engaged.—Richard was dismayed to see the Stanleys opposed to him, the earl of Northumberland remaining inactive at his post, and his men wavering and on the point of flying, or going over to his competitor. Chancing to espy Henry, he determined to win the day or perish in the attempt. Spurring his horse and exclaiming, "Treason, treason, treason," he slew with his own hand sir William Brandon, the bearer of the hostile standard, struck to the ground sir John Cheney, and made a desperate blow at his rival, when he was overpowered by numbers, thrown from his horse, and immediately slain. Lord Stanley taking up the crown, placed it on the head of Henry, and the conqueror was instantly greeted with the shouts of "Long live king Henry." The body of the late king was stript, laid across a horse behind a pursuivant-at-arms, and conducted to Leicester, where, after it had been exposed for two days, it was buried with little ceremony in the church of the Grey Friars. Henry entered the town with the same royal state with which Richard had marched out on the preceding day. He was careful, however, not to stain his triumph with blood ; of all his prisoners three only suffered death.

Of the character of Richard it is unnecessary to say much. If he was guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, he was little better than a monster in human shape. **Richard's character.** Writers have indeed existed in modern times who have attempted to prove his innocence ; but their arguments are

rather ingenious than conclusive, and dwindle into groundless conjectures when confronted with the evidence which may be arrayed against them.

The historians of the next reign found it convenient to paint his portrait in colours deeper than was necessary; but in these days it is possible to take a juster view of his character, and to realise that, apart from his appalling crime, he gave indications during his short reign that he would possibly have made an enlightened ruler and have occupied the throne not unworthily. He abolished the levying of "benevolences," but his own necessities forced him, notwithstanding, to have recourse to this questionable method of raising money.

(Embracing only necessary names.)

[illegible]

CHAPTER XIX

HENRY VII. 1485-1509

THE long quarrel between the two houses of York and Lancaster had deluged England with blood: by a fortunate concurrence of circumstances it was given to Henry of Richmond, **Defects of Henry's title.** an exile and an adventurer, without means and without title, to unite the interests of the "two roses," and to bequeath to posterity the blessing of an undisputed succession. Victory had placed the crown on Henry's temples; and the absence of a rival secured to him the present possession of the sovereignty. He could not ground his title on hereditary descent; nor would his pride permit him to owe the sceptre to a wife, the representative of a rival and hated family, should he depend on his stipulated marriage with the princess Elizabeth. There remained the right of conquest; but to this he dared not appeal. It was at last resolved to settle the crown on the king and his heirs in general, without bringing either his right, or that of the princess into discussion. He viewed Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, son to the late duke of Clarence, with peculiar jealousy, however; and taking him from the castle of Sheriff-Hutton in Yorkshire, where Richard III. had confined him, placed him for greater security in the Tower of London.

The fall of the usurper excited little regret. No man could pity his death, who had pitied the fate of his unoffending nephews. When the conqueror entered the capital, he was received with unequivocal demonstrations of joy. But his coronation was delayed, and the gladness of the public was damped, by the sudden spread of a disease, which acquired from its predominant symptoms the appellation of the sweating sickness. At the end of the month its violence began to abate, and the new king received the rite of coronation from the hands of the cardinal archbishop of Canterbury.

Soon after the coronation, the king met his parliament. In the settlement of the crown by legislative enactment, he proceeded with cautious and measured steps. In the act of settlement

itself, no mention was made of Elizabeth or her heirs; even Henry's own claim was studiously omitted; and it was merely enacted, that the inheritance of the crown should be in the person of king Henry VII., and his heirs. But this cautious policy, and in particular this silence with respect to the princess, seems to have alarmed not only the partisans of the house of York, but even Henry's own friends. He soon married Elizabeth, but if the ambition of the princess was flattered by this union, we are told that she had little reason to congratulate herself on the score of domestic happiness; that Henry treated her with harshness and with neglect; and that, in his estimation, neither the beauty of her person nor the sweetness of her disposition, could atone for the deadly crime of being a descendant of the house of York.

Settlement of
the Crown.

After his marriage and the dissolution of the parliament, the new monarch, in imitation of his predecessors, resolved to signalise the commencement of his reign by a progress through the kingdom. He was stopped at Pontefract by the intelligence that lord Lovel had raised a force and was preparing to surprise him at his entry into York. But Henry's court was now attended by most of the southern and northern nobility; and their followers formed a fairly numerous army. The duke of Bedford led the royalists; by his order an offer of pardon was made to all who should return to their duty; and the insurgent force immediately dispersed.

The king made his entry into York with royal magnificence. Thence he returned through Worcester, Hereford, Gloucester, and Bristol, to London, to receive a numerous and splendid embassy sent by James, king of Scotland. As the former truce between the two crowns was supposed to have expired at the death of Richard, both kings readily consented to its renewal, but the turbulence and discontent of the Scottish nobility compelled James to limit its duration to three years. In September, 1486, the queen was safely delivered of a son, whose birth gave equal joy to the king and the nation. He was christened with extraordinary parade; and at the font received the name of Arthur, in memory of the celebrated king of the Britons, from whom Henry wished it to be thought that he was himself descended. Soon afterwards one Richard Simons, a priest of Oxford, entirely unknown in Ireland, landed at Dublin with a boy about fifteen years of age, presented his ward to the earl of Kildare, the lord deputy, under the name of Edward Plantagenet, son of Clarence, and earl

A pretended
earl of
Warwick.

of Warwick, and reported to have been murdered. He implored the protection of that nobleman for a young and innocent prince, who, by escaping from the Tower, had avoided the fate similar to that of his unfortunate cousins, the sons of Edward IV. The boy—he was the son of Thomas Simnel, a joiner at Oxford—had been well instructed in the part which he had to perform. His person was handsome; his address had something in it which seemed to bespeak nobility of descent; and he could relate with apparent accuracy his adventures at Sheriff-Hutton, in the Tower, and during his escape. The Butlers, the bishops of Cashel, Tuam, Clogher, and Ossory, and the citizens of Waterford, remained steady in their allegiance; the rest of the population, relying on the acquiescence or authority of Kildare, admitted the title of the new Plantagenet, without doubt or investigation: and the adventurer was proclaimed by the style of Edward VI., king of England and France, and lord of Ireland.

When the intelligence reached Henry he assembled a great council of peers and prelates, and by their advice published a pardon which extended to every species of treason. He conducted the real earl of Warwick from the Tower to St. Paul's, that he might be publicly recognised by the citizens. This prudent measure satisfied the people of England. They laughed at the imposture in Ireland, while the Irish maintained that theirs was the real Plantagenet. John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, nephew of Richard III., who had been named by his uncle, before his fall, to be his successor, repaired to the court of his aunt, the duchess of Burgundy, consulted with her and lord Lovel, and receiving an aid of two thousand veterans under Martin Swartz, an experienced officer, sailed to Ireland and landed at Dublin. His arrival gave new importance to the cause of the counterfeit Warwick. Though Lincoln had frequently conversed with the real prince at Shene, he advised that the impostor should be crowned, and the ceremony of his coronation was performed by the bishop of Meath. When Henry first heard of the departure of Lincoln, he made a progress through the counties of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, in which the earl possessed considerable interest; and thence proceeded through Northampton and Coventry to his castle of Kenilworth, which he had appointed for the residence of his queen and his mother. There intelligence was received that Lincoln with his German auxiliaries, and a body of Irish, had landed at Furness. He soon found himself surrounded by his friends with their retainers, and orders were published against any robbery or other misconduct by his army.

The two armies, as if by mutual compact, hastened towards Newark. It was in vain that the earl, as he advanced, tempted the loyalty of the inhabitants by proclaiming Edward VI. the head of the house of York. Disappointed but undismayed, Lincoln resolved to stake his life on the event of a battle; and precipitated his march, that he might find the king unprepared. The royalists had moved from Kenilworth by Coventry, Leicester, and Nottingham, and their numbers daily increased. The vanguard, under the earl of Oxford, was attacked at Stoke by the insurgents, amounting to eight thousand men. The action was short but sanguinary. The Germans fought and perished with the resolution of veterans; the adventurers from Ireland displayed their characteristic bravery, but with their darts and "skeans" (for the English settlers had adopted the arms of the natives) they were no match for the heavy cavalry; and though a portion only of the royalists were engaged, the victory was won with the slaughter of one half of their opponents. Simons and his pupil surrendered, the latter of whom obtained his pardon, resumed his real name of Lambert Simnel, was made a scullion in the royal kitchen, and afterwards, in reward of his good conduct, was raised to the more honourable office of falconer.

**Battle at
Stoke, June,
1487.**

A court was at this time established to punish those who associated themselves under any chief. The limits of its jurisdiction, as fixed by statute, were extended till they included libels, misdemeanours, and contempts; and the power of pronouncing that judgment on delinquents to which they would have been liable if they had been convicted after the due course of law, grew in practice into a power of punishing at discretion, and with a severity which provoked the curses and hatred of all classes of men. This court was called the court of the Star-chamber, from the decorations on the ceiling of the room in which it usually sat.

**Jurisdiction
of the Star-
chamber.**

Henry was careful to cultivate the friendship which subsisted between him and the king of Scots. On the death of James III. in 1488, he ratified anew with his successor, the truce already entered into: thus was peace continued between the two crowns for the space of eleven years.

**Truce with
Scotland.**

As soon as the king was relieved from domestic enemies, he was compelled to direct his attention to the continent. The French monarchs had gradually obtained possession of the other great fiefs of the crown; Bretagne, alone, retained its own prince and its ancient constitution. Charles VIII., the son of Louis XI.,

who ascended the throne of France in 1483, tried to annex the duchy, whose heiress was the youthful princess Anne. The clamour of the nation on behalf of this ancient ally of England roused Henry from his apathy; he summoned a parliament. The English people were anxious to rescue a young and unfortunate princess from the power of a victorious enemy: but the cold-hearted king had determined to enrich himself from the generosity of the one and the necessities of the other.

To Anne, he sent an army of six thousand archers to serve for six months, but on severe conditions; and these auxiliaries, as soon as the six months of their service were completed, returned to their own country without having rendered any important aid.

Soon afterwards, Maximilian of Germany married, by proxy, Anne of Bretagne. Charles of France formed a plan of compelling her to break her contract with Maximilian and marry himself. She rejected the proposal with disdain; but subdued at last by importunity and terror, she consented to marry the French king. The English king said he would punish the perfidy of France respecting Bretagne, and after much delay he landed at Calais, in 1492, with sixteen thousand men-at-arms, and twenty-five thousand infantry; but soon made peace with Charles, receiving from him a larger subsidy.

About the time when Henry declared war against France, a merchant vessel from Lisbon cast anchor in the cove of Cork.

Among the passengers was a youth, whom no person knew, about twenty years of age, of handsome features and courtly deportment. It was soon rumoured that he was Richard, duke of York, the second son of Edward IV., and as the English settlers were warmly attached to the house of York, the citizens of Cork declared in his favour. He soon afterwards accepted an invitation from the ministers of Charles VIII., to visit France, and place himself under the protection of that monarch. He was received by the king as the real duke of York, and the rightful heir to the English throne. Henry was perplexed and alarmed. He hastened to sign peace with the French monarch; and Charles instantly ordered the adventurer to quit his dominions. Leaving France, he solicited the protection of Margaret, the dowager duchess of Burgundy, who received him with joy, and gave him the surname of "The white rose of England." For three years after he first set forth his claim, he never made any attempt to establish it by legal proof, or to enforce it by an appeal to the sword. In July, 1495, however, he sailed from the coast of Flanders with a few hundred

**Perkin
Warbeck.**

adventurers attached to his fortunes; and, while Henry was on a visit to his mother at Latham, in Lancashire, made a descent in the neighbourhood of Deal. But the inhabitants attacked the invaders, made many prisoners, and drove the remainder into their boats. All the captives were hanged by the order of Henry. Warbeck returned in despair to Flanders.

The repulse of Warbeck and the complaint of the Flemish merchants, induced the archduke of the Netherlands to solicit a reconciliation with Henry; and a treaty was signed, by which every facility was afforded to the trade of the two countries; and there was appended to it a provision that each of the contracting parties should banish from his dominions the known enemies of the other. Warbeck, therefore, could no longer remain in Flanders, where he had taken refuge. He sailed to Cork; but the Irish refused to venture their lives in his service. From Cork he passed to Scotland, and exhibited, it is said, to the king, commendatory letters from Charles VIII. and his friend the duchess of Burgundy. James received the adventurer with kindness, paid to him the honours due to the prince whose character he had assumed; and to evince the sincerity of his friendship, gave to him in marriage his near relation, the lady Catherine Gordon, daughter to the earl of Huntley. Warbeck mustered under his standard fourteen hundred men, outlaws from all nations; to these James added all the forces it was in his power to raise; and the combined army crossed the borders in the depth of winter, 1496, and when no preparation had been made to oppose them.

As soon as the intelligence of this invasion reached Henry, he raised forces, summoned a parliament and obtained a grant of supplies. In most counties the tax was levied without opposition, but in Cornwall the people refused to pay their money for an object which, it was pretended, did not concern them, but the natives of the northern counties. They took up arms, and marched to London; but Henry, who had been joined by many of the nobility, soon defeated them.

The enthusiasm which had been excited by the first appearance of Warbeck in Scotland had long been on the decline; and when he saw the current of public opinion setting against him, he departed from Scotland with four ships and a few companions. He first touched at Cork, and solicited in vain the aid of the earl of Desmond. From Cork he directed his course across the channel to Whitsand Bay; and proceeding by land to Bodmin, unfurled the standard of Richard IV. He soon, however, submitted, and

Rising in
Cornwall,
1497.

threw himself on the mercy of Henry. The king refused to admit him into his presence. When he returned to London, Warbeck rode in his suite, surrounded by multitudes, who gazed with wonder at the man, whose claim and adventures had so long engaged their attention. He was conducted as a spectacle through the principal streets of the city, and ordered to confine himself within the precincts of the palace. After six months he escaped, but soon fell into the king's hands again. His life was spared, but he was compelled to stand a whole day in the stocks at Westminster Hall, and the next in Cheapside; and on both occasions to read to the people a confession of his having been an impostor. After suffering this punishment he was committed to the Tower.

The real earl of Warwick and the pretended duke of York, were now fellow-prisoners in the Tower. They soon contracted a mutual friendship, and adopted a plan for their escape. Their plans, which involved a new revolt, were discovered, and Warbeck was indicted in Westminster Hall, condemned and executed. The earl of Warwick was arraigned at the bar of the house of lords. Of his own accord he pleaded guilty; the earl of Oxford, as lord steward, pronounced judgment; and after a few days Henry signed the warrant for the execution of the last legitimate descendant of the Plantagenets whose pretensions could excite the jealousy of the house of Tudor.

From this period, the ambition of Henry was no more alarmed by pretenders to the crown, nor his avarice distressed by the expense of foreign expeditions. The principal events of his reign during the ten years of tranquillity which preceded his death consisted of treaties with other powers, and expedients to amass money.

The truces between England and Scotland, though frequently renewed, were but ill observed by the fierce and turbulent inhabitants of the borders. After one serious affray at Norham, James despatched a herald to Henry to announce that the truce was at an end; war must have ensued, but for the address of Henry's envoy, by whom the Scotch king was not only appeased, but offered to marry Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry. By the English prince the offer was most joyfully accepted; and when some of his council expressed a fear that then, in failure of the male line, England might hereafter become an appendage to the Scottish crown, "No," he replied, "Scotland will become an appendage to the English; for

Execution of Warbeck and the earl of Warwick,
1499.

Treaties with Scotland.

the smaller must follow the larger kingdom." The event verified the king's prediction. The parties were solemnly affianced to each other in London, in January, 1502, the earl of Bothwell acting as proxy for James. At the same time was concluded, after one hundred and seventy years of war, or of truces little better than war, a treaty of perpetual peace between the two kingdoms.

Henry had always cultivated with particular solicitude the alliance of Ferdinand king of Castile and Aragon; and the more strongly to cement their friendship had proposed a marriage between his eldest son, Arthur prince of Wales, and Catherine, the fourth daughter of the Castilian monarch. The marriage was postponed

**Marriage of
prince
Arthur.**

on account of the youth of Arthur; but when he had completed his twelfth year a dispensation was obtained to enable him to make the contract; and the marriage ceremony was performed in the chapel of his manor of Bewdley, where Catherine was represented by her proxy, the Spanish ambassador. She was nine or ten months older than Arthur; and when the latter had completed his fourteenth year, Henry demanded her of her parents; and she accordingly came to England. She renewed to Arthur the contract which had been made by her proxy, and the marriage ceremony was performed in St. Paul's, in November, 1501. The abilities of Arthur, the sweetness of his temper, and his proficiency in learning, had gained him the affection of all who knew him; and his bride by her beauty, modesty, and accomplishments became the object of general admiration. But the hopes of the nation were unexpectedly blighted by his premature death in the fourth month after his marriage. The intelligence of this event alarmed Ferdinand and Isabella, the parents of the young widow. Anxious to preserve the friendship of England, as a counterpoise to the enmity of France, they hastened to propose a marriage between their daughter and her brother-in-law, Henry, now apparent heir to the throne. A year elapsed before it was finally agreed, after much negotiation, that the marriage should be contracted within two months after the arrival of a dispensation from the pope. The dispensation was obtained, and the parties were contracted to each other, in June, 1503.

While the king sought by foreign alliances to add to the security of his family, he was equally solicitous to amass riches at the expense of his subjects. The men whom he employed as the agents of oppression were sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, both lawyers, of inventive heads and unfeeling hearts; who despoiled

**The king's
schemes to
get money**

the subject to fill the king's coffers, and despoiled the king to enrich themselves, by the following expedients. They revived all the dormant claims of the crown; exacted the payment of arrears; discovered and enforced forgotten causes of forfeiture. The ancient statutes had created many offences punishable by fine, imprisonment, and forfeiture: when real or supposed delinquents were brought before them, they were committed to prison unless they consented to pay an exorbitant fine. If outlawed, the sentence would be reversed on the payment of a fine. By such arts every class of subjects was harassed and impoverished: a course approved of by the king, who saw that to deprive his adversaries of their wealth was to take from them the means of annoyance.

The king was for many years visited with regular fits of the gout. His strength visibly wasted away, and every spring the most serious apprehensions were entertained for his life. Whatever might be the hopes with which he flattered himself, his preachers did not allow him to be ignorant of his danger. From the pulpit they admonished him of the extortion of his officers, and exhorted him to prepare for death by making reparation to the innocent sufferers. Henry's sickness and death. Henry does not appear to have been displeased with their freedom. He forgave all offences against the crown, with the exception of felony and murder; satisfied the creditors of all persons confined for debts under the amount of forty shillings; and ordered strict justice to be done to all who had been injured by the tyranny of the ministers. The prosecutions, however, were soon revived; it was contended that no injustice could be committed where the conviction was procured by due process of law; and several of the most respectable citizens in London were heavily amerced, and in default of payment thrown into prison. Thus Empson and Dudley continued to pursue their iniquitous career till they were arrested by the death of the king, who, on the 21st April, 1509, sank under the violence of his disease. He left three children; a son Henry, who inherited his father's crown, and two daughters, Margaret married to James king of Scots, and Mary afterwards the wife of Louis XII. king of France.

To Henry, by his contemporaries, was allotted the praise of political wisdom. He seems, indeed, to have been formed by nature for the circumstances in which accident had placed him. With a mind dark and mistrustful, tenacious of its own secrets and adroit in divining the secrets of others; capable of employing the most unprincipled agents, and of descending to the meanest artifices, he was able to

Henry's
character.

unravel the plots, to detect the impostures, and to defeat the projects of all his opponents. But there was nothing open in his friendship, nothing generous in his enmity. His suspicions kept him always on his guard; he watched with jealousy the conduct of his very ministers, and never unbosomed himself with freedom even to his consort or his mother. It was his delight to throw an air of mystery over the most ordinary transactions. He appears to have been the first of our kings since the accession of Henry III. who confined his expenses within the limits of his income. But the civil wars had swept away those crowds of annuitants and creditors that formerly used to besiege the doors of the exchequer; and the revenue of the crown came to him free from incumbrances and augmented by forfeitures. Hence he was enabled to reign without the assistance of parliament; and, if he occasionally summoned the two houses, it was only when a decent pretext for demanding a supply offered to his avarice a bait which it could not refuse. He had, however, little to apprehend from the freedom or the remonstrances of these assemblies. That spirit of resistance to oppression, that ardour to claim and establish their liberties, which characterized the parliaments of former times, had been extinguished in the feuds between "the two roses." The temporal peers who had survived the storm were few in number, and without the power of their ancestors; they feared by alarming the suspicions of the monarch to replunge themselves into the dangers from which they had so lately emerged; and the commons readily adopted the humble tone and submissive demeanour of the upper house.

But if the king was economical in his expenses, and eager in the acquisition of wealth, it should also be added, that he often rewarded with generosity, and on occasions of ceremony displayed the magnificence of a great monarch. His charities were many and profuse. Of his buildings, his chapel at Westminster still exists, a monument of his opulence and taste. He is said to have occasionally advanced loans of money to merchants engaged in profitable branches of trade; and not only gave the royal licence to the attempt of the Venetian navigator Cabot, but fitted out a ship at his own expense to join in the voyage. Cabot sailed from Bristol, discovered the island of Newfoundland, crept along the coast of Florida, and returned to England. It was the first European expedition that ever reached the American continent.

CHAPTER XX

HENRY VIII. 1509-1547

THE late king had forfeited, long before his death, the affections of his people; and the accession of his son, of the same name, was hailed as the commencement of a new era. The young Henry had almost completed his eighteenth year. He was handsome in person, apparently generous in disposition, and adroit in every martial and fashionable exercise.

With the unanimous assent of the council, he was now publicly married to the Spanish princess by the archbishop of Canterbury; their coronation followed, and these two events were celebrated with rejoicings, which occupied the court during the remaining part of the year.

The first public acts of the young monarch were calculated to win the affections of his people. Henry confirmed by proclamation the general pardon which had been granted by his father, offered redress to all persons who had been aggrieved by the late commission of forfeitures, and ordered the arrest of Empson and Dudley, who were soon afterwards tried, convicted, and put to death.

Peace abroad and tranquillity at home allowed the young monarch to indulge his natural taste for amusements and pleasure.

It was not long, however, before a quarrel between Julius, the Roman pontiff, and Louis XII., king of France, caused Henry to engage in war. Henry took part with the pope, joined the "Holy League," and invaded France; in which country war raged with varying success for a considerable time; but in 1513, Henry himself landed at Calais with a large force, laid siege to and captured Tournay and Terouanne, and defeated the French in a battle which they, with their characteristic humour, called the "Battle of Spurs," from the hurry they displayed in their retreat. Peace was granted to the French on easy terms.

The memorable battle of Flodden was fought at this period. James IV. of Scotland had married Margaret, the sister of Henry. This new connexion did not, however, extinguish the hereditary partiality of the Scottish prince for the ancient alliance with France; and his jealousy of his English brother was repeatedly irritated by a succession of real or supposed injuries. When Henry joined in the league against Louis, the Scottish court became the scene of the most active negotiations, the French ambassadors claiming the aid of Scotland, the English insisting on its neutrality. James renewed the ancient alliance between Scotland and France, with an additional clause reciprocally binding each prince to aid his ally against all men whomsoever. Henry was already in France; and James despatched his fleet with a body of three thousand men to the assistance of Louis. At the same time a Scottish herald sailed to France, the bearer of a letter from James to Henry, requiring the retreat of the English army out of that country; to which demand Henry refused to accede. James, at the head of one of the most numerous armies that had ever been raised in Scotland, passed the Tweed, and turning to the north, took numerous strong places. The earl of Surrey challenged James to battle, and the Scottish king, leading his army across the river, encamped on the hill of Flodden, the last of the Cheviot mountains, which border on the vale of Tweed. The memorable engagement of "Flodden Field" took place on the 9th September, 1513. James fought on foot, surrounded by some thousands of chosen warriors, who were cased in armour, and on that account less exposed to the destructive aim of the English archers. They advanced steadily, and fought with a resolution which, if it did not win, at least deserved, the victory. Surrey could not arrest their progress; they penetrated within a few yards of the royal standard; and James, ignorant of the result in other parts of the field, flattered himself with the prospect of victory. But in the meanwhile sir Edward Stanley, who commanded the left wing, had defeated the earls of Argyle and Lennox. The ranks of the Scots as they descended the hill, were disordered by the murderous discharges of the archers; the moment they came into close combat, the confusion was completed by a sudden charge in flank from three companies of men-at-arms. They began to retreat; Stanley chased them over the summit of the hill; and, wheeling to the right, led his followers against the rear of the mass commanded by James in person. In a few minutes that gallant monarch was slain by an unknown

War with
Scotland.

Battle of
Flodden,
September 9,
1513.

hand. The battle had begun between four and five in the afternoon, and was decided in something more than an hour.

The news of this important victory reached the king of England, when he was besieging Tournay. It soon submitted, and Henry returned to England, proud of his victory, and spent the winter in preparations for new conquests which he contemplated. But Louis, humbled by a long series of disasters, preferred negotiation to war. He appealed to the individual interests of the confederates, infused into them suspicions of each other's sincerity, and successively detached them, one by one, from the league against him. Louis soon died, and his successor, Francis I., renewed all the engagements of his predecessor to the satisfaction of the English monarch.

Among the inferior dependants of the English court, there now appeared one whose aspiring views and superior talents rapidly enabled him to supplant every competitor.

Rise of Thomas Wolsey. Thomas Wolsey, a native of Ipswich, had been appointed in the last reign one of the royal chaplains. After the death of his patron, he attached himself to the service of the bishop of Winchester, at whose recommendation he was entrusted with a secret and delicate negotiation at the imperial court; and the expedition and address with which he executed his commission, not only justified the discernment of his friend, but also raised the agent in the estimation of his sovereign. Before the death of Henry VII., he had been collated to the deanery of Lincoln; soon after the commencement of the present reign, we find him exercising the office of almoner to the king, and thus possessing every facility of access to the presence of the young monarch. Henry was captivated with the elegance of his manners, and the gaiety of his disposition. It was soon discovered that the most sure and expeditious way to the royal favour was through the recommendation of the almoner; and foreigners, as well as natives, eagerly solicited, and frequently purchased his patronage. Preferments rapidly poured in upon him. He was made dean of York, then bishop of Lincoln; and, on the death of cardinal Bainbridge, succeeded that prelate in the archiepiscopal see of York. His preponderating influence in the council induced foreign princes to flatter him with compliments, and to seek his friendship with presents; and during fifteen years he governed the kingdom with more absolute sway than had fallen to the lot of any former minister, for he possessed the art of guiding his sovereign, when he appeared to be guided by him. In September, 1515, when

Leo X. was anxious to obtain Henry's help against the king of France, to secure the mediation of Wolsey, he named that minister cardinal priest of St. Cicely beyond the Tiber.

The affairs of Scotland, after the death of its king and the destruction of its nobility in the field of Flodden, presented for some time a melancholy scene of confusion. The queen, in conformity with the will of her husband, had assumed the regency as guardian to her son James V.; but less than a year afterwards, she was displaced by the duke of Albany, who assumed the government of the kingdom, and compelled the queen to surrender her two sons, whom he placed under the custody of three lords appointed by parliament.

The French monarch, Francis, formed the most gigantic projects of conquest and aggrandisement. He put in motion the numerous army which he had collected, and poured his cavalry into the extensive plains of Lombardy.

Henry directed his attention to the conduct of the duke of Albany in Scotland. Against the regency of that prince he remonstrated in strong and threatening terms. The Scottish parliament returned a firm, though respectful answer; but Francis, who still dreaded the hostility of the king of England, advised the Scots to conclude a perpetual peace with Henry, and even required the regent, in quality of his subject, to return to France. Albany obeyed, but before his departure provision was made for the return of queen Margaret, who had sought an asylum in England; and a temporary council was appointed, under the nominal government of which, Scotland passed four years of dissension and anarchy.

Francis having won the duchy of Milan, determined to secure his conquest by disarming the hostility of his neighbours. He was soon at peace with all the powers, but after ten years of war and negotiation, of bloodshed and 1517. perfidy, all the powers of Europe were re-established in the same situation in which they had previously stood, with the exception of the king of Navarre, whose territories on the south of the Pyrenees were retained by Spain.

Wolsey still retained the first place in the royal favour, and continued to rise in power and opulence. He was made chancellor and papal legate, and having repeatedly solicited additional powers, at length possessed and exercised within the realm almost all the prerogatives of the sovereign pontiff. Nor was his ambition yet satisfied, for at the death of each pope he laboured, but in vain, to seat himself in

**Wolsey's
power.**

the chair of St. Peter. His love of wealth was subordinate only to his love of power. As chancellor and legate he derived considerable emoluments from the courts in which he presided. He held other profitable appointments, and received pensions from the pope and from Francis. In justice to his memory it should however be observed, that if he grasped at wealth, it was to spend, not to hoard it. His establishment was on the most princely scale, comprising eight hundred individuals. He spared no expense in his buildings; and, as soon as he had finished the palace of Hampton Court, and furnished it to his taste, he gave the whole to Henry; perhaps the most magnificent present that a subject ever made to his sovereign. He was a minister of consummate address and commanding abilities; greedy of wealth, and power, and glory; anxious to exalt the throne on which his own greatness was built, and the church of which he was so distinguished a member; but capable, in the pursuit of these different objects, of stooping to expedients which sincerity and justice would disavow, and of adopting, through indulgence to the caprice and passions of the king, measures which often involved him in contradictions and difficulties, and ultimately occasioned his ruin. It is acknowledged, however, that he reformed many abuses in the church, and compelled the secular and regular clergy to live according to the canons. His office of chancellor afforded him the opportunity of displaying the versatility and superiority of his talents. He was not, indeed, acquainted with the subtleties and minutiae of legal proceedings, and on that account was careful to avail himself of the knowledge and experience of others; but he always decided according to the dictates of his own judgment; and the equity of his decrees was universally admitted and applauded. To appease domestic quarrels, and reconcile families at variance with each other, he was accustomed to offer himself as a friendly arbitrator between the parties; that the poor might pursue their claims with facility and without expense, he established courts of requests: in the ordinary administration of justice, he introduced improvements which were received with gratitude by the country; and he made it his peculiar care to punish with severity those offenders who had defrauded the revenue, or oppressed the people. But his reputation, and the ease with which he admitted suits, crowded the Chancery with petitioners; he soon found himself overwhelmed with a multiplicity of business; and the king, to relieve him, established four subordinate courts, of which that under the presidency of the Master of the Rolls is still preserved.

**Wolsey's
character.**

Literature found in the cardinal a constant and bountiful patron. He employed his influence in foreign courts to borrow valuable manuscripts for the purpose of transcription. On native scholars he heaped preferment, and the most eminent foreigners were invited by him to teach in the universities. Both of these celebrated academies were the objects of his care; but Oxford chiefly experienced his munificence in the endowment of seven lectureships, and the foundation of Christ Church, which, though he lived not to complete it, still exists a splendid monument to his memory. As a nursery for this establishment, he erected another college at Ipswich, the place of his nativity. But these occupations at home did not divert his eyes from the shifting scene of politics abroad. He was constantly informed of the secret history of the continental courts; and his despatches, of which many are still extant, show that he was accustomed to pursue every event through all its probable consequences; to consider each measure in its several bearings; and to furnish his agents with instructions beforehand for almost every contingency. His advent to power more or less synchronised with changes amongst some of the crowned heads of Europe; and for the first time in her history, England was drawn into the general whirlpool of continental politics. For it was the object of Henry and Wolsey to preserve the balance of power between the rival houses of France and Austria, and by so doing to increase the importance of England. Louis XII. of France died in 1515, and was succeeded by the frivolous and warlike Francis I. Ferdinand of Aragon, who died in 1516, was succeeded by his daughter's son, Charles V., who uniting in his own person the kingdom of Spain, the archdukedom of Austria and the dukedom of Burgundy, was also elected emperor of Germany, in succession to his paternal grandfather, Maximilian, who died in 1519. Francis and Charles were life-long opponents: between these Henry had to choose. Charles, by reason of his vast dominions was ever to be considered a standing danger to peace: France was England's hereditary enemy: and so Henry and Wolsey steered a middle course, committing themselves neither to one side nor to the other, but now deserting Francis to support Charles, and when Charles had obtained the ascendancy, abandoned him to repair the broken fortunes of Francis.

His foreign
policy.

When Charles V. of Spain was elected emperor of Germany, in 1519, Francis and Henry (who had also been candidates for the imperial throne) became closer allies. Francis invited Henry

to France, and the English monarch, with a numerous and splendid retinue, crossed the strait from Dover to Calais. The

Henry visits France.

"Field of the Cloth of Gold," May, 1520.

two kings met near the town of Ardres, in a field called "The Field of the Cloth of Gold," on account of the splendour of the preparations. As soon as the kings had reached their respective residences, the cardinal paid a visit to Francis, and remained with him two days. The result was an additional treaty, the terms of which proved the extreme anxiety of that monarch to secure the friendship, or at least the forbearance of the English king. After these preliminaries, the monarchs rode from their several residences, alighted from their horses, embraced each other, and walked arm-in-arm into a pavilion, which had been prepared for their reception. The next fortnight was consumed in feats of arms and in banquets. Henry, on leaving Francis, paid a visit to Charles V. in Flanders. Every artifice was employed to discover the real object of this second meeting: and the French ambassador, La Roche, having obtained an audience of the two monarchs, read in their presence the tripartite league formerly concluded between them and Francis, and required Charles to ratify it with his signature as emperor. That prince, however, eluded the demand, and appointed Henry umpire in every subsequent difference which might arise between himself and the French monarch.

The flames of war were unexpectedly rekindled in 1521 between Francis and Charles, in Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands. The contending parties immediately appealed to Henry, and each claimed his aid in virtue of treaty. He exhorted each monarch to conclude a peace, and then proposed, that before he should make his election between them, they should appoint commissioners to plead before him or his deputy. Charles instantly signified his assent. Francis wavered, but, at length, condescended to accept the proffered mediation.

Henry conferred the high dignity of arbitrator on Wolsey, who proceeded to Calais in great state, as the representative of his sovereign. The mediation failed, and Wolsey declared that Francis had been the aggressor in the war, and that Henry was bound by treaty to aid his imperial ally.

The pontiff, Leo X., towards the close of 1521, was apparently in perfect health; yet a sudden indisposition prevented him from attending a consistory, which he had summoned; and in a few days it was known that he was dead. The news travelled with expedition to England, and Wolsey immediately extended his

views to the papal throne, but without success, as cardinal Adrian, a Belgian, was elected pope.

Francis, having fruitlessly attempted to recover the friendship of the king of England, at length laid an embargo on the English shipping in his ports, and seized all the property of the English merchants. In retaliation, Henry sent a defiance to Francis. The emperor, Charles V., landed at Dover, and was accompanied by the king through Canterbury, London, and Winchester, to Southampton. It was agreed between them that each power should make war on Francis with forty thousand men. The money necessary for the support of the army destined to invade France, was yet to be raised; and to supply the deficiency, required all the art of Wolsey, aided by the despotic authority of the king.

At length, the earl of Surrey, who had been named to the command, mustered his army under the walls of Calais. He marched towards Amiens, carefully avoiding the fortified towns, and devoting to the flames every house and village which fell in his way; while the French, who had been forbidden to risk an engagement, hovered in small bodies round the invaders. But the season proved the most formidable enemy. Cold and rain introduced a dysentery into the camp, and the earl led back his followers to Calais.

Earl of
Surrey's
expedition
into France,
1522.

In the early part of the summer, Francis, that he might divert the attention of the king, sought to raise up enemies to Henry both in Ireland and Scotland, but with indifferent success.

The minister's chief embarrassment at this period arose from the exhausted state of the treasury. Henry, following the example of his father, had governed during eight years without the aid of the great council of the nation; but his necessities now compelled him to summon a parliament, and sir Thomas More, a member of the council was, by the influence of the court, chosen speaker of the commons. After some days the cardinal carried to that house a royal message, showing from the conduct of Francis that the war was just and necessary, and proposed to raise money by a property-tax of twenty per cent. After some hesitation the commons agreed to a tax on every kind of property, of five per cent. for two years, to be continued during the third year on fees, pensions, and rents of land, and during the fourth year on moveables only. The clergy were obliged to pay a higher rate of taxation.

Parliament,
and a grant
of money.

The money thus extorted from the laity and clergy, was lavishly expended in repelling an invasion of the Scots, in supporting an expedition into France, and in furnishing aid to the allies in Italy. The share which England took in the continental wars in which Henry was for some years engaged, was unimportant and unproductive of results.

Early in 1525, Francis was defeated by the imperial forces at the battle of Pavia, and fell a prisoner into Charles's hands. To derive every possible advantage from the captivity of Francis, Henry despatched envoys to the imperial court to prevent the liberation of the royal prisoner; to propose a joint invasion of France; and that the king of England should ascend the French throne as his lawful inheritance; while Charles should recover those provinces to which he laid claim as representative of the house of Burgundy. But to execute this gigantic plan required a copious supply of money. Henry felt an insuperable objection to summon another parliament. He, therefore, resolved to raise money by the royal prerogative. But the clergy made the most obstinate resistance, and by word and example animated the people to a like course. The king reluctantly issued a proclamation, stating that he demanded no particular sum, but would rely on the "benevolence" of his subjects. It was replied that benevolences had been declared illegal by an act of parliament; and at length Henry, by a proclamation, withdrew all the demands which he had made. Thus the spirit of the clergy and people triumphed over the despotism of the king and the wiles of Wolsey; and this attempt to invade, served only to strengthen and perpetuate, the liberties of the nation.

Dissensions soon arose between Henry and Charles. Henry's necessities were great: he had learnt that he could not extort money from his people; to expect aid from Charles was useless; France alone presented a certain resource; and thus he sold himself by a defensive and offensive alliance with France. But in Paris a solemn protest was entered against the whole transaction, on a secret register, that Francis might, whenever he thought proper, found on that protest a refusal to fulfil his engagements! In 1526, Francis was liberated by the terms of the treaty of Madrid, and at once repudiated his act, and entered into negotiations with Henry to make war on Charles; but the depleted state of the finances of both the new allies forbade them to begin hostilities.

An account of the causes which led to the commencement

and accelerated the progress of the religious revolution which subverted the established creed, and abolished the papal authority in several of the states of Europe, cannot be deemed foreign to the history of England, as in a few years it penetrated to this island and produced the most important innovations in our religious polity. **Origin of the Reformation.**

It is well known that the primitive Church visited with peculiar severity the more flagrant violations of the divine law; and that such punishments were occasionally mitigated by the "indulgence" of the bishops, who, in favour of particular penitents, were accustomed to abridge the austerities enjoined by the canons, or to commute them for works of charity and exercises of piety. At the time of the Crusades, an indulgence was offered to the adventurers who risked their lives in the holy cause; later, the same indulgence was extended to those, who, unable to join the crusade in person, should by voluntary donations contribute to its success. From that period indulgences began to be multiplied, and as often as money was required for an object really or apparently connected with the interests of religion, they were offered to the people; but in process of time abuses grew out of the practice. The money was frequently diverted from its original destination; and as the office of collecting the contributions was committed to inferior agents called questors, who received a percentage on the amount, they often exaggerated the advantages of the indulgence, and imposed on the people. To prevent such abuses, severe constitutions had been enacted by several popes; but these laws were either not enforced, or had fallen into disuse.

Among the different projects which occupied the restless mind of Julius II., was that of erecting a temple worthy of the capital of the Christian world, of enormous dimensions and unrivalled magnificence. To raise money for this purpose, he had published an indulgence in Poland and France, which his successor, Leo X., had with the same view extended to the northern provinces of Germany. The papal commission was directed to Albert, elector of Mentz, and archbishop of Magdeburg; and that prelate employed as his delegate, Tetzels, a Dominican friar.

The origin of the revolution which followed may, with probability, be attributed to the counsels of Staupitz, vicar of the friars of St. Augustine. It has been generally supposed that he was actuated by a spirit of opposition to the Dominicans. For his ostensible agent he selected a young friar of his own order, named Martin Luther. When Frederic, elector of Saxony founded

the university of Wittemberg, Luther had obtained a professorship at the recommendation of Staupitz, and soon attracted notice by the peculiar boldness of his assertions. He was in his thirty-fifth year, vain of his talents for disputation, and fearless of opposition, when, in 1517, he eagerly undertook the task assigned to him by the zeal or the envy of his superior. His first essay was the composition of ninety-five short theses on the nature of indulgences. He affixed his theses, seasoned with bold and repeated sarcasms against the insatiate rapacity of the court of Rome and the personal avarice of the collectors, to the great door of the church of Wittemberg ; then maintained them publicly from the pulpit, and afterwards dispersed them in printed copies through the chief cities of Germany.

The Dominican friars were alarmed and exasperated at the opposition of Luther. They refuted his theses with warmth, and were answered by him with greater warmth. The controversy soon attracted public notice throughout Germany and the neighbouring countries. At Heidelberg Luther maintained, both in word and writing, that by the fall of Adam man has been deprived of the use of free will ; that faith alone is sufficient for salvation ; and that the best of our actions are of their own nature grievous offences. The auditor of the papal court, the bishop of Ascoli, had already cited him to appear at Rome within sixty days : but when, in August, 1518, he heard of Luther's conduct at Heidelberg, he pronounced him a heretic, without waiting for the expiration of that term.

About this time Leo published a bull declaratory of the doctrine of the Roman church respecting indulgences, the original subject of the controversy. Though it does not mention Luther by name, it is evidently pointed against his assertions. It teaches that the pope, as successor of St. Peter, and the vicar of Christ upon earth, possesses the power of granting, for reasonable causes, certain indulgences in favour of such of the faithful as are in a state of grace, whether they be alive or dead, for the remission of the temporal punishment due on account of actual sin. This bull probed the sincerity of Luther to the quick. He had promised to accept the decision of the pontiff, whether it approved or condemned his doctrine. That prelate had now spoken, and the decision was unfavourable ; but the professor, forgetful of his former protestations, instead of submitting, appealed by a formal instrument from the pope to a general council.

There existed at that time in Germany a very prevalent

feeling of disaffection to the see of Rome. The violent contests between the popes and the emperors in former times had left a germ of discontent which required but little aid to shoot into open hostility. Abuses were many whether in Rome or in Germany, where the sees were oftentimes filled with men unworthy of their lofty and sacred position: the minds of many were exercised over these grievances, and thousands ranged themselves under the banner of the innovator, without any idea of trenching on the ancient faith, and led solely by the hope of reforming abuses. The recent invention of printing, by multiplying the copies of books and the number of readers, had given a new and extraordinary impulse to the powers and passions of men, who began to conceive that their ancestors had been kept not only in intellectual but also in civil thralldom. All Germany was in a ferment; and Luther converted the general feeling to his own purpose with admirable address.

The politicians at Rome blamed the tardiness and irresolution of Leo himself, who for two years had suffered the innovator to brave the papal authority without taking any decisive step to punish his presumption. The pope, whether he listened to the timidity of his temper, or thought that the storm might be allayed by gentleness, commissioned Miltitz, a Saxon nobleman, to bring Luther back to his duty by persuasion and promises. Miltitz exhorted and advised, but without success. Leo soon published a bull in which he stigmatised Luther's propositions as false, scandalous, and heretical; allowed him sixty days to retract his errors; and pronounced him excommunicated if he continued obstinate after the expiration of that term. But success and impunity had taught Luther to deride the authority before which he had formerly trembled. He appealed to the decision of a general council; and having called an assembly of the inhabitants of Wittemberg, led them to a funeral pile, erected without the walls, and with much solemnity cast into the flames the books of the canon law, and the bull of pope Leo against himself.

War was now openly declared; and each party laboured to secure the friendship of the new emperor, Charles. The elector Frederic, to whom that prince lay under the greatest obligations, exerted all his influence in favour of his friend; and Luther himself, to alienate the inexperienced mind of Charles from the see of Rome, addressed to him an historical treatise, in which he artfully exaggerated the many injuries which the different pontiffs had inflicted on the empire, and exhorted him to vindicate the

Luther con-
demned by
the pope,
June, 1520.

honour of the imperial crown. At the Diet of Worms, though urged to submit, he maintained his obstinacy, and after some delay a decree was published against him, ordering the seizure of his person, forbidding any prince to harbour or protect him, and prohibiting the publication of writings on doctrinal matters without the previous approbation of the ordinary. Luther, however, had already provided for his own security. He took refuge in the solitary castle of the Wartburg. The place of his concealment was kept a profound secret both from his friends and his enemies; but he continued to animate the former by his writings; while the latter found themselves repeatedly assailed by their indefatigable but invisible adversary.

Detailed accounts of all these transactions had been carefully transmitted to England by the royal agents. Wolsey, by his office of legate, was bound to oppose the new doctrines; and Henry, who had applied to the school divinity, attributed their diffusion in Germany to the supine ignorance of the native princes. By a letter to Charles V. he had already evinced his hostility to doctrinal innovation; but it was deemed prudent to abstain from any public declaration till the future decision of the diet could be conjectured with some degree of certainty. Then the legate, attended by the other prelates and the papal and imperial ambassadors, proceeded to St. Paul's; the bishop of Rochester preached from the cross; and the works of Luther, condemned by the pontiff, were burned in the presence of the multitude. Henry himself was anxious to enter the lists against the German; nor did Wolsey discourage the attempt, under the idea that pride no less than conviction would afterwards bind the royal controversialist to the support of the ancient creed. That the treatise in defence of the seven sacraments, which the king published was his own composition, is forcibly asserted by himself; that it was planned, revised, and improved by the superior judgment of the cardinal and the bishop of Rochester, was the opinion of the public. The dean of Windsor carried the royal production to Rome, and in a full consistory submitted it to the inspection and approbation of the pontiff. Clement accepted the present with many expressions of admiration and gratitude, and conferred on the English monarch the title of "Defender of the Faith." It may here be observed that in neither of the bulls granting or confirming this title, is there any mention of inheritance. The title belonged to the king personally, not to his successors. (*Tibi*

Henry's
attitude
towards
Luther.

Henry
declared
"Defender
of the Faith,"
1521.

perpetuum et proprium.) But Henry retained it after his separation from the communion of Rome; and in 1543, it was annexed to the crown by act of parliament. Thus it became hereditary by his successors; it was retained even by Philip and Mary, though the statute itself had been repealed. Luther wrote an answer to Henry, but the intemperance of his declamation scandalised his friends, while it gave joy to his enemies. To the king, he allotted no other praise than that of writing in elegant language; in all other respects, he was "a fool and an ass, a blasphemer and a liar." Henry complained to the German princes; and, after earnest entreaty, Luther condescended to write an apology; but his "apology" was severe satire, and Henry published an answer. Luther now announced his regret that he had descended to the meanness of making an apology; and then occupied himself at Wittemberg, in publishing his German translation of the Scriptures. Several new preachers arose, who said that they had as good a claim to infallibility as Luther; they began to dispute many of his doctrines, and to reform the reformer himself. Zwinglius declared against him in Switzerland. Muncer taught the natural equality of man, the right of each to his share in the common property of all, and the abolition of every authority not founded on the gospel. The peasants, allured by his doctrines, were soon in arms, and the princes of the empire began to tremble for their political existence. Luther was overwhelmed with reproaches; the evil, it was said, had sprung from the tendency of his doctrines; and, to justify himself, he declared that Muncer was inspired and aided by the devil, and that the only remedy was to extirpate with fire and sword both the teacher and his disciples. After many a bloody field in different parts of the empire, the catholics and lutherans by their united efforts suppressed the insurrection. But the moment the common enemy was removed, their mutual distrust revived; the catholic princes requested the presence of the emperor to protect them from the machinations of their enemies; and, in 1526, the protestant princes concluded, at Torgau, a league for their common defence.

Hitherto England had not been much affected by the religious disturbances that were convulsing Germany. Henry alone had joined in the controversies there engaging men's minds; and Wolsey was intent only on practical reforms, in pursuance of which he procured papal permission to suppress several small and decayed monastic establishments, and with their revenues which he had been allowed to divert to that purpose, built and endowed at Oxford the college now known as Christ Church.

England was at last, however, drawn into the whirlpool of religious strife, not through any religious unrest, but through Henry's private matrimonial affairs. It will be remembered that a papal dispensation had been obtained enabling Henry to marry his brother's widow, on the understanding that the former marriage had never been consummated, and from the date of his union with Catherine, the royal pair had lived happily together. But in 1525, falling in love with Anne Boleyn, one of the queen's maids of honour, the ardour of his attachment for Catherine evaporated; and in order that he might marry Anne, he began to contemplate the possibility of obtaining a divorce, affecting to fear that he was living in a state of incest with the relict of his brother; though seventeen years had elapsed without a suspicion of the unlawfulness of their union having hitherto entered his mind. The royal wish was no sooner communicated to Wolsey, than he offered his aid, and ventured to promise complete success. *His* views, however, were very different from those of his sovereign. Unapprised of Henry's intentions in favour of Anne, he looked forward to the political consequences of the divorce; and had already selected another successor to Catherine. Henry mentioned his doubts respecting the validity of his marriage to several canonists and divines; most of whom, from a passage in Leviticus, contended that no dispensation could authorise a marriage with the widow of a brother.

Hitherto the king had concealed his thoughts respecting a divorce from the knowledge of the queen; but Catherine's eyes had witnessed his partiality for her maid, and her wifely intuition at last discovered the whole intrigue. She reproached him with the baseness of his conduct. Henry, however, appeased her by appealing to her piety, and protesting that his only object was to search out the truth, and to tranquillise his own conscience.

When the king communicated to Wolsey his fixed determination to marry Anne Boleyn, the minister received the intelligence with grief and dismay. On his knees he besought the king to recede from a project which would cover him with disgrace; but, aware of the royal temper, he soon desisted from his opposition, and became a convert to the measure which he could not prevent. The king's case was laid before sir Thomas More, who, pleading his ignorance of theology, suspended his judgment; and before John Fisher, the bishop of Rochester, who having maturely weighed the arguments on both sides, gave an opinion unfavourable to the divorce. With the nation at large the king's course was unpopular. The fate of a princess who for so many years

had been acknowledged as queen, and who had displayed in that situation every virtue which could grace a throne, was calculated to awaken in her favour the feelings of the public. A commission was obtained from the pope by Henry's agent, bishop Gardiner, authorising Wolsey, with the aid of any one of the other English prelates, to enquire summarily, and without judicial forms, into the validity of the dispensation which had been granted by Julius, and of the marriage between Henry and Catherine; to pronounce, in defiance of exception or appeal, the dispensation sufficient or surreptitious, the marriage valid or invalid, according to the conviction of his conscience; and to divorce the parties, if it were invalid, but at the same time to legitimate their issue, if such legitimation were desired.

Wolsey now began to hesitate; and took the opportunity of declaring to the king, that though he was bound in gratitude, and was ready to spend his life in the royal service, yet he was under greater obligations to God, at whose tribunal he would have to render an account of his actions, and therefore was determined to show the king no more favour than justice required; and if he found the dispensation sufficient in law, so to pronounce it, whatever might be the consequence. Henry at the moment suppressed his feelings; but in a short time gave way to his anger in language the most opprobrious and alarming. Wolsey saw the danger which threatened him. Without a divorce, his power, perhaps his life was at stake; with a divorce the prospect was hardly less gloomy. Anne Boleyn was not his friend. Her relatives and advisers were *his* rivals and enemies; and he knew that they only waited for the expected marriage to effect his downfall with the aid of her influence over the mind of the king.

In 1528 the sweating sickness made its appearance, and claimed some victims even in court circles. Henry locked himself up from all communication with his servants or strangers, and joined the queen in her devotional exercises, confessing himself every day. During this time the harmony in which the king lived with his wife, and the religious impression which the danger had left on his mind, excited a suspicion that he would abandon his project of a divorce; but the contagion had no sooner ceased than he resumed his former course of conduct. Campeggio, the legate who came from Rome on the subject of the divorce, after he had been introduced to Henry, waited on the queen, first in private, and then in the company of Wolsey and four other prelates. He exhorted her in the name of the pontiff to enter a convent, and then explained to her the objections against the

validity of her marriage. Catherine replied with modesty and firmness; that it was not for herself that she was concerned, but for her daughter, whose interests were more dear to her than her own. She therefore demanded as a right the aid of counsel of her own choice. This request was partially granted; and, in addition to certain English prelates and canonists, she was permitted to choose two foreign advocates.

The court for the trial of the question, met, after much delay, in the parliament chamber at the Blackfriars, and summoned the king and queen to appear on the eighteenth of June, 1529. The latter obeyed, but protested against the judges, and appealed to the pope. At the next session Henry sat in state on the right of the cardinals, and answered in due form to his name. Catherine was on their left; and, as soon as she was called, rising from her chair, renewed her protest. On the refusal of the cardinals to admit her appeal, she rose a second time, crossed before them, and, accompanied by her maids, threw herself at the king's feet. "Sir," said she, "I beseech you to pity me, a woman and a stranger, without an assured friend, and without an indifferent counsellor. I take God to witness, that I have always been to you a true and loyal wife. If there be any offence which can be alleged against me, I consent to depart with infamy; if not, then I pray you do me justice." She immediately rose, made a low obeisance, and retired. Henry, observing the impression which her address had made on the audience, replied that she had always been a dutiful wife; that his present suit did not proceed from any dislike of her, but from the tenderness of his own conscience.

Notwithstanding the queen's appeal, the cause proceeded, and on her refusal to appear in person or by her attorney, she was pronounced contumacious. Several sittings were held, but the evidence and the arguments were all on the same side. Wolsey urged for a speedy decision; but Campeggio, unwilling to pronounce against his conscience, and afraid to irritate the king, solicited the pope by letter, to call the cause before himself. To add to their common perplexity, despatches had arrived from the agents at Rome, stating that the queen's appeal had been received; and that Clement would in a few days revoke the commission, and reserve the cognisance of the cause to himself.

The legates had been careful to prolong the trial by repeated adjournments, till the summer vacation approached. On the

twenty-third of July, 1529, they held the last session; the king attended in a neighbouring room, from which he could see and hear the proceedings; and his counsel in lofty terms called for the judgment of the court. But Campeggio replied, that judgment must be deferred till the whole of the proceedings had been laid before the pontiff, and that no consideration should divert him from his duty. He was too old, and weak, and sickly to seek the favour, or fear the resentment of any man. The defendant had challenged him and his colleague as judges, because they were the subjects of her opponent. To avoid error, they had therefore determined to consult Rome, and for that purpose he adjourned the court to the commencement of the next term, in the beginning of October.

Henry seemed to bear the disappointment with a composure of mind which was unusual to him. But he had not been unprepared for the event. By the advice of Wolsey he resolved to conceal his real feelings, to procure the opinions of learned men in his favour, to effect the divorce by ecclesiastical authority within the realm, and then to confirm it by act of parliament.

Wolsey's good fortune now began to abandon him. At this moment, while Henry was still smarting under his recent disappointment, an instrument arrived from Rome, for-
bidding him to pursue his cause before the legates, and citing him to appear by attorney in the papal court under a heavy penalty. **The fall of Wolsey.** The whole process was one of mere form; but it revived the irritation of the king; he deemed it a personal insult, and insisted that Wolsey should devise some expedient to prevent it from being served on him, and from being made known to his subjects. This, after a tedious negotiation, was effected with the consent of the queen and her counsel. But it was in vain that the cardinal laboured to recover the royal favour. The proofs of his disgrace became daily more manifest. He was not invited to court; on matters of state his opinion was seldom asked, and then only by special messengers; even letters addressed to him were intercepted, opened, and perused by Henry. Still, amidst the misgivings of his own breast, he cherished the hope that some lucky chance might replace him in his former pre-eminence. With some difficulty he obtained an interview with Henry. To the general surprise, when he knelt, the king graciously raised him up with both hands, led him aside in a friendly manner, and conversed with him familiarly for a considerable time; and later in the day he sent for Wolsey again to his closet, and kept him

in private conference till it was dark. At his departure he received a command to return on the following morning. But the ascendancy of Anne Boleyn extorted from her lover a promise that he would never more speak to the cardinal. When Wolsey returned in the morning the king was already on horseback, and having sent a message to him to attend the council, rode out in the company of the lady Anne. After that day, he and Wolsey never met each other. Hales, the attorney-general, soon afterwards, filed two bills against him in the King's Bench, charging him with having, as legate, transgressed the statute of *Premunire*. Nothing could be more iniquitous than this prosecution, for it is certain that the cardinal had previously obtained the royal licence to exercise his legatine authority. This stroke, though it was not unexpected, plunged Wolsey into despair. He knew the stern and irritable temper of his prosecutor; to have maintained his innocence would have been to exclude the hope of forgiveness. He therefore submitted without a murmur to every demand; resigned the great seal; transferred to the king the whole of his personal estate; ordered his attorney to plead guilty to the indictment, and threw himself on the royal mercy. The king's partiality for his former favourite seemed to be proof against all the representations of the council. He continued to send to the cardinal from time to time consoling messages and tokens of affection, though it was generally by stealth, and sometimes during the night. When the court pronounced judgment against him, he took him under the royal protection; and when articles of impeachment had been introduced into the house of lords, and passed from it to the house of commons, he procured them to be thrown out by the agency of Crumwell, who from the service of the cardinal had risen to that of the king. Wolsey however sank in health and spirits. The anguish of his mind rapidly consumed the vigour of his constitution. About Christmas, 1529, he fell into a fever, which obstinately defied the powers of medicine. When Henry heard of his danger, he immediately ordered three physicians to hasten to Esher, where Wolsey lived, and repeatedly assured the cardinal of his unabated attachment.

As the agitation of Wolsey's mind subsided, the health of his body was restored; but his enemies had prepared for him a new conflict, and required of him additional sacrifices. He was called upon to resign all his ecclesiastical preferments, excepting the archbishopric of York. Wolsey himself received a general pardon, and a release from all debts due to the crown; but on the 4th

of November, 1530, he was unexpectedly arrested on a charge of high treason. He betrayed no symptoms of guilt; the king had not, he maintained, a more loyal subject than himself; there lived not on earth the man who could look him in the face and charge him with untruth; nor did he seek any other favour than to be confronted with his accusers.

His health (he suffered much from dropsy) would not allow him to travel with expedition; he was detained on the journey by illness, but as soon as he was able to mount his mule he resumed it; feeling his strength rapidly decline, he said to the abbot of Leicester, as he entered the gate of the monastery, "Father abbot, I am come to lay my bones among you." He was immediately carried to his bed; and the second day, seeing Kyngston, the lieutenant of the Tower, in his chamber, he addressed him in these well-known words: "Master Kyngston, I pray you have me commended to his majesty; had I but served God as diligently as I have served him, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is my just reward for my pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only my duty to my prince." Having received the last consolations of religion, he expired the next morning, in the sixtieth year of his age. The best eulogy on his character is to be found in the contrast between the conduct of Henry before, and after the cardinal's fall. As long as Wolsey continued in favour, the royal passions were confined within certain bounds; the moment his influence was extinguished they burst through every restraint, and by their caprice and violence alarmed his subjects and astonished the other nations of Europe.

To appoint a successor to Wolsey, in the Chancery, was an object of great importance; and the office was at length given to sir Thomas More, the treasurer of the household, and chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. It may justly excite surprise that More should accept this dangerous office. With a delicate conscience and a strong sense of duty, he was not a fit associate for less timorous colleagues. As a scholar he was celebrated in every part of Europe, and as a lawyer he had long practised with applause and success. From the office of under-sheriff or common sergeant, Henry had called him to court, had employed him in different embassies, and had rewarded him with lucrative preferments. The merit of More was universally acknowledged, and even Wolsey declared that he knew no one more worthy to be his successor.

Sir Thomas
More
becomes
chancellor,
1529.

As Henry had been vigorously withstood by the clergy in the matter of the divorce, he determined to show them that he would put up with no further opposition, and that he held them in the hollow of his hand. Bills were introduced into parliament to correct church abuses, of which two clauses deserve notice, as being the first enacted in this reign in opposition to the papal authority. By these every clergyman who had obtained in the court of Rome licences or dispensations, became liable to penalties, and forfeitures; Henry likewise informed the clergy in convocation, in 1531, that they were all liable to the penalties of *Premunire* for having recognised Wolsey's legatine authority without the king's leave, and only purchased pardon at the expense of an enormous fine. He likewise extorted from them the acknowledgment that he was "supreme head of the English church and clergy"; they accepted this with the saving clause "as far as the law of Christ will allow." This new title, and the placing of the clergy in a *premunire* had been suggested to the king by Thomas Crumwell, who about this time, appears in history. The son of a fuller, in his early youth he served as a trooper in the wars of Italy; from the army he passed to the service of a Venetian merchant; and, after some time, returning to England, exchanged the counter for the study of the law. Wolsey had employed him to dissolve the monasteries which had been granted for the establishment of his colleges, a trust which he discharged to the satisfaction of his patron, at the same time that he enriched himself. His principles, however, if we may believe his own assertions, were of the most flagitious description. When Wolsey fell he followed him for a time; but despairing of the fortune of the fallen favourite, hastened to court, purchased with presents the protection of the ministers, and was confirmed in that office under the king, which he had before held under the cardinal.

When Henry, despairing of obtaining the pope's consent to the divorce, declared that he would abandon the idea, Crumwell urged him to imitate the princes of Germany, who had thrown off the yoke of Rome; and, with the authority of parliament, to declare himself the head of the church within his own realm. Henry listened with surprise and pleasure to a discourse which flattered not only his passion for Anne Boleyn, but his thirst of wealth and greediness of power. He thanked Crumwell, and ordered him to be sworn of his privy council. Soon afterwards, a deputation was sent to Catherine with an order for her to leave the palace at Windsor. "Go where I may," she answered, "I shall still be the king's lawful wife." She repaired to Amptill.

Five years had now rolled away since Henry first solicited a divorce, and still he appeared to have made but little progress towards the attainment of his object. Anne Boleyn, in 1532, proved to be in a condition to promise him an heir; and the necessity of placing beyond cavil the legitimacy of the child, induced him, notwithstanding the pledge he had solemnly given not to marry Anne without the consent of the church, no longer to delay their union, and he was privately married to her in January, 1533; but the marriage was not publicly avowed till the following Easter.

**Henry
marries Anne
Boleyn, 1533.**

The next step was to obtain some ecclesiastical decision in favour of the divorce. With this view, Thomas Cranmer, who was in Henry's interest, was appointed archbishop of York, after the death of archbishop Warham. The papal confirmation was asked and obtained; and the necessary bulls were expedited. At his consecration he would have had to swear canonical obedience to the pope; but being already resolved to act in opposition to his authority, Cranmer adopted the fraudulent expedient of secretly declaring on oath just before the ceremony of consecration that he did not intend to bind himself to anything prejudicial to the king's rights, or prohibitory of such reforms as he might judge useful to the church of England. It may be observed that oaths cease to offer any security, if their meaning may be qualified by previous protestations, made without the knowledge of the party who is principally interested.

With an archbishop subservient to his pleasure, Henry determined to proceed with the divorce without further delay. Cranmer held a court to which Catherine was summoned, but she did not appear, and Cranmer, in May, 1533, pronounced his judgment, that the marriage between her and Henry was null and invalid, and without force

**Cranmer
pronounces
Catherine
divorced.**

from the very beginning. Cranmer held another court at Lambeth, and officially declared that Henry and Anne were and had been joined in lawful matrimony. These proceedings were preparatory to the coronation of the new queen, which was performed with unusual magnificence, attended by all the nobility of England, and celebrated with great splendour. In the eighth month after the performance of the nuptial ceremony Anne bore the king a child; but that child, to his inexpressible disappointment, was a female, the princess Elizabeth, who afterwards ascended the throne.

As soon as Cranmer had pronounced judgment, Catherine received a command from the king to be content with the style of dowager princess of Wales. At Rome, Clement was daily

importuned by Charles V. and Ferdinand to do justice to their aunt, and he annulled the sentence given by Cranmer, as the cause was at the very time pending before himself, and threatened to excommunicate Henry and Anne, unless they should separate, or show why they claimed to be considered as husband and wife. The college of cardinals subsequently pronounced a definitive sentence, declaring the proceedings against Catherine unjust, and ordering the king to take her back as his legitimate wife.

But, in reality, it mattered little to Henry whether Clement had pronounced for or against him. The die was already cast; violent counsels began to prevail in the English cabinet; and a resolution was taken to erect a separate and independent church within the realm. Act after act contradictory to the

**England
severed from
Rome, 1534.**

papal claims was debated, and passed in parliament; and the kingdom was severed by legislative authority from the communion of Rome, in 1534. Appeals to Rome were prohibited in all cases whatsoever; and in lieu of the right thus abolished, suitors were allowed to appeal from the court of the archbishop to the king in Chancery. It was enacted that bishops should no longer be presented to the pope for confirmation, nor sue out bulls in his court; but that, on the vacancy of any cathedral church, the king should grant to the dean and chapter, or to the prior and monks, permission to elect the person whose name was mentioned in his letters missive. It was also enacted, that since the clergy had recognised the king for the supreme head of the church of England, every kind of payment made to Rome, and every species of licence, dispensation, and grant, usually obtained from Rome, should forthwith cease; that hereafter all such graces and indulgences should be sought of the archbishop of Canterbury.

By another act, the marriage between Henry and Catherine was pronounced unlawful and null, that between him and Anne Boleyn lawful and valid; the king's issue by the first marriage was of course excluded from the succession, that by the second was declared entitled to inherit the crown.

**The suc-
cession
to the
crown.**

The king had now accomplished his two great objects: he had bestowed on Anne the rights of a lawful wife, and had invested himself with the supremacy of the church. But the opposition which he had experienced strengthened his passions and steeled his heart against the common feelings of humanity; and each succeeding year of his reign was stained with the

**Prosecution
of bishop
Fisher and
sir Thomas
More, 1534.**

blood of many, often of noble and innocent victims. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and sir Thomas More, lately lord chancellor, were sacrificed to Henry's anger, in 1534. Fisher was far advanced in age. For many years the king had revered him as a parent, and was accustomed to boast that no prince in Europe possessed a prelate equal in virtue and learning to the bishop of Rochester. But his opposition to the divorce gradually effaced the recollection of his merit and services. He was accused of misprision of treason because, as it was said, he had declared his belief in the prophecy of a woman named Barton, who said that Henry would not survive the divorce many months. He was attainted with others, and compounded with the crown for his freedom and personalities in the sum of three hundred pounds.

Sir Thomas More had ceased at this time to fill the office of chancellor. He opposed the divorce, and as, in the execution of his office, he had found himself unavoidably engaged in matters which he could not reconcile with his conscience, he tendered his resignation, and avoiding all interference in politics, devoted his whole time to study and prayer. He looked upon Elizabeth Barton as a pious and virtuous woman, deluded by a weak and excited imagination, and wrote to her to avoid public affairs. His letter and an interview, afforded a presumption that he was a party in some conspiracy; his name was introduced into the bill of attainder, and with difficulty he caused it to be erased.

Fisher and More were summoned before the council at Lambeth, and were asked whether they would consent to take the new oath of succession: on their refusal, they were both committed to the Tower.

The form of the oath, for the refusal of which More and Fisher were committed, had not then obtained the sanction of the legislature. But the two houses made light of the objection, and passed against them a bill of attainder for misprision of treason, involving the penalty of forfeiture and perpetual imprisonment. Under this sentence, More had no other resource for the support of life than the charity of his friends. Fisher, though in his seventieth year, was reduced to a state of destitution, in which he had not even sufficient clothing. In the mean time, news arrived that the pontiff, Paul III., at a general promotion of cardinals, had appointed Fisher cardinal. Henry is reported to have on this occasion exclaimed, "Paul may send him the hat, but *I* will take care that he have never a head to wear it on." He was soon afterwards tried for denying the king's ecclesiastical

**Execution of
Fisher and
More, 1535.**

supremacy, as granted by parliament by the act which declared him "supreme head of the church of England," found guilty and beheaded, on June 22, 1535.

More was tried for the same cause of offence, and was of course convicted. As soon as sentence had been pronounced, he openly avowed his conviction that the oath of supremacy was unlawful. He met his fate on July 6, 1535, with constancy, even with cheerfulness, declaring that he died a faithful subject to the king, and a true catholic before God. His head was fixed on London Bridge. By these executions the king had proved that neither virtue nor talents, neither past favour nor past services, could atone in his eyes for the great crime of doubting his supremacy. In England the news was received with deep but silent sorrow; in foreign countries with loud and general execration. But in no place was the ferment greater than in Rome. They had fallen martyrs to their attachment to the papal supremacy; their blood called on the pontiff to punish their persecutor. Paul, therefore, issued a bull against Henry and his abettors, but on account of the state of Europe, it was not thought prudent to promulgate the instrument.

Although Henry had now obtained the great object of his ambition, the extent of his ecclesiastical pretensions remained subject to doubt and discussion. Henry himself did not clearly explain, perhaps knew not how to explain, his own sentiments. If on the one hand he was willing to push his ecclesiastical prerogative to its utmost limits, on the other he was checked by the contrary tendency of those principles which he had published and maintained in his treatise against Luther, and clothed his meaning in ambiguous language, which amply accounts for the apparent subservience of the clergy in their acceptance of his title of supreme head. As stated by Henry, there was no need to withhold assent, for such a title as regards temporals might have been admitted by any one at any time. He established an additional office for the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs. At its head was placed Crumwell, with the title of "royal vicegerent and vicar-general." It was with difficulty that the clergy suppressed their murmurs, when they saw at their head a man who had never taken orders, nor graduated in any university; but their degradation, however, was not yet consummated. It was resolved to probe the sincerity of their submission, and to extort from them a practical acknowledgment that they derived no authority from

**Nature of
the royal
supremacy.**

**Crumwell
created vicar-
general of
the king.**

Christ, but were merely the delegates of the crown. With this object all the prelates were suspended from their functions, and then, by royal letters, reappointed as the ministers of the king.

Crumwell had long ago promised that the assumption of the supremacy would place the wealth of the clerical and monastic bodies at the mercy of the crown. Hence that minister, encouraged by the success of his former counsels, ventured to propose the dissolution of the monasteries; and the motion was received with

**Suppression
of the lesser
monasteries.**

welcome by the king, whose thirst for money was not exceeded by his love of power; by the lords of the council, who already promised themselves a considerable share in the spoils; and by archbishop Cranmer, whose approbation of the new doctrines taught him to seek the ruin of those establishments which proved the firmest supports of the ancient faith. A general visitation of the monasteries was therefore enjoined. The instructions which the visitors received breathed a spirit of piety and reformation, and were formed on the model of those formerly used in episcopal and legatine visitations; so that to men not entrusted with the secret, the object of Henry appeared, not the abolition, but the support and improvement of the monastic institute. A statement was compiled and laid before parliament, which, while it allotted the praise of regularity to the greater monasteries, described those whose income was less than £200 a year as abandoned to sloth and immorality. A bill was introduced in March, 1536, and hurried, though not without opposition, through the two houses, giving to the king and his heirs all monastic establishments, the clear yearly value of which did not exceed two hundred pounds. By this act about 380 communities were dissolved; and an addition of £32,000 made to the yearly revenue of the crown, besides the present receipt of £100,000 in money, plate, and jewels.

The parliament, by many successive prorogations, had continued six years; it was now dissolved, and commissioners were named to execute the last act for the suppression of the smaller monasteries. About 100 monasteries obtained a respite from immediate destruction; many of which were refounded by the king's letters patent at the price of a surrender of much of their possessions. The superior of each suppressed house received a pension for life; of the monks, those who had not reached the age of twenty-four were absolved from their vows, and sent adrift into the world without any provision; the others were dispersed among the larger monasteries. The lot of the nuns was more distressing. Each received a single gown from the king, and was

left to support herself by her own industry, or to seek relief from the charity and commiseration of others.

During three years, Catherine with a small establishment had resided on one of the royal manors. In most points she submitted

Death of queen Catherine, 1536. without a murmur to the royal pleasure; but no promise, no intimidation could induce her to forego the title of queen, or to acknowledge the invalidity of her marriage, for she still cherished a persuasion that her daughter Mary might at some future period be called to the throne. Her bodily constitution was gradually enfeebled by mental suffering; feeling her end approach, Catherine, from her death-bed dictated a short letter to Henry, in which she conjured him to think of his salvation; forgave him all the wrongs which he had done her; and recommended their daughter Mary to his paternal protection. As he perused the letter, the stern heart of Henry was softened; he even shed a tear, and desired the ambassador to bear to her a kind and consoling message; but she died January 8, 1536, before his arrival; and was buried by the king's direction, with becoming pomp, in the abbey church of Peterborough.

Four months later Catherine was followed to the grave by Anne Boleyn. Henry's passion for her gradually subsided into coldness and neglect; and the indulgent lover became at last a suspicious and unfeeling master. At the death of Catherine she made no secret of her joy. Out of respect for his former queen, the king had ordered his servants to wear mourning on the day of her burial; but Anne dressed herself in robes of yellow silk, and openly declared that she was now indeed a queen, since she had no longer a rival. In this, however, she was fatally deceived. Among her maids was one named Jane Seymour, who, to equal or superior elegance of person, added a gentle and playful disposition. The queen discovered that an intimacy existed between Jane and Henry, and was so much affected thereby, that she prematurely gave birth to a dead male child, which was a bitter disappointment to Henry. Reports injurious to Anne's honour, had for some time been circulated at court; they had reached the ear of Henry, and some notice of them had been whispered to Anne herself. The king, eager to rid himself of a woman whom he no longer loved, referred these reports to the council; and a committee was appointed to enquire into the charges against the queen, who reported that sufficient proof had been discovered to convict her. On 2nd May, 1536, Anne was charged with

infidelity to the king, and was sent to the Tower. Those with whom she was accused of having committed adultery, were tried, convicted, and put to death. Anne was soon tried and convicted. By the result of this trial her life was forfeited to the law; but the vengeance of Henry had prepared for her an additional punishment in the degradation of herself and her daughter Elizabeth. He ordered Cranmer to declare that the marriage with Anne had been invalid. To hesitate would have cost the archbishop his head. **Henry's marriage with Anne annulled.**

Never, perhaps, was there a more solemn mockery of the forms of justice than in the pretended trial of this extraordinary cause. Cranmer pronounced definitely that the marriage formerly contracted between Henry and Anne Boleyn was, and always had been, null and void. The divorce was approved and confirmed by convocation and by parliament. To Elizabeth, the infant daughter of Anne, the necessary consequence was, that she, like her sister, the daughter of Catherine, was reputed illegitimate. About noon, 19th May, 1536, Anne was led to the scaffold. Her remains were immediately afterwards buried within the chapel of the Tower. Thus fell this unfortunate queen within four months after the death of Catherine; Henry had wept at the death of Catherine; but, as if he sought to display his contempt for the memory of Anne, he dressed himself in white on the day of her execution, and was married to Jane Seymour the next morning.

For two years the princess Mary had lived in a state of absolute seclusion from society. Through Crumwell's intercession, she now obtained permission to write to her father; but before he would see her, she was intimidated into acknowledging that it was her duty to observe all the king's laws; that Henry was the head of the church; and that the marriage between her father and mother had been incestuous and unlawful. Though she was received into favour, she was not restored in blood. The king had called a parliament to pass a new Act of succession, entailing the crown on his issue by his queen, Jane Seymour. But he did not rest here: in violation of every constitutional principle he obtained a power, in failure of children by his present or any future wife, to bequeath the crown to any such person or persons whom he might think proper. **New Act of succession.** An insurrection took place, in the autumn of 1536, in the northern counties, where the people retained a strong attachment to the ancient doctrines; and the clergy, further removed from the influence of the court, were less disposed to abjure their opinions at the nod **Pilgrimage of grace, 1536.**

of the sovereign. When they saw the ruin of the establishments which they had revered from their childhood ; the monks driven from their homes, and in many instances compelled to beg their bread ; and the poor, who had formerly been fed at the doors of the convents, now abandoned without relief ; they demanded the redress of their grievances. Nor was the insurrection long confined to the common people. The nobility and gentry joined the insurgents, either through compulsion, as they afterwards pretended, or through inclination as was generally believed. The enterprise was quaintly termed the "pilgrimage of grace;" on the banners were painted the image of Christ crucified, and the chalice and host, the emblems of the ancient belief ; and wherever the pilgrims appeared, the ejected monks were replaced in the monasteries, and the inhabitants were compelled to take the oath, and to join the army. The insurgents appointed delegates to lay their demands before Henry. After some delays, the king offered, and the insurgents accepted, an unlimited pardon, with an understanding that their grievances should be shortly and patiently discussed in a parliament to be assembled at York. But the king, freed from his apprehensions, neglected to redeem his promise ; and within two months the "pilgrims" were again under arms. They failed, however, in two successive attempts to surprise Hull and Carlisle. Most of the leaders were taken and executed ; and tranquillity was restored by a general pardon ; but not until a large number had been put to death.

The northern insurrection, instead of securing the stability, accelerated the ruin of the remaining monasteries. They were visited under pretext of the late rebellion ; and by one expedient or other were successively wrested from the possessors, and transferred to the crown.

**Dissolution
of the greater
monasteries.**

Many superiors deemed it prudent to obey the royal pleasure : some resigned their situations, and were replaced by successors of more easy and accommodating loyalty ; and the obstinacy of the refractory monks and abbots was punished with imprisonment during the king's pleasure. Some of them, like the Carthusians, confined in Newgate, were left to perish through hunger, disease, and neglect ; others, like the abbots of Colchester, Reading, and Glastonbury, were executed as felons or traitors.

**Their pro-
perty vested
in the king,
1539.**

A bill was next brought into parliament, vesting in the crown all the property of the monastic establishments. The suppression of the religious houses failed to produce the benefits which had been so ostentatiously foretold. Pauperism was found to increase ; the

monastic property was lavishly squandered among the parasites of the court; and the king, instead of lightening the national burthens, demanded compensation for the expense which he had incurred in the reformation of religion. By the spring of the year, 1540, all the monastic establishments in the kingdom had been torn from the possession of the real owners by force and illegal surrenders. To soften the odium of the measure, much has been said of the immorality practised, or supposed to be practised, within the monasteries. That isolated cases may have occurred need not be denied; but the wholesale charges formulated by Henry's visitors had no existence except in the imaginations of these now discredited agents. Modern research has established the unfoundedness of the charges made to silence enquiry and sanctify injustice, to which the accused had no opportunity of replying. For more than three centuries the monastic system has suffered the opprobrium heaped upon it from interested motives; but at last the real truth is emerging from the mass of lies and fables with which the English people have hitherto been fed.

To lull his own conscience, or to silence the murmurs of his subjects, Henry resolved to appropriate a portion of the spoil to the advancement of religion; and for that purpose was authorised by act of parliament to establish new bishoprics, deaneries, and colleges, and to endow them with adequate revenues out of the lands of the suppressed monasteries. But only six episcopal sees, those of Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester, were established. At the same time the king converted fourteen abbeys and priories into cathedral and collegiate churches, attaching to each a dean and a certain number of prebendaries; but was careful to retain for himself a portion of the original possessions, and to impose on the chapters the obligation of contributing annually a certain sum to the support of the poor, and another for the repair of the highways.

In 1535, Henry sent to the German protestant princes an embassy to represent to them that, as both he and they had defied the authority of the pontiff, it might be for their mutual interest to join in one common confederacy. But as the Germans, assuming a lofty tone, required that he should subscribe to their confession of faith, and should advance, partly as a loan, partly as a present, a large sum of money, the negotiations were broken off. Henry, with the aid of his theologians, compiled a

Establish-
ment of new
bishoprics.

Articles of
Doctrine,
1536.

book of "Articles," which was presented to the convocation by Crumwell, and subscribed by him and the other members. It may be divided into three parts. The first declares that the belief of the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Athanasian Creed, is necessary for salvation: the second explains the three great sacraments of baptism, penance, and the altar, and pronounces them the ordinary means of justification; the third teaches that, though the use of images, the honouring of the saints, the soliciting of their intercession, and the usual ceremonies in the service, have not in themselves the power to remit

sin, or justify the soul, yet they are highly profitable, and ought to be retained. A work entitled, "The Institution of a Christian Man," 1537. godly and pious Institution of a Christian Man," was soon afterwards published, subscribed by the archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, and certain doctors of canon and civil law, and pronounced by them to accord "in all things with the very true meaning of Scripture." It explains in succession the Creed, the seven sacraments, the ten commandments, the Paternoster and Ave Maria, justification, and purgatory; but denies the supremacy of the pope.

In 1537, a new edition of the Bible was published in the English language, and injunctions were issued, that **Bible in English.** a copy of this edition should be placed in every church at the joint expense of the incumbent and the parishioners.

The king, like all other reformers, made his own judgment the standard of orthodoxy; but he enjoyed an advantage which few besides himself could claim, the power of enforcing obedience to his decisions. That the teachers of erroneous doctrine ought to be reformed by the authority of the civil magistrate, was a maxim which at that period had been consecrated by the assent and practice of ages. Hence religious intolerance had become part of the public law of Christendom; the principle was maintained and acted upon by the reformers themselves; and whatever might be the predominant doctrine, the dissenter from it invariably found himself subject to civil restrictions, perhaps to imprisonment and death. By Henry the laws against heresy were executed with equal rigour both before and after his quarrel with the pope. Innovators learnt to their cost that they had as much to fear from the head of the church as they had before from the defender of the faith; and prelates of the new learning were not less eager than those of the old to light the faggot for the punishment of

Persecutions for heresy.

heterodoxy. Nor was Henry himself averse to presiding over a trial for heresy.

In 1538, a truce of ten years was concluded between Charles V. and Francis I.; and Paul III. embraced the favourable opportunity to sound the disposition of the two monarchs relatively to the conduct of Henry. From both he received the same answer, that if *he* would publish the bull, *they* would send ambassadors to England to protest against the schism, and would refuse to entertain friendly relations with a prince who had separated himself from the Church.

The pontiff, encouraged by the promises of Charles and Francis, soon ordered the publication of the bull. At the same time cardinal Pole, many of whose relatives in England had been put to death on his account, was despatched on a secret mission to the Spanish and French courts; but his arrival had been anticipated by the English agents: neither Charles nor Francis would incur the hostility of Henry by being the first to declare himself; and both equally prohibited the publication of the bull within their dominions. The pontiff, who saw that he was deluded by the insincerity of the two monarchs, recalled Pole to Rome; and the papal court abandoning all hope of succeeding by intimidation, submitted to watch in silence the course of political events. Pole's share in this transaction inflamed the hatred of Henry, who ordered the cardinal's mother, the venerable countess of Salisbury to be arrested. Though she was the nearest to the king in blood of all his relations, and the last in a direct line of the Plantagenets, Henry kept her in the Tower for two years, and at length in May, 1541, inhumanly ordered her to be put to death on the scaffold.

For some time Crumwell and Cranmer had reigned without control in the council. But the general understanding between the pontiff and the catholic sovereigns, and the mission of Pole to the emperor and the king of France, had awakened serious apprehensions and new projects in the mind of Henry. He determined to prove to the world that he was the decided advocate of the ancient doctrines, and therefore caused an act to be passed, declaring that in the eucharist is really present the natural body of Christ, under the forms, and without the substance, of bread and wine; that communion, under both kinds, is not necessary for salvation; that priests may not marry by the law of God; that vows of chastity are to be observed; that private masses ought to

Arrest and
execution of
Pole's
mother.

Statute of
the Six
Articles, 1539.

be retained, and that the use of auricular confession is expedient and necessary. This statute (known as the "Six Articles") enacted severe penalties as the consequence of opposition to these points of faith. Latimer and Shaxton, the bishops of Worcester and Salisbury resigned their respective sees. But no one had greater cause for alarm than Cranmer. Before his promotion to the archiepiscopal dignity, he had married a kinswoman of Osiander in Germany. At a convenient time his wife followed him to England, where she bore him several children. He was too prudent to acknowledge her publicly: but the secret quickly transpired, and many priests imitated his example. When the celibacy of the priesthood was made one of the six articles, Cranmer saw with dismay that his marriage was reputed void in law, and he despatched his children with their mother to her friends in Germany.

In 1539, an act was passed which placed prostrate at the foot of the throne the liberties of the whole nation by giving to the king's will and pleasure the force of law. It declared that the king for the time being should possess the right of issuing, with the advice of his council, proclamations which ought to have the effect of acts of parliament; inflicted penalties upon transgressors of such proclamations; and made it high treason to leave the realm in order to escape such penalties.

Henry had been a widower more than two years. In 1537, Jane Seymour, his third queen, had borne him a male child, afterwards Edward VI., and in less than a fortnight expired. Crumwell proposed to him to marry Anne, sister of William, the reigning duke of Cleves, and one of the protestant princes of Germany. The English envoys reported to the king that Anne was not only handsome, but tall and portly; but when she arrived Henry's disappointment was evident. She was indeed tall and large as his heart could wish; but her features, though regular, were coarse, her manners ungraceful, her figure ill-proportioned. Crumwell received orders to devise some expedient to interrupt the marriage. Two days passed in fruitless consultation; and the king at length, unprovided with any reasonable excuse, and afraid of adding the German princes to his other enemies, was persuaded by Crumwell to submit to the ceremony. Anne had none of those qualifications which might have subdued the antipathy of her husband. His aversion increased; he found fault with her person, and openly lamented his fate in being yoked for life with so disagreeable a companion.

Henry mar-
ries Anne of
Cleves, 1540.

This unfortunate marriage had already shaken the credit of Crumwell; his fall was hastened by a theological quarrel between Dr. Barnes, one of his dependants, and Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. The king summoned Barnes before himself and prevailed on him to recant, but in his next sermon he maintained in still stronger terms the very doctrine which he had recanted. Irritated by this insult, the king committed him to the Tower. Henry ascertained that Barnes was the confidential agent of Crumwell; that he had been employed in secret missions to Germany; and that he had been the real negotiator of the late marriage with Anne of Cleves. He therefore turned on Crumwell as a fautor of heretics and as a traitor to his king.

Crumwell was arrested on a charge of high treason. **Attainder of Crumwell.**

He was confronted, at his request, with his accusers in presence of the royal commissioners, but was refused the benefit of a public trial before his peers. The court preferred to proceed against him by bill of attainder; a most iniquitous measure, but of which he had no right to complain as he had been the first to employ it against others. Though he solicited for mercy in abject terms Henry was inexorable; and he paid the penalty of his crimes on the scaffold.

The disgrace of Crumwell was quickly followed by the divorce of the queen, on the ground of alleged misrepresentation having been made to him as to her person, and the want of consent on his part both at the celebration, and ever since the celebration of the marriage. Henry and Anne now called each other brother and sister, and a yearly income of three thousand pounds, with the palace of Richmond for her residence, amply indemnified the degraded queen for the loss of a capricious and tyrannical husband.

Henry did not long remain a widower. Within a month Catherine, daughter to the late lord Edmund Howard, and niece to the duke of Norfolk, appeared at court with the title of queen. She was, however, accused of infidelity and found guilty; and in six months after her marriage she was executed. **Anne of Cleves divorced.**

The king's attention was next directed to his duties as head of the church. He had formerly sanctioned the publication of an English version of the Bible, and granted permission to all his subjects to read it at their leisure; but it had been represented to him, that even the authorised version was disfigured by unfaithful renderings, and contaminated with notes calculated to mislead the ignorant and

Henry's fifth marriage.

Restraint on the reading of the Scriptures.

unwary. To remedy the evil, it was enacted, that the version of Tyndal should be disused altogether as "crafty, false, and untrue," and that the authorised translation should be published without note or comment. Restrictions on the indiscriminate reading of the Bible were also imposed.

Henry's innovations in religion were viewed with equal abhorrence by the native Irish and the descendants of the English colonists. The Geraldines, aware of this circumstance, had proclaimed themselves the champions of the ancient faith. But Henry determined to enforce submission. A parliament was summoned, in which statutes were passed copied from the proceedings in England. The papal authority was abolished; Henry was declared head of the Irish church; and the first-fruits of all ecclesiastical livings were given to the king.

Several causes contributed to produce a rupture between Henry and his nephew the king of Scotland. The king of Scots, satisfied with his own creed, had refused to engage in theological disputes; and the pontiff, to rivet him more closely to the communion of the Apostolic See, had bestowed a cardinal's cap on the most able and most favoured of his counsellors, David Beaton, afterwards archbishop of St. Andrews. When Paul determined to publish the sentence of deprivation against Henry, James signified his assent, and promised to join with Charles and Francis in their endeavours to convert or punish the apostate monarch.

As, however, neither Charles nor Francis attempted to enforce the papal bull, their inactivity induced the king of Scots to preserve the appearance of friendly relations with his uncle. But Henry continued to grow more jealous both of the religious opinions of James, and of his connexion with the French court. In 1542, forays were reciprocally made across the borders, but the Scots had the advantage, for at Haldenrig they defeated three thousand cavalry, and made most of the captains prisoners. En-

**War with
Scotland,
1542.**

raged at this loss, Henry published a declaration of war, and the duke of Norfolk routed the Scottish forces at Solway Moss, on November 25, 1542.

Within a few days, on the receipt of the news, James died through grief at his defeat. A week before his death, his queen was delivered of a female child, the accomplished but unfortunate Mary Stuart, who was proclaimed his successor on the Scottish throne. These events opened a new scene to the ambition of Henry, who determined to marry his son Edward to the infant queen of Scotland; and, in consequence of that

marriage, to demand, as natural tutor of the young princess, the government of the kingdom.

Mary Stuart's long minority gave rise to factions amongst the Scottish nobility, war raged for some years, and a large army invaded Scotland in 1554, laying waste the Lowlands. At length, the Scots were comprehended in a treaty of peace, concluded in 1546, between England and France; and though the conditions of that comprehension became the subject of dispute, the latter part of Henry's reign was not disturbed by open hostilities.

Notwithstanding all the rich spoil which Henry had acquired by the dissolution of the monasteries, he daily called on his ministers for money. In 1543 he obtained a subsidy almost unprecedented in its amount. He next issued a royal letter, demanding the advance of a sum of money by way of a loan. Prudence taught his subjects to obey, but hope of repayment was extinguished by the servility of parliament which made a grant to the king of all sums borrowed. After this act of dishonesty, it would have been idle to solicit a second loan; Henry therefore demanded presents under the name of benevolences, though these were illegal by act of parliament; yet the fear of Henry's despotism caused the benevolences to be forthcoming without difficulty. With the same view, Henry debased the coinage; a plan by which, while he defrauded the public, he embarrassed trade and involved his successors in almost inextricable difficulties.

Henry's
impecuni-
osity; he
debases the
coinage.

During the latter part of Henry's reign the court was divided by the secret intrigues of the two religious parties, which continued to cherish an implacable hatred against each other. The men of the old learning naturally looked upon Cranmer as their most steady and most dangerous enemy; and, though he was careful not to commit any open transgression of the law, yet he encouraged the new preachers, and maintained a clandestine correspondence with the German reformers.

Henry's sixth queen was Catherine Parr, relict of the late lord Latimer, who zealously promoted the new doctrines. But her zeal transgressed the bounds of prudence, and she presumed to argue with her husband, and to dispute the decisions of the head of the church. Of all men, Henry was the least disposed to brook the lectures of a female theologian, and he gave orders to have articles prepared against Catherine; the intelligence was conveyed to the queen, who, adroitly took occasion to express her admiration of his learning, and the implicit deference which she paid to

Henry's
sixth
marriage.

his decisions, which conduct led to their reconciliation, and she managed to survive her husband.

The king had long indulged without restraint in the pleasures of the table. At last he grew enormously corpulent, and an inveterate ulcer in the thigh, which had more than once threatened his life, now seemed to baffle all the skill of his surgeons, and added to the irascibility of his temper.

It is said that at the commencement of the king's last illness, he betrayed a wish to be reconciled to the See of Rome. He was constantly attended by his confessor, the bishop of Rochester, heard mass daily in his chamber, and received the communion under one kind.

**Henry's
death.**

Of his sentiments on his death-bed, nothing can be asserted with any degree of confidence. One account makes him die in the anguish of despair; while another represents him as expiring in the most edifying sentiments of devotion and repentance. He died on Friday, the 28th of January, 1547.

To form a just estimate of the character of Henry, we must distinguish between the young king, guided by the counsels of Wolsey, and the monarch of more mature age, governing by his own judgment, and with the aid of ministers selected and fashioned by himself. In his youth the beauty of his person, the elegance of his manners, and his adroitness in every martial and fashionable exercise, were calculated to attract the admiration of his subjects. His court was gay and splendid; and a succession of amusements seemed to absorb his attention; yet his pleasures were not permitted to encroach on his more important duties; he assisted at the council, perused the despatches, and corresponded with his generals and ambassadors; nor did the minister, trusted and powerful as he was, dare to act, till he had asked the opinion and taken the pleasure of his sovereign. His natural abilities had been improved by study; and his esteem for literature may be inferred from the learned education which he gave to his children, and from the number of eminent scholars on whom he bestowed preferment. But as the king advanced in age, his vices gradually developed themselves; and after the death of Wolsey they were indulged without restraint. He became as rapacious as he was prodigal; as obstinate as he was capricious; as fickle in his friendships as he was merciless in his resentments. Though liberal of his confidence, he soon grew suspicious of those whom he had trusted; and, as if he possessed no other right to the crown than that which he derived from the very questionable claim of his father,

**Henry's
character.**

he viewed with an evil eye every remote descendant of the Plantagenets ; and eagerly embraced the slightest pretexts to remove those whom his jealousy represented as future rivals to himself or his posterity. In pride and vanity, he was perhaps without a parallel. He despised the judgment of others ; acted as if he deemed himself infallible in matters of policy and religion ; and seemed to look upon dissent from his opinion as equivalent to a breach of allegiance. He steeled his breast against remorse for the blood which he shed, and trampled without scruple on the liberties of the nation. When he ascended the throne, there still existed a spirit of freedom, which on more than one occasion defeated the arbitrary measures of the court ; but in the lapse of a few years that spirit had fled, and before the death of Henry, the king of England had grown into a despot, the people had shrunk into a nation of slaves.

CHAPTER XXI

EDWARD VI. 1547-1553

HENRY had confided the government of the king and kingdom, during the minority of his son Edward, who was only nine years old, to Cranmer and fifteen other guardians. The **Edward VI.** proclaimed: new king was proclaimed on Monday, January 31, the council of regency. 1547. The council appointed one of their number to transact business with the foreign envoys, and to represent on other occasions the person of the young sovereign. Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, brother of the late queen Jane Seymour, and the young king's uncle, was immediately elected to this position as protector of the realm, and guardian of the king's person. The appointment of Hertford was announced by proclamation, and was received with transports of joy by all who were attached to the new doctrines, or who sought to improve their fortunes at the expense of the Church.

Hertford was created duke of Somerset, and the other members of the council of regency also obtained promotion.

The coronation of Edward took place on the 20th February, 1547. Though the duke possessed the title of protector, he had been compelled to accept it on the condition that he should never

Somerset sole protector. act without the assent of the majority of the council; now he procured letters patent under the great seal, conferring on himself alone the whole authority of the crown.

Francis I. died about two months after Henry VIII.; he had accepted a proposal to renew the alliance between the two crowns; but his son and successor, Henry II., refused to shackle himself with engagements which might prevent him from espousing the cause of the infant queen of Scotland, in whose fortunes he felt a deep interest. Somerset made a treaty with the English party north of the Tweed, whereby they undertook to procure the marriage of their infant sovereign with Edward VI. Foiled in his project of getting Mary handed over

War with Scotland; Battle of Pinkie, September 10, 1547.

into English keeping, the protector Somerset resolved to secure his purpose by force. He accordingly declared war, and crossed the borders in the autumn of 1547, meeting the Scots at Pinkiecleugh, where he inflicted a severe defeat upon them; but was no gainer thereby; for queen Mary was sent for safety to France, where she espoused Henry II.'s son, the dauphin Francis.

Somerset and his associates now undertook to establish the new religious creed. From the young king they could experience no opposition now, and they feared no resentment hereafter, for the men to whom his education had been entrusted by Henry were zealous though secret partisans of the reformed doctrines. Still, to change the established creed during his minority appeared an undertaking of danger, and on this account they determined to proceed with cautious steps. The conduct of the business was committed to Cranmer. He began by giving his brother bishops a very intelligible hint that the possession of their sees depended on their compliance with the pleasure of the council. He next took out a new commission from the crown to exercise his archiepiscopal functions; the royal power being declared in the preamble of the letters to be the source of all jurisdiction, whether civil or ecclesiastical. Many, probably all his colleagues were compelled to follow his example. The next step was to establish a royal visitation.

The kingdom was divided into six circuits, to each of which was assigned a certain number of visitors, partly clergymen and partly laymen. The moment they arrived in any diocese, the exercise of spiritual authority by every other person ceased. They summoned before them the clergy and principal householders from each parish; administered the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; required answers upon oath to every question which they thought proper to put, and exacted a promise of obedience to the royal injunctions.

Among the prelates, there was no individual whom the men of the new learning more feared, or those of the old learning more respected for his erudition and abilities, his spirit and influence, than Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. That prelate commenced a controversy with the protector and the archbishop; the consequence of which was, that, though he could not be charged with any offence against the law, he was committed to the Fleet and detained a close prisoner till the end of the session of the approaching parliament.

When parliament met, it was proposed to place at the disposal of the king the chantries, colleges, and free chapels which had

Opposition
of Gardiner.

escaped the rapacious grasp of Henry VIII., together with all funds for obits, anniversaries, and church lights, as also all guild lands possessed by fraternities for a like purpose, to be employed in providing for the poor and endowing free schools. Cranmer at first opposed this measure, but deemed it prudent to withdraw his opposition, and it was passed in the lords by a triumphant majority. By this measure a grave injustice was committed, for the funds thus taken from the guilds represented for the most part the savings of the poor; religion, too, suffered the gravest injury, for the chantry funds and obit revenues, were in many, if not most instances, intended to supply stipends for additional curates in populous parishes.

The ministers were, however, careful to repair many of those breaches in the constitution which had been made by the despotism of the last reign. All felonies created since the first of Henry VIII., and all treasons created since the twenty-fifth of Edward III. were at once erased from the statute-book; the privilege of clergy, with the exception of a few cases, was restored; in convictions of treason, two witnesses were required; the laws against the lollards, the prohibition of reading the Scriptures, and of printing, selling, or retaining certain English publications; the statute of the six articles, and that which gave to the royal proclamations the force of law, were repealed. It was enacted that for the future the sacrament was to be ministered to the people under both kinds; but communion under one kind was still permitted when necessity might require it. A bill in favour of legalising the marriage of clergy was dropped for the time; but on the declaration that all jurisdiction both spiritual and temporal was derived from the king, the election of bishops was withdrawn from the deans and chapters, as a useless and unmeaning form, and vested immediately in the crown.

The mendicants, who had formerly obtained relief at the gates of the monasteries and convents, now wandered in crowds through the country, and by their numbers and importunities often extorted alms from the intimidated passenger. To abate this nuisance, a severe statute was enacted which reintroduced slavery; but two years later it was repealed. Latimer, who had resigned his bishopric in 1539, was called from his retirement, and appointed to preach at St. Paul's Cross.

Early in 1548, the bishops received orders to abolish in their respective dioceses the custom of bearing candles on Candlemas-day, of receiving ashes on Ash Wednesday, and of carrying palms

Proceedings
of parlia-
ment.

Suppression
of mendi-
cancy.

on Palm Sunday. A proclamation also appeared, which required that all images whatsoever should be destroyed. To this succeeded an order for the public administration of the sacrament under both kinds, and in the English language. To avoid offence, no alteration was made in the mass itself; no expression liable to objection was introduced into the new office; but at the end of the canon, an exhortation was ordered to be made to the communicants, a prayer followed, and the eucharist was distributed. The new ritual affected only the communion of the laity. The most important feature in this new "Order," was the General Confession, which as it was expressly declared, was to do away with the necessity for the private confession of the individual if he had no wish to be shriven.

The session of 1547 closed with a general pardon from the king, in consequence of which Gardiner obtained his liberty; but it was soon discovered that imprisonment had not broken his spirit. He was again summoned before the council, and the next day, in proof of his submission, was ordered to preach at St. Paul's Cross, in the presence of the king, on the feast of St. Peter. The sermon was preached; he explained to his young sovereign the catholic doctrine with respect to the mass and the eucharist, though he had been forbidden to do so: and, in consequence, the next day the bishop was committed to the Tower. His imprisonment was evidently illegal; but his absence from parliament was not less desirable in the present than it had been in the past year. His constancy, however, encouraged the partisans of the ancient faith; and in a short time several other prelates ventured to express their disapprobation of the conduct of Cranmer. That prelate was now employed with a committee of bishops and divines in the composition of a most important work, a liturgy in the English language, for the use of the English Church; the adoption of which by authority of parliament would, it was hoped, consummate the separation of the kingdom from the communion of Rome, by destroying the similarity which still remained in the mode of religious worship sanctioned by the two Churches. They soon compiled a Book of Common Prayer and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, after the use of the Church of England. A bill was introduced to abolish all other forms of worship, and establish the forms set forth in their place in the Book of Common Prayer. The draft of the new Prayer Book was hotly debated, when it was introduced into the house of lords. It was clear that

**Treatment
of bishop
Gardiner.**

**The First
Book of
Common
Prayer, 1549.**

Cranmer had given up all belief in transubstantiation and in the sacrificial character of the eucharist. Bishop Thirlby pointed out in the course of the discussion that a trick had been played upon the bishops; for in the copy of the book which had been shown them, the word "oblation" was still to be seen in the canon, and it had afterwards been erased without their knowledge. Parliament finally authorised the book by a statute—the first Act of Uniformity—on January 15, 1549, ordering all to make use of it under severe penalties after a determined date.

The communion service in the First Book of Common Prayer whatever else it is, is certainly not the Mass in English, even though obvious care was taken by its compilers to preserve some outward resemblance to the ancient liturgy in the disposition of its parts. All idea of "oblation" and "sacrifice" had been carefully cut out of the new service; and the very centre of the ancient mass, the *canon*, was mutilated beyond recognition. The very words of "consecration" also, which it might have been thought even Cranmer would have regarded as too sacred to touch, were rejected in favour of a new form taken from the lutheran use of Nuremberg, which had been drawn up by Osiander, Cranmer's relative by marriage. In a word, both in substance and spirit, the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. was conceived in a lutheran and anti-catholic sense. It was as little a translation of the old catholic liturgy of the mass as the lutheran productions of the sixteenth century, which were ostensibly based upon an entire rejection of the sacrificial character of the mass. These changes were disapproved of by the people of England generally. The new Prayer Book came into use on Whit Sunday, June 9, 1549, and the very next day the people of Sampford Courtenay, in Devon, compelled their parish priest to return to the old missal. This was the beginning of a rising in Devon, Cornwall, and elsewhere, which at one time seemed likely to be serious. The insurgents sent up "Articles" to the Council, plainly demanding the restoration of religion as it was before all the late changes. The movement was put down with a large force, and the usual executions enforced an unwilling submission to the new order.

When parliament met again in the November of 1549, amongst other measures for further purifying the church from external evidences of the old faith, was a bill for a new *Ordinal*, introduced early in 1550 into the house of lords. It is entitled, "A new form and manner of making and consecrating archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons." This new ordinal did for the catholic pontifical what the Prayer Book had done for the missal. Having

first swept away all the minor orders with the subdiaconate, the compilers carefully and systematically changed the old traditional forms of orders in the advanced lutheran sense. Having in the Prayer Book got rid of the sacrifice, the ordinal logically expunged every suggestion of the sacrificial character of the priesthood.

To this important innovation in the manner of public worship, succeeded another not less important in the condition of the priesthood. A bill for the marriage of priests was introduced, and passed after a long and stormy discussion. It states that, though it were to be wished that the clergy would observe perpetual continency, as more becoming their spiritual character, rendering them better able to attend to their ministry, and freeing them from worldly cares and embarrassments, yet so many inconveniences had arisen from compulsory chastity, that it was deemed better to allow marriage.

The protector had a younger brother, Thomas, whose fate about this time excited much attention. He had married Catherine Parr, the queen dowager, almost immediately after Henry's death. With the person of Catherine, Thomas Seymour became master of her wealth and her dower, and his next object was to win and monopolise the affection of his nephew. With this view he indulged the young Edward in all his wishes; blamed the severity with which he was used by the protector, and hinted that he was kept under undue restraint. The king readily imbibed the opinions of the man whom he loved; and a resolution was taken that he should attempt, with the aid of his partisans, to procure the guardianship for himself. The plot was betrayed to the protector. Thomas condescended to acknowledge his fault; and the two brothers mutually forgave each other. He began now to aspire to the hand of the lady Elizabeth, the king's sister. His attentions to the princess were remarked; and their familiarity was so undisguised that it awakened the jealousy of his wife. But the queen in a short time died; and her death happened so opportunely for his project, that by the malice of his enemies it was attributed to poison. He now redoubled his court to the princess, and means were devised to extort the consent of the council to the marriage.

The protector at length determined to crush so dangerous a competitor. Sherington, master of the mint at Bristol, was examined before the council, on a charge of having amassed an enormous fortune by clipping the coin. To save his life, he said that he had promised to coin money for Seymour, who intended to carry off

Thomas
Seymour.

1549.

the king, and to change the present form of the government. Seymour was committed to the Tower, and in March, 1549, was executed.

The depreciation of the currency during the late reign had been followed by an advance in the price of commodities. The people became discontented, partly on this account, **Ket's rebellion, 1549.** partly because they coupled their own sufferings with the innovations in religion. Besides the rising in the west, already referred to, there was another and still more formidable one, under the leadership of Robert Ket, in the eastern counties, for it aimed at a social revolution, and the abolition of the upper classes. The rebels defeated the government forces, and stormed Norwich. If the insurrection was finally suppressed, it was only with the aid of the bands of adventurers that had been raised in Italy, Spain, and Germany to serve in the war against Scotland.

These events shook the power of the protector, who, notwithstanding, grew every day more positive and despotic. His very friends could offer no apology for his rapacity. **Fall of the protector Somerset, 1550.** From a simple knight, with a slender fortune, he had become the possessor of more than two hundred manors ; and that magnificent pile of building, which still retains from him the name of Somerset House, was a standing memorial of his vanity and extravagance.

In a proclamation, signed by every member of the council, the duke was charged with divers high crimes and misdemeanours. Edward was not unwilling to be emancipated from the control of his uncle ; and, on October 14, 1549, the protector was deprived of his office, and committed a prisoner to the Tower with five of his confidential advisers. An intimation was given to him, that, if he hoped for pardon, he must submit to a frank and unqualified acknowledgment of his guilt. The condition, though painful to his feelings, was gratefully accepted ; and, having given security for the payment of a heavy fine, he was discharged from the Tower, and received a pardon.

Somerset's place was filled by John Dudley, earl of Warwick ; but the change was not for the better : if he was from interested motives as ardent a reformer, he was certainly not endowed with greater abilities, and was as certainly far more unscrupulous in the choice of those means which would secure the ends he had in view. He created himself duke of Northumberland, and surrendered Boulogne to the French.

The partisans of the new doctrines felt that the reformation

still rested on a very insecure foundation. Eleven-twelfths of the nation retained a strong attachment to the creed of their fathers. The council ordered Bonner to preach at St. Paul's. In his sermon, Bonner broached views different from those held by the council; for his temerity, he was put on his trial before Cranmer, and receiving sentence of deprivation, was remanded to the Marshalsea, where he remained a prisoner till the king's death. Gardiner had now been for two years a prisoner in the Tower, without trial. He was visited by a deputation from the council, and required to approve of every religious innovation which had been established by act of parliament or by order of the council. Gardiner replied, that he asked for no favour; he sought only a legal trial. A commission was issued against him for contempt; but he defended himself with ability and perseverance. Cranmer cut short the proceedings, pronouncing him contumacious, and adjudging him to be deprived of his bishopric. By order of the council, he was sent back to stricter confinement in the Tower, where two other prelates were also prisoners: Heath, bishop of Worcester, and Day, bishop of Chichester, both distinguished by their learning, their moderation, and their attachment to the ancient creed. Both these bishops were kept in custody till the commencement of the next reign.

There still remained one individual whose conversion in the estimation of the reformers would have balanced the opposition of a whole host of bishops—the lady Mary, the sister of Edward, and the presumptive heir to the crown. She had embraced the first opportunity of expressing to the protector her dislike of further innovation. The “Statute of Uniformity” supplied him with the power of putting her constancy to the test; for it enacted severe penalties against every priest who should celebrate, every lay man or woman who should attend where a priest celebrated mass, even in a private house. Mary received an admonition that she must conform to the provisions of the statute. She replied that she did not consider it binding in conscience; and appealed to the powerful protection of her cousin, the emperor Charles V. At the imperial intercession the indulgence which Mary prayed for was reluctantly granted. When she was again harassed, she asserted that she would neither change her faith nor dissemble her opinion. Dr. Mallet, her chaplain, was committed to close custody in the Tower. Mary was again urged to conform to the new faith; but she replied: “Rather than use any other service than was used at the death of the late king, my father, I will lay

**Deprivation
of Bonner
and Gardiner,
1549.**

**Troubles
of the lady
Mary.**

my head on a block and suffer death. If my chaplains do say no mass, I can hear none. They may do therein as they will; but none of your new service shall be used in my house, or I will not tarry in it." After this bold answer we hear no more of her being persecuted. It is probable that Mary continued to have the mass celebrated, but in greater privacy; and that the council deemed it prudent to connive at that which it soon became dangerous to notice. The declining health of the king directed every eye towards her as his successor.

The statutes against heresy having been repealed in the first year of the king's reign, it might have been hoped that men who had writhed under the lash of persecution would have learned to respect the rights of conscience.

Persecutions for heresy. But, however forcibly the reformers had claimed the privilege of judging for themselves under the late king, they were not disposed to concede it to others when they themselves came into the exercise of power. Several were put to death for preaching new doctrines: archbishop Cranmer being one of the most urgent in forwarding the cause of uniformity by means of the stake.

In virtue of a resolution of the council in 1551, a deputation of lords proceeded to France to seek a wife for king Edward. Their first demand, of the young queen of Scotland, was instantly refused; their second, of the princess Elizabeth, was as readily granted. The negotiators agreed that as soon as Elizabeth had completed her twelfth year she should be married to Edward; but a difference about her dower suspended the conclusion of the treaty for some weeks.

In November, 1551, Somerset was brought to trial for violent and riotous proceedings, and for conspiring against the nobles who were hostile to his views. Somerset was arraigned before his peers, and defended himself with spirit from the crimes of treason and felony with which he was charged. Though acquitted of treason, he was found guilty of felony and received sentence of death. The king, convinced of his guilt, and of the expedience of his punishment, sent for answer to an appeal for mercy, that he must pay the forfeit of his life, but should have a long respite to prepare himself for death. Six weeks after his trial, therefore, on January 22nd, 1552, his execution took place on Tower Hill.

Arrest and execution of Somerset. Parliament soon assembled, and of the acts which, at this time, received the royal assent, a few deserve attention. Now,

for the first time, was made a legal provision for the poor. It was about three years since the composition of the Book of Common Prayer had been attributed by the unanimous assent of the legislature to "the aid of the Holy Ghost." But it was now amended, because doubts had arisen as to the meaning of the book. What those doubts were cannot be doubtful. They were suggested by the action of those who had tried to reconcile themselves to it by an endeavour to read into it a sense conformable with the traditional catholic doctrine of the eucharist. In the second book, even the slight outward similarity to the mass which the communion service of the First Prayer Book had preserved, was now obliterated. Cranmer mutilated, altered, rejected, and inserted till he got rid of nearly every portion of it. The outcome of his work may be studied in the anglican communion service of to-day, which is substantially that of the Prayer Book of 1552. An act was passed, by which the bishops were ordered to coerce with spiritual censures all persons who should absent themselves from the amended form of service, and the magistrates to visit with corporal punishment all those who should employ any other service in its place. To hear, or be present at, any manner of divine worship, or administration of the sacraments, or ordination of ministers, differing from those set forth by authority, subjected the offender to various terms of imprisonment. The laws of treason were softened, and it was now enacted, that no person should be arraigned, indicted, convicted, or attainted of any manner of treason, unless on the oath of two lawful accusers, who should be brought before him at the time of his arraignment, and there should openly avow and maintain their charges against him. Thus was laid the foundation of a most important improvement in the administration of criminal justice; and a maxim was introduced which has proved the best shield of innocence against power.

Second Book
of Common
Prayer, 1552.

In Ireland, it had long been the object of the government to suppress the native language; and, to have chosen the Irish language for the vehicle of religious instruction and religious worship, would have been to authorise and perpetuate its use. The royal advisers submitted to entail on themselves the reproach, which they had been accustomed to cast on the church of Rome, and enjoined by proclamation that the service should be performed in English, a language which few among them could understand. By some prelates the order was obeyed; others rejected it with

The progress
of reformation
in
Ireland.

scorn; the ancient service was generally retained: the new was adopted in those places only where an armed force compelled its introduction.

At this time Cranmer completed two works of the highest importance to the cause of the reformation, viz. "A Collection of the Articles of Religion," and, "A Code of Ecclesiastical Constitutions." It was a problem of some difficulty to determine what was or was not to be considered as the faith of the English church. To remedy the evil, Cranmer obtained an order from the council to draw up a body of doctrine, which after being submitted to various corrections and emendations, received the approbation of a committee of bishops and divines. These 42 articles were never ratified by parliament nor sanctioned by convocation, but they formed the basis of the famous 39 articles of Elizabeth's reign.

Edward had inherited from his mother a weak and delicate constitution. In the spring of the year, 1553, he was considerably reduced by successive attacks of measles and small-pox: but in the beginning of May an unexpected improvement was observed in his health; and the most flattering hopes were entertained of his recovery. After a short and delusive interval, however, **Edward's** Edward relapsed into his former weakness. The **ill-health: the** symptoms of his disorder grew daily more alarming; **succession to** and it became evident that his life could not be pro- **the crown.** tracted beyond the term of a few weeks. His danger urged the duke of Northumberland to realise the project of placing the crown, in the event of the king's death, on the head of his own son. By act of parliament, and the will of the last monarch, the next heirs were the ladies Mary and Elizabeth; but, as the statutes pronouncing them illegitimate had never been repealed, it was presumed that such illegitimacy might be successfully opposed in bar of their claim. After their exclusion, the crown would of right descend to one of the representatives of the two sisters of Henry VIII.—Margaret, queen of Scotland, and Mary, queen of France. Margaret was the elder, but her descendants had been overlooked in the will of the late king, and the animosity of the nation against Scotland would readily induce it to acquiesce in the exclusion of the Scottish line. There remained then the representative of Mary, the French queen, who was Frances, married to Grey, formerly marquess of Dorset, and lately created, in favour of his wife, duke of Suffolk. But Frances had no ambition to ascend a disputed throne, and easily consented to transfer her right to her eldest daughter Jane, the wife of

Northumberland's fourth son, Guilford Dudley. Having arranged his plan, the duke ventured to whisper it in the ear of the sick prince; and recommended it to his approbation by a most powerful appeal to his religious prejudices. He was, he said, acquainted with the bigotry of his sister Mary, which had hitherto set at defiance both his persuasion and his authority. Were she to ascend the throne, she would seize the first opportunity to undo all that had been done. Let him therefore make a will, let him pass by the lady Mary on account of illegitimacy, and the lady Elizabeth, who laboured under the same defect, and then entail the crown on the posterity of his aunt, the French queen, whose present descendants were distinguished by their piety and their attachment to the reformed worship. To these interested suggestions the sick prince listened with feelings of approbation, and wrote and executed the required will. Northumberland's next object was to secure the person of the princess Mary. To secure his prey, a letter was written by the council to Mary, requiring her by the king's order to repair immediately to court. Had she reached London, her next removal would have been to the Tower: but she received a friendly hint of her danger on the road, and hastened back to her usual residence, Kenninghall, in the county of Norfolk.

At this period the care of the king was entrusted to a female whose medicines aggravated his sufferings. His physicians, when they were recalled, pronounced him to be at the point of death, and on the 6th of July, 1553, the king expired.

Edward's
death and
character.

It would be idle to delineate the character of a prince who lived not till his passions could develop themselves, or his faculties acquire maturity. His education, like that of his two sisters, began at a very early age. In abilities he was equal, perhaps superior, to most boys of his years; and his industry and improvement amply repaid the solicitude of his tutors. The boy of twelve or fourteen years was accustomed to pronounce his opinion in council with all the gravity of a hoary statesman. But his preceptors had supplied him with short notes, which he committed to memory; and, while he delivered their sentiments as his own, the lords admired and applauded the precocious wisdom with which heaven had gifted their sovereign. Edward's religious belief could not have been the result of his own judgment. He was compelled to take it on trust from those about him, who moulded his infant mind to their own pleasure, and infused into it their own opinions or prejudices. From them he derived a strong

sense of piety, and a habit of daily devotion, a warm attachment to the new, and a violent antipathy to the ancient doctrines.

During this reign poverty and discontent generally prevailed : the poor began to resort to the more populous towns in search of

that relief which had been formerly distributed at the gates of the monasteries. Nor were the national morals improved, if we may judge from the portraits drawn by the most eminent of the reformed preachers.

Enough of proof remains to justify the conclusion, that the change of religious polity, by removing many of the former restraints upon vice, and enervating the authority of the spiritual courts, gave a bolder front to licentiousness, and opened a wider scope to the indulgence of criminal passion.

CHAPTER XXII

MARY I. 1553-1558

IT was on the evening of July 6, 1553, that Edward expired at Greenwich. With the view of concealing his death for some days from the knowledge of the public, in order to gain time to strengthen opposition to Mary, the guards had been previously doubled in the palace, and all communication intercepted between his chamber and the other apartments. Yet that very night, while the lords sat in deliberation, the secret was communicated to Mary, who, without losing a moment, mounted her horse and rode with the servants of her household to Kenninghall, in Norfolk.

The council broke up after midnight; and Clinton, the lord admiral, took possession of the Tower, with the royal treasures, the munitions of war, and the prisoners of state. The three next days were employed in making such previous arrangements as were thought necessary for the success of the plans of the council. On the fourth morning, it was determined to publish the result. The lords, attended by a numerous escort, rode to Sion House to announce to the lady Jane Grey that she had been appointed to succeed her royal cousin.

She knew nothing of the designs of the duke of Northumberland in her favour. When she was told that the king her cousin was dead, and that before he expired he had named her his lawful heir, she observed to those around her that if the right were hers, she trusted God would give her strength to wield the sceptre to His honour and the benefit of the nation.

Jane was conducted to the Tower, the usual residence of our kings preparatory to their coronation. The heralds proclaimed the death of Edward and the succession of Jane; Lady Jane and a printed document with her signature was circulated, to acquaint the people with the grounds of her claim. To the arguments contained in this laboured proclamation, the people listened in ominous silence, not a single voice being heard in approbation. The following

morning arrived at the Tower a messenger from Mary, the bearer of a letter to the lords, in which she commanded them to proclaim her accession immediately in the metropolis, and as soon as possible in all other parts of the kingdom.

This communication caused no change in their counsels, for they considered that Mary was a single and defenceless female, unprepared to vindicate her right, without money and without followers; and they returned an answer, requiring her to abandon her false claim, and to submit as a dutiful subject to her lawful and undoubted sovereign.

In a few hours their illusion vanished. The mass of the people knew little of the lady Jane; and the public voice was unanimous in favour of Mary. She was already joined by several nobles. Northumberland saw the necessity of despatch: but preferring not to leave the capital, he proposed to give the command of the forces to the duke of Suffolk. But he could not deceive the secret partisans of Mary, who saw his perplexity, and to liberate themselves from his control, urged him to take the command upon himself; to which course he gave a tardy and reluctant consent.

Mary left Kenninghall; and, riding forty miles without rest, reached, on the same evening, the castle of Framlingham. In a few days she was surrounded by more than thirty thousand men.

Northumberland had marched from Cambridge, in the direction of Framlingham, and saw, as he advanced, the enthusiasm of the people in Mary's cause, heard that he had been proclaimed a rebel, and that a price had been fixed on his head. At Bury his heart failed him. He ordered a retreat to Cambridge, and wrote to the council for a numerous and immediate reinforcement. The lords proposed to separate, and hasten to the army, at the head of their respective friends and dependants. But this was only a pretence in order to get away from the Tower, where Suffolk had endeavoured to keep them. They assembled in the city of London. The earl of Arundel declaimed against the ambition of Northumberland, and asserted the right of the two daughters of Henry VIII. The earl of Pembroke drew his sword, exclaiming, "This sword shall make Mary queen, or I will die in her quarrel." He was answered with shouts of approbation; and at St. Paul's Cross the earl of Pembroke proclaimed Mary queen, amidst the deafening acclamations of the populace. "Te Deum" was sung in the cathedral; beer, wine, and money were distributed among the people; and the night was ushered in with

Mary pro-
claimed
queen.

bonfires, illuminations, and the accustomed demonstrations of public joy.

The next morning the lady Jane departed to Sion House. Her reign had lasted but nine days; and they had been days of anxiety and distress. The moment she was gone, the lords, without any distinction of party, united in sending an order to Northumberland to disband his forces, and to acknowledge Mary for his sovereign. But he had already proclaimed her, and threw his cap into the air in token of joy. He was arrested on a charge of high treason by the earl of Arundel, and conducted, with several of his associates, to the Tower. The lady Elizabeth had taken no part in this contest. She did not join the lady Jane, and she did nothing in aid of the lady Mary. Under the excuse of a real or feigned indisposition, she confined herself to her chamber, that, whichever party proved victorious, she might claim the negative merit of non-resistance. Now, however, the contest was at an end: the new queen approached her capital; and Elizabeth deemed it prudent to court the favour of the conqueror. At the head of a hundred and fifty horse, she met her at Aldgate; and they rode together in triumphal procession through the streets.

Of Mary's counsellors, the chief were the bishops Gardiner and Tunstall, who, under her father, had been employed in offices of trust, and had discharged them with fidelity and success. The acknowledged abilities of the former soon raised him to the post of prime minister. He first received the custody of the seals, and was soon afterwards appointed chancellor.

The queen almost immediately issued two proclamations, which drew upon her the blessings of the whole nation. By the first she restored the depreciated currency to its original value. By the other she remitted to her people, in gratitude for their attachment to her right, the subsidies on land and goods, which had been granted to the crown by the late parliament. The ceremony of Mary's coronation was performed on 30th September, 1553, after the ancient rite, by **Mary's coronation.** Gardiner bishop of Winchester, and was concluded in the usual manner, with a magnificent banquet in Westminster Hall. The same day a general pardon was proclaimed, with the exception, by name, of sixty individuals who were accused of treasonable or seditious offences committed since the queen's accession. Mary selected out of the list of prisoners seven only for immediate trial; the duke of Northumberland, the contriver and executor of the plot, his son the earl of Warwick,

the marquess of Northampton, and four of their principal counsellors. It was in vain that she was urged to include the lady Jane in the number; for she realised that Jane was not the accomplice of Northumberland, but merely a puppet in his hands.

Northumberland and two of his counsellors were selected for execution. Northumberland died in the faith of his fathers, confessing that ambition had induced him to conform to a worship which he condemned in his heart.

Under the reign of Edward, Mary had spontaneously preferred a single life; but, from the moment of her accession to the throne, she made no secret of her intention to marry. She asked the advice of the emperor Charles V., and waited with impatience for his answer. He proposed his son Philip; but told her not to be swayed by his advice, but to consult her own inclination and judgment.

It was soon discovered by the courtiers that Philip had been proposed to the queen, and had not been rejected; and the chancellor was the first to remonstrate with his sovereign. He observed to her that her people would more readily submit to the rule of a native than of a foreigner. Gardiner, who spoke the sentiments of the majority of the council, was followed by others of his colleagues: they were opposed by Norfolk, Arundel, and the lord Paget.

On Mary's accession, she acquainted both the emperor and the king of France with her determination to restore the catholic worship. Henry applauded her zeal, and offered aid; but Charles advised her to proceed with caution, and to abstain from any public innovation till she had obtained the consent of her parliament. She issued no order for the public restoration of the ancient service; but the proceedings against the bishops, deprived in the last reign, were reversed; and Gardiner, Bonner, Tunstall, Heath, and Day recovered the possession of their respective sees. Mary, following the example of the last two monarchs, prohibited preaching in public without licence. The queen declared by proclamation, that she could not conceal her religion, which she had professed from her infancy; but she had no intention to compel any one to embrace it till further orders were taken by common consent; and therefore she strictly forbade all persons to excite sedition among the people, or to foment dissension by using the opprobrious terms of heretic or papist.

The reformers now fixed their hopes on the constancy of the lady Elizabeth, the presumptive heir to the throne. They already

considered her as the rival of the queen; and it was openly said that it would not be difficult to transfer the sceptre to her hands. On this account it had been proposed by some of the royal advisers to put Elizabeth under arrest; but Mary refused her assent, and rather sought to withdraw her from the new to the ancient worship. For some time the princess resisted every attempt; but, finally, she solicited a private audience, and excused her past obstinacy, on the ground that she had never practised any other than the reformed worship. Perhaps, she said, if she were furnished with books, and aided by the instructions of divines, she might see her errors, and embrace the religion of her fathers. After this beginning, the reader will not be surprised to learn that her conversion was effected in the short course of a week. Mary now treated her with extraordinary kindness; and Elizabeth, to prove her sincerity, accompanied her sister to mass.

Elizabeth
conforms.

But the protestant cause was consoled for the defection of Elizabeth, by the zeal of Cranmer. Though he had been the author of her mother's divorce, and one of the last to abandon the conspiracy of Northumberland, he had not been sent to the Tower, but received an order to confine himself to his palace at Lambeth. Here, intelligence was brought to him that the catholic service had been performed in his church at Canterbury, and that a report was circulated of his having offered to celebrate mass before the queen. Cranmer hastened to refute these charges by a public denial; and in a declaration, whose boldness does honour to his courage, asserted that the mass was the device and invention of the father of lies. Of this intemperate declaration, several copies were dispersed and publicly read to the people in the streets. The council sent for the archbishop, and, after a long debate committed him to the Tower, in September, 1553. A few days afterwards, Latimer was also sent to the same prison, for "his seditious demeanour."

Cranmer's
imprison-
ment.

To Julius III., the Roman pontiff, the accession of Mary had been a subject of triumph. Foreseeing the result, he immediately appointed cardinal Pole his legate to the queen, the emperor, and the king of France. He declined at first, and a private messenger proceeded to England, who procured more than one interview with Mary, and carried from her the message, that it was her most anxious wish to see her kingdom reconciled with the Holy See; that for this purpose she meant to procure the repeal of all laws trenching

Pole
appointed
papal legate.

on the doctrine or discipline of the catholic church; and that for the success of the undertaking, it would be necessary to act with prudence; to respect the prejudices of her subjects; and most carefully to conceal the least trace of any correspondence between her and the court of Rome.

Such was the situation of affairs when Mary met her first parliament, after both peers and commons, according to the usage of ancient times, had accompanied their sovereign to a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost. **Meeting of parliament, October 5, 1553.** The two objects which she had principally at heart

were, to remove from herself the stain of illegitimacy, and to restore to its former ascendancy the religion of her fathers. By the council it was at first determined to attempt both objects by a bill, which should repeal at once all the acts that had been passed in the two last reigns, affecting either the marriage between the queen's father and mother or the exercise of religion as it stood in the first year of Henry VIII. By the peers no objection was made; but opposition was organized among the commons, because strong antipathy to the papal jurisdiction was expressed. Its exercise in England had been abolished for thirty years: the existing generation knew no more of the pope, his pretensions, or his authority, than they had learnt from his adversaries. In addition it was said and believed, that the restoration of ecclesiastical property was essentially connected with the recognition of the papal authority. Sales and bequests had divided and subdivided these spoils among thousands, who therefore thought they had reason to deprecate a measure that seemed to imply a surrender of part or the whole of their possessions; lest the bill should be entirely defeated, the queen prorogued the parliament. In the succeeding session, two new bills were introduced in the place of the former; one confirming the marriage of Henry and Catherine, the other regulating the national worship. Against the first bill, though it was equivalent to a statute of bastardy in respect of Elizabeth, not a voice was raised in either house of parliament. The next measure was so framed as to elude the objections of those who were hostile to the pretensions of the see of Rome. It had no reference to the alienation of church property: it trenched not on the ecclesiastical supremacy of the crown; it professed to have no other object than to restore religion to that state in which Edward found it on his accession. The opposition was confined to the lower house, and the bill passed. By it, was at once razed to the ground that fabric which Cranmer had erected in the last reign; the new liturgy was abolished; the legislation of Edward's

reign concerning the sacraments, the Act of Uniformity, and the marriage of priests, was reversed ; and in lieu thereof, were revived such forms of divine worship and administration of sacraments, as had been most commonly used in England in the last year of Henry VIII.

That which now chiefly interested and agitated the public mind, was the project of marriage between Mary and Philip of Spain. Protestants and catholics joined in reprobating a measure which would place a foreign prince on the English throne. The commons voted an address to the queen, in which they prayed her to marry, but to select her husband from the nobility of her own realm. But the queen had inherited the resolution or obstinacy of her father. Opposition might strengthen, it could not shake her purpose. She replied : that, for their expressions of loyalty she sincerely thanked them ; but, in as much as they pretended to limit her in the choice of a husband, she thanked them not. The marriages of her predecessors, she observed, had always been free, nor would she surrender a privilege which they had enjoyed.

The queen's marriage.

Elizabeth remained at court, one day terrified by the fear of a prison, and the next day flattered with the prospect of a crown. Though no pains were spared to create dissension between the royal sisters, Mary treated Elizabeth with kindness and distinction.

At length the secret negotiations in connection with Mary's union with Philip II. of Spain were concluded by the chancellor, Gardiner, and a treaty embodying the terms was signed. Gardiner deserves praise for the solicitude with which he guarded the liberties of the nation

Wyatt's rebellion.

against the possible attempts of a foreign prince on the throne ; and to his honour it may be remarked that when Elizabeth thought of marrying the duke of Anjou, she ordered her ministers to take this treaty negotiated by Gardiner, for the model of their own. The official announcement of the impending marriage provoked its opponents ; and trouble soon followed. A dangerous rebellion broke out, having for its object the substitution of Elizabeth for Mary on the throne. The conspirators proposed to marry Elizabeth to Edward Courtenay, earl of Devon, son of Courtenay, marquess of Exeter, whom Henry VIII. had beheaded in 1539, and last heir of the house of York. Gardiner extracted the whole secret from Courtenay's fears or simplicity. The conspirators soon learnt that they had been betrayed, yet determined to proceed ; and the duke of Suffolk joined the movement. He had already owed his life to Mary's clemency, at the time of

Northumberland's rebellion. Possibly he was actuated by a wish to revive the claims of his daughter lady Jane Grey. It was not long, however, before he was betrayed into Mary's hands, and lodged in the Tower. Sir Thomas Wyatt, who was the real head of the rising, mustered some ten thousand men in Kent, and marched on London, meeting with some minor successes on the way; but he could not cross the Thames, because of the strength opposed to him at London Bridge. He determined to divert his march to Kingston and cross there. This delay gave Mary time to rally her adherents, and arm the citizens; and although Wyatt succeeded in penetrating into the heart of the city, and there was heavy fighting in the streets, he was at length compelled to surrender himself prisoner; was sent to the Tower; and after trial, paid the penalty of his treason on the scaffold. At the termination of the former conspiracy, the queen had permitted but three persons to be put to death—an instance of clemency, considering all the circumstances, not perhaps to be paralleled in the history of those ages. But the policy of her conduct had been severely arraigned; and, now while her mind was still agitated with the remembrance of her danger, she was induced to sign a warrant for the execution of Guilford Dudley and lady Jane Grey, whose family had joined in the second rebellion. He was beheaded on Tower Hill; she, on account of her royal descent, was spared the ignominy of a public execution, but was led to a scaffold which had been erected on the green within the Tower. Her life had before been spared as a pledge for the loyalty of the house of Suffolk. That pledge was indeed forfeited by the late rebellion of the duke; but it would have been to the honour of Mary if she had overlooked the provocation, and refused to visit on the daughter the guilt of the father. Her youth ought to have pleaded most powerfully in her favour; and, if it were feared that she would again be set up by the factious as a competitor with her sovereign, the danger might certainly have been removed by some expedient less cruel than the infliction of death. The duke of Suffolk, lady Jane's father, fell unpitied. His ingratitude to the queen, and his disregard of his daughter's safety, had sharpened the public indignation against him.

During the rising, Elizabeth had been at Ashridge, labouring, or pretending to labour, under some severe indisposition. Much had come to light which tended to implicate her in the conspiracy: she refused to join the queen in the capital, which was imputed to consciousness of guilt rather than infirmity of body. The council resolved to enforce

Elizabeth's
fate.

submission; but Mary insisted that, at the same time, due consideration should be paid to her health and her rank, and three members of the council were ordered to bring her to the court. On her arrival she asked in vain for an interview with the queen, and was immediately conducted to guarded apartments. Mary, however, soon grew weary of being the gaoler of her sister. She proposed to the council that some one of the lords should take charge of her in his own house: but when all declined the dangerous and ungracious office, a warrant was made out for her committal to the Tower. She received the intelligence with dismay, and most earnestly solicited permission to speak to, or if that could not be, to write to the queen. The last was granted; and in the letter said to have been written on that occasion, she maintained that she had never consented to any project that could endanger the life or crown of her sister.

In the Tower, Elizabeth abandoned herself to the most gloomy anticipations. For several weeks the imperial ambassador and some of the council, strongly urged the expediency of bringing her to trial and execution; she was saved by the firmness of one who has been often, but falsely, described as thirsting for her blood. This was Gardiner, who defended her with success. Mary sent an order to Elizabeth to come from the Tower by water, and join the court. A few days later the princess was sent to Woodstock.

The rebellion had suspended, for a few weeks, the proceedings relative to the queen's marriage; but in the beginning of March, 1554, the Spanish ambassador arrived in London, and espoused Mary in the name of the prince of Spain. Both houses unanimously concurred in an act confirming the treaty of marriage, declaring that the queen, after its solemnisation, should continue to enjoy and exercise the sovereignty as sole queen, without any right or claim to be given unto Philip. Philip soon arrived at Southampton, escorted by the combined fleets of England, the Netherlands, and Spain. The moment he set his foot on the beach he was invested with the insignia of the order of the Garter. On the festival of St. James, the patron saint of Spain, July 25th, the marriage was celebrated in the cathedral church at Winchester, before crowds of noblemen collected from every part of Christendom, and with a magnificence which has seldom been surpassed. From Winchester the royal pair proceeded, by slow journeys, to Windsor and the metropolis.

Arrival of
Philip.

Marriage of
Philip and
Mary, July
25, 1554.

Mary now resolved to attempt that which she had long considered an indispensable duty, the restoration of the religious

polity of the kingdom to that state in which it existed at the time of her birth. In her first parliament, she had prudently confined her efforts to the public re-establishment of the ancient form of worship. The statute was carried into execution on the appointed day, almost without opposition; the married clergy, according to the provisions of the canon law, were removed from their benefices; and Gardiner, with the secret approbation of the pontiff, had consecrated catholic prelates to supersede the few protestant bishops who remained in possession of their sees. Thus one-half of the measure had been already accomplished; the other, the recognition of the papal supremacy, a more hazardous task, still remained. Many had shared the plunder of the church; and they objected to the restoration of that jurisdiction which might call in question their right to their present possessions. It was necessary, in the first place, to free them from apprehension, and for that purpose to procure from the pontiff a bull confirming all past alienation of the property of the church. This subject had from the commencement been urged on the consideration of the court of Rome. The pope having consulted his canonists and divines, signed a bull empowering the legate to give to the present possessors, all property which had been torn from the church during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.

The parliament met on November 1, 1554. The chancellor, having taken his place in front of the throne, addressed the two houses. The queen's first parliament, he said, had re-established the ancient worship, her second had confirmed the articles of her marriage; and their majesties expected that the third, in preference to every other object, would accomplish the re-union of the realm with the universal church. An act was passed reversing the attainder of cardinal Pole. He immediately came to England as legate, and assured the parliament of every facility on his part to effect the re-union of the church of England with that of Rome. The motion for the re-union was carried almost by acclamation. It was determined to present a petition in the name of both houses to the king and queen, stating, that they looked back with sorrow and regret on the defection of the realm from the communion of the Apostolic See. Mary and Philip spoke to the cardinal; and he absolved all those present and the whole nation from all heresy; and restored them to the communion of holy church in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. "Amen," resounded from every part of the hall; and the members, rising from their knees, followed the king and

queen into the chapel, where *Te Deum* was chanted in thanksgiving for the event. The next Sunday the legate, at the invitation of the citizens, made his public entry into the metropolis; and Gardiner preached at St. Paul's Cross the celebrated sermon, in which he lamented in bitter terms his conduct under Henry VIII., and exhorted all who had fallen through his means, or in his company, to rise with him, and seek the unity of the catholic church.

A decree was soon afterwards published by the legate which declared—1. That all cathedral churches, hospitals, and schools founded during the schism, should be preserved; 2. That all persons, who had contracted marriage within the prohibited degrees without dispensation, should remain married; 3. That all judicial processes, made before the ordinaries, or in appeal before delegates should be held valid; and 4. That the possessors of church property should not be molested, under pretence of any canons of councils, decrees of popes, or censures of the church. An act was soon passed which provided that all papal bulls, dispensations, and privileges, not containing matter prejudicial to the royal authority, or to the laws of the realm, might be used in all courts whatsoever; that the pope should have the same authority and jurisdiction which he might have lawfully exercised before the twentieth year of the reign of Henry VIII.; and that the jurisdiction of the bishops should be restored to that state in which it existed at the same period. In the lords, the bill was read thrice in two days; in the commons it was passed after a sharp debate on the third reading. Thus was re-established in England the whole system of religious polity which had prevailed for so many centuries before Henry VIII.

The dissolution of the parliament was followed by an unexpected act of grace. The lord chancellor, accompanied by several members of the council, proceeded to the Tower, called before him all state prisoners, and Acts of
grace, 1555. informed them that the king and queen had granted them their liberty. Elizabeth reappeared at court, and was treated with kindness and distinction by the king and queen, and after a visit of some months returned to her own house in the country.

Pope Julius died in 1555. The new pontiff, who had taken the name of Marcellus II., died within one-and-twenty days; and the friends of Pole laboured to honour him with the tiara. But as the cardinals, as well in the imperial as in the French interest, refused their voices, Caraffa was chosen, and took the name of Paul IV. On the very day of the coronation of this pontiff, three English ambassadors reached Rome. They acknowledged him

as head of the universal Church, presented to him a copy of the act by which his authority had been re-established, and solicited him to ratify the absolution pronounced by the legate, and to confirm the bishoprics erected during the schism. Paul received them with kindness, and granted their requests.

It was the lot of Mary to live in an age of religious intolerance, when to punish the professors of erroneous doctrine was inculcated

**Persecution
of the
protestants.**

as a duty, no less by those who rejected, than by those who asserted, the papal authority. The protestants had no sooner obtained the ascendancy during the short reign of Edward than they displayed the same persecuting spirit which they had formerly condemned: burning the anabaptist, and preparing to burn the catholic at the stake, for no other crime than adherence to religious opinion. By a law proposed by Cranmer, to believe in transubstantiation, to admit the papal supremacy, and to deny justification by faith only, had been severally made heresy; and it was ordained that individuals accused of holding heretical opinions should, if they continued obstinate, be delivered to the civil magistrate, to suffer the punishment provided by law. Edward died before this code had obtained the sanction of the legislature: by the accession of Mary, the power of the sword passed from the hands of one religious party to those of the other; and within a short time Cranmer and his associates perished in the flames which they had prepared to kindle for the destruction of their opponents.

While in no way seeking to condone the horrors of the Marian persecution, it is well to remember that those responsible for them should be judged, not by our standards of tolerance, but by the ethics then accepted as guides for men's conduct. Hitherto, it has been the fashion to condemn Mary and her ministers wholesale; now a juster standard prevails; and all but fanatics realise that some kind of justification may be found for the brutalities then perpetrated, in the way of looking at erroneous opinions as being dangerous to the state, then in vogue. Mr. Gairdner, a protestant historian, writes thus: "The experience of twenty years . . . had convinced Mary and, no doubt, her subjects generally, that defiance of the papal authority had shaken the foundation of all authority whatever. Rebellion and treason had been nourished by heresy—nay, heresy was the very root from which they sprang. And it was really more important in the eyes of Mary to extirpate the root than merely to lop off the branches. She had all possible desire to show indulgence to the misguided if they could be brought to a better state of mind; and the

bishops might be trusted, especially bishop Bonner, to do their very utmost to dissuade the obstinate from rushing on their fate. . . . Can it be wondered at that the age considered 'erroneous opinions' dangerous? The burning of heretics was a barbarous, old-fashioned remedy, but it is not true that either bishops or the government adopted it without reluctance." These are the weighty words of one who has had access to state papers which were not known to his many predecessors who have written more from feeling than knowledge.

Though it had been held in the last reign that by the common law of the land heresy was a crime punishable with death, it was deemed advisable to revive the three statutes which had formerly been enacted to suppress the doctrines of the lollards. An act for the purpose of reviving the cruel statute passed in the reign of Henry IV., *De Haeretico Comburendo*, was brought into the commons, and in the course of four days it had passed the two houses.

The year 1555 opened to the protestant preachers with a lowering aspect, and the storm soon burst on their heads. Gardiner presided, as chancellor, in a court which was now opened, and was attended by thirteen other bishops; but he very soon, however, transferred the ungracious office of conducting these prosecutions in the metropolis to Bonner, bishop of London. The bishops in general declined the odious task of proceeding against persons accused of heresy; and the king's confessor openly inveighed against these prosecutions as contrary, not only to the spirit, but to the text of the gospel: his discourse made so deep an impression, indeed, that the execution of prisoners was suspended for some weeks; but the reluctance of the prelates was reprimanded by the council, and the hateful work recommenced. A noble constancy was displayed by most of the sufferers; and though pardon was offered them to the last moment, they scorned to purchase their lives by feigning an assent to doctrines which they did not believe.

Amongst the many persons arraigned before this court for heresy and delivered to the civil power for punishment, were Hooper, the deprived bishop of Gloucester, who suffered in his cathedral city; Ridley, and Latimer, the deprived bishops of London and Worcester, who were burnt at Oxford in September, 1555; followed six months later by Cranmer, who had already been sentenced to death for high treason, but had been left to be tried as a spiritual man. Had Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer been put to death with Northumberland, few people could have

condemned the judgment; and the same might be said of many of the others who suffered at this time, and who were really criminals as well as heretics. Ridley and Latimer appeared twice before the legate's commissioners, and twice refusing to renounce their opinions, were delivered to the secular power. The constancy with which they suffered at the stake consoled the sorrow and animated the zeal of their disciples.

When sentence was pronounced on Cranmer, he had not the fortitude to look death in the face. To save his life he feigned himself a convert to the catholic creed, openly condemned his past delinquency in seven successive instruments wherein he abjured the faith which he had taught, approved of that which he had opposed, and conjured the queen to pardon his transgressions. Mary, however, persuaded herself, or had been persuaded by others, that public justice would not allow her to save him from the punishment to which he had been condemned. When, however, he was led to the stake at Oxford, on March 21st, 1556, he recalled his former recantations, declaring that he had never changed his belief, and that his recantation had been wrung from him by the hope of life. When the fire was kindled, he thrust his hand into the flame, exclaiming, "This hath offended." His sufferings were short, and he expired in a few moments.

It may be well to sum up here the results of the Marian persecution. In the space of four years almost two hundred persons perished in the flames for religious opinion; a number, at the contemplation of which, the mind is struck with horror, and learns to bless the legislation of a more tolerant age, in which dissent from established forms, though in some countries still punished with civil disabilities, is nowhere liable to the penalties of death.

If anything could be urged in extenuation of these cruelties, it must have been the provocation given by the reformers. The succession of a catholic sovereign had deprived them of office and power; had suppressed the English service, the idol of their affections; and had re-established the ancient worship, which they deemed antichristian and idolatrous. Disappointment embittered their zeal; and enthusiasm sanctified their intemperance. They heaped on the queen, her bishops, and her religion, every indecent and irritating epithet which language could supply. It is not improbable that such excesses would have considerable influence with statesmen, who might deem it expedient to suppress sedition by prosecution for heresy; but there is reason to believe that the queen herself was not actuated so much by motives of policy as

of conscience; and that she had imbibed the same intolerant opinion, which Cranmer and Ridley laboured to instil into the young mind of Edward, that it was the duty of a christian prince, to eradicate the cockle from the field of God's church.

On the deprivation of Cranmer, Pole had been appointed archbishop; and his consecration took place on the day after the death of his predecessor. He found sufficient exercise for his zeal in reforming the clergy, repairing churches, and re-establishing the ancient discipline. By this time, too, a beginning had already been made in restoring the monastic system; the Grey Friars, the Observants, the Dominicans, the Carthusians, and the Brigittine nuns had all made new foundations in various places; and on November 21, 1556, Westminster had its Benedictine community once more: Dr. Feckenham, an old monk of Evesham and late dean of St. Paul's, resumed his monastic habit, and was appointed abbot of the restored house. There were dreams of other foundations, amongst others, of a restoration of Glastonbury, but these fell through for want of funds.

From the moment of his arrival in England, Philip had sought to ingratiate himself with the natives. He had conformed to the national customs, and appeared to be delighted with the national amusements. Nor in the government of the realm did he appear to take any active part; but he laboured in vain. The antipathy of the English was not to be subdued. Under these circumstances the king grew weary of his stay in England; but the queen, believing herself in a state to give him an heir to his dominions, extorted from him a promise not to leave her till after her expected delivery. She was mistaken, however, as to the fact of pregnancy, and Philip departed for Flanders. He left the queen with every demonstration of attachment, and recommended her to the care of cardinal Pole.

Gardiner, who had undertaken to procure the consent of parliament to the queen's plan of restoring the church property vested in the crown, died at this period; Mary, **Mary** therefore, sent for a deputation from each house, **restores** explained her wish, and the reasons on which it was **church** grounded. In the lords, the bill passed with only **property.** two dissentient voices; in the commons, though encountering considerable opposition, it was carried. By it a yearly revenue of about sixty thousand pounds was resigned by the queen, and placed at the disposal of the church.

While Gardiner lived, his vigilance had checked the intrigues of the factious: his death emboldened them to renew their

machinations against the government. Reports were circulated that Mary, hopeless of issue to succeed her, had determined to

settle the crown on her husband after her decease.
New plots and conspiracies. A new conspiracy was formed, which had for its object to depose Mary and to raise Elizabeth to the throne. The conspirators reported that Philip devoted

to Spanish purposes the revenue of the English crown; though at the same time they knew that treasure, amounting to fifty thousand pounds, was still lodged in the exchequer. A plan was devised to surprise the guard, and to obtain possession of this money; but one of the conspirators proved a traitor; of the others, several apprehended by his means, paid the forfeit of their lives, and

many sought and obtained an asylum in France.
Elizabeth accused. Among the prisoners apprehended in England, were two officers in the household of Elizabeth, from

whose confessions much was elicited to implicate the princess herself. She was rescued from danger by the interposition of Philip, who, despairing of issue by his wife, foresaw that if Elizabeth were removed out of the way, the English crown, at the decease of Mary, would be claimed by the young queen of Scots, the wife of the dauphin of France. By his orders the enquiry was dropped, and Mary, sending to her sister a ring in token of her affection, professed to believe that Elizabeth was innocent. The exiles in France soon made a new attempt to excite an insurrection. There was among them a young man, of the name of Cleobury, who landed in Sussex, was taken, and suffered at Bury the penalty of his treason. Though Cleobury had employed the name of Elizabeth, we have no reason to charge her with participation in the imposture. The council pretended, at least, to believe her innocent; and she herself, in a letter to Mary, expressed her detestation of all such attempts. From that period, the princess resided, apparently at liberty, but in reality under the eyes of watchful guardians, in her house at Hatfield and occasionally at court.

Mary finding political difficulties increasing, urged Philip to return without delay. But he, to whom his father had resigned

all his dominions in Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands, was overwhelmed with business of more importance to him than the tranquillity of his wife or

of her government; and, to pacify her mind, he made her frequent promises, the fulfilment of which it was always in his power to elude. In March, 1557, he revisited Mary, not so much in deference to her representations, as to draw England into a war

with France. A proclamation was issued, containing charges against the French monarch, which it was not easy to refute. From the very accession of Mary he had put on the appearance of a friend, and acted as an adversary. He had approved of the rebellion of Northumberland and other English rebels. Henry of France, when he heard of the proclamation, determined to oppose to it a manifesto, in which he complained that Mary had maintained spies in his dominions, and had laid new and heavy duties on the importation of French merchandise.

Philip returned to Flanders, where mercenaries from Germany, and the troops from Spain, had already arrived. The earl of Pembroke followed at the head of seven thousand Englishmen; and the command of the combined army consisting of forty thousand men, was assumed by Philibert, duke of Savoy. While the English forces distinguished themselves in the memorable victory gained over the French at St. Quentin, August 10, 1557, the English fleet rode triumphant through the summer, and kept the maritime provinces of France in a state of perpetual alarm.

When Mary determined to aid her husband against Henry, she had made up her mind to a war with Scotland. In that kingdom the national animosity against the English, the ancient alliance with France, the marriage of the queen to the dauphin, and the authority of the queen-regent, a French princess, had given to the French interest a decided preponderance. The Scotch, to please France, ravaged the north of England; they soon, however, recalled the fatal field of Flodden; and as the earl of Shrewsbury was at hand with the whole power of England, the army disbanded.

The king of France feeling the disgrace which had befallen the French arms at St. Quentin, resolved to besiege Calais, as he had formed a correct notion of its imaginary strength, and probably had secret partisans within the town. In the month of December, 1557, twenty-five thousand men, with a numerous train of battering artillery, assembled near that fortress. The governor, lord Wentworth, had received repeated warning to provide for the defence of the place, but he persuaded himself that the object of the enemy was not conquest, but plunder. A company of Frenchmen waded across the haven, and the French standard was soon unfurled on the walls. The next morning an offer of capitulation was made; and the town, with all the ammunition and merchandise, was surrendered, on condition that the citizens and garrison should have liberty to depart, with the exception of Wentworth himself

and of fifty others. Thus within the short lapse of three weeks, was Calais, with all its dependencies, recovered by France, after it had remained in the possession of the English more than two hundred years.

In France the capture of Calais excited an intoxication of joy, and the event was celebrated by the nuptials of the dauphin to the young queen of Scotland.

To men who weighed the trivial advantages which had been derived from the possession of the place against the annual expenses of its garrison and fortifications, the loss appeared in the light of a national benefit; but in the eyes of foreigners it tarnished the reputation of the country, and at home it furnished a subject of reproach to the factious, of regret to the loyal.

The queen felt the loss most poignantly; and we may form a notion of her grief from the declaration which she made on her death-bed, that if her breast were opened after death, the word "Calais" would be found engraven on her heart. The ministers prepared an armament sufficiently powerful to surprise some port on the French coast, as an equivalent for that which had been lost. During the spring seven thousand men were levied, and trained to military evolutions; the lord admiral collected in the harbour of Portsmouth a fleet of one hundred and forty sail; and Philip willingly supplied a strong reinforcement of Flemish troops. Had an immediate and vigorous attack on Calais been made, it might have been recovered; but the fleet sailed for the coast of Bretagne, burnt some villages and returned to England, without having done anything to raise the reputation of the country, or to repay the expenses of the expedition.

The reign of Mary was now hastening to its termination. Her health had always been delicate, and from the time of her first supposed pregnancy she was afflicted with frequent maladies. Nor was her mind more at ease than her body, for to other causes of anxiety had lately been added the loss of Calais. During a sickness lasting three months, Mary edified all around her by her cheerfulness, her piety, and her resignation to the will of Providence. Her chief solicitude was for the stability of that church which she had restored; and her suspicions of Elizabeth's insincerity prompted her to require from her sister an avowal of her real sentiments. In return, Elizabeth complained of Mary's incredulity. She said that she was a true and conscientious believer in the catholic creed; nor could she do more now than she had repeatedly done before, which was to confirm her assertion with her oath.

The queen's death.

On the morning of Mary's death, mass was celebrated in her chamber. She was perfectly sensible, and expired a few minutes before its conclusion, on November 17, 1558. Her friend and kinsman, cardinal Pole, who had long been confined with a fever, survived her only twenty-two hours. He had reached his fifty-ninth, she her forty-second year.

The worst blot on the character of this queen is her long and cruel persecution of the protestants. The sufferings of the victims naturally begat an antipathy to the woman by whose authority they were inflicted. It is, however, but fair to recollect that it was her misfortune, rather than her fault, that she was not more enlightened than the wisest of her contemporaries. With this exception, she has been ranked, by the more moderate of the protestant writers, among the best though not the greatest of our sovereigns. They have borne honourable testimony to her virtues, and have allotted to her the praise of piety and clemency, of compassion for the poor, and liberality to the distressed. It is acknowledged that her moral character was beyond reproof. The queen was thought by some to have inherited the obstinacy of her father; but there was this difference, that, before she formed her decisions, she sought for advice and information, and made it an invariable rule to prefer right to expediency. Her natural abilities had been improved by education. She understood the Italian, she spoke the French and Spanish languages.

**Mary's
character.**

Neither were the interests of trade neglected during her government. She had the honour of concluding the first commercial treaty with Russia. The Russian trade fully compensated the queen and the nation for these efforts and expenses; and the woollen cloths and coarse linens of England were exchanged at an immense profit for the valuable skins and furs of the northern regions.

Trade.

Ireland, during this reign, offers but few subjects to attract the notice of the reader. The officers of government were careful to copy the proceedings in England. They first proclaimed the lady Jane, and then the lady Mary. They suffered the new service to fall into desuetude; the married prelates and clergy lost their benefices. When the Irish parliament met, it selected most of its enactments from the English statute-book. The legitimacy and right of the queen were affirmed; the ancient service restored; and the papal authority acknowledged. But though the laws against heresy were revived, they were not carried into execution.

Ireland.

CHAPTER XXIII

ELIZABETH, 1558-1603

WHATEVER opinion some might entertain of the legitimacy of Elizabeth, she ascended the throne without opposition. Immediately after Mary's death, the commons received a message to attend the bar of the house of lords. **Accession of Elizabeth, November 17, 1558.** There archbishop Heath, the lord chancellor, announced the important event, and told them that there could be no doubt of Elizabeth's right. It had been decided by the statute of 31st Henry VIII.; and nothing remained but to recognise the accession of the new sovereign. Her title was immediately proclaimed, and a deputation of the council repaired to her residence at Hatfield. She received them courteously, and to their congratulations replied in a formal and studied discourse. Sir William Cecil was appointed secretary; and the queen with his aid named the members of her council. Of the advisers of Mary, she retained those who were distinguished for their capacity, or formidable by their influence; and to these she added eight others, who had shown attachment to her in her troubles. There was another and secret cabinet, consisting of Cecil and his particular friends, who possessed the ear of the queen, and controlled through her every department in the state.

Foreign courts were at once notified of the death of Mary and of the succession of Elizabeth "by hereditary right, and the consent of the nation." On the authority of the historian Pallavicino, it has hitherto been believed that when Carne, the English resident at Rome, performed his commission to the pope, Paul IV.—to whom it had been suggested that to admit the succession of Elizabeth would be to approve the pretended marriage of her parents, Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn; to annul the decisions of his predecessors; and to prejudice the claim of the true and legitimate heir, Mary, queen of Scots—replied, that he was unable to comprehend her hereditary right; that the queen of Scots claimed

The pope's attitude.

the crown as the nearest legitimate descendant of Henry VII.; but that, if Elizabeth were willing to submit the controversy to his arbitration, she should receive from him every indulgence which justice could allow. Elizabeth's subsequent rejection of papal authority has been based upon the acceptance of this version of what happened. Lord Burghley's state papers, however, still preserved at Hatfield, throw a totally different light on what really took place. Carne's letter to the queen herself states that, although the French had been practising upon the pope in the sense referred to, they could obtain nothing from him, for the goodwill he entertained to Elizabeth and the English had determined him to attempt nothing against either, "unless the occasion be given first thence," and that he was prepared to send a nuncio to England, only expecting the first move to come from the queen. This should be quite sufficient to disprove the silly story that the queen's subsequent attitude towards catholics was caused at the beginning of her reign by the pope's refusal to accept her as the rightful sovereign of England, and the consequent hostile reception of her by English catholics, in obedience to his voice. The majority of the catholics, from the first, as represented by archbishop Heath and all the bishops, undoubtedly acknowledged her as the lawful successor of queen Mary; although there would naturally have been some who, regarding Elizabeth as tainted with illegitimacy, would look to the Scottish queen as the true heir.

During the reign of her sister, Elizabeth had professed herself a convert to the ancient faith. The catholics were willing to believe that her conformity arose from conviction; the protestants, while they lamented her apostasy, persuaded themselves that she feigned sentiments which she did not feel. It is probable that, in her own mind, she was indifferent to either form of worship; but the moment she ascended the throne, a catholic competitor appeared: Mary Stuart assumed the title of queen of England, and quartered the English arms with those of Scotland and France. Elizabeth's new ministers were aware that should Mary's claims receive recognition, short work would be made with them; as, therefore, their own prospects depended on those of Elizabeth, they urged their mistress to put down a religion according to whose laws she was a bastard, and to support the reformed doctrines, which alone could ensure her stability on the throne. After some hesitation Elizabeth complied; but a resolution was adopted to suppress all knowledge of the intended measure till every precaution had been taken to ensure its success.

That Cecil had already prevailed upon the queen in the first few weeks of the reign as to the peculiar form of national religion which alone was to be tolerated, is certain. A paper plan for alteration of religion is still in existence in which the whole scheme is drawn out in detail. Therein instructions are suggested for the select committee summoned at the time to prepare for the coming "alteration of religion." The change was to "be first attempted at the next parliament," and great care was required to have all ready, as it was recognized that "many people of our own will be very much discontented," especially those "who governed in the late queen's time," and had been chosen "for being hot and earnest in the other religion." Elizabeth, "to maintain and establish her religion," must do what her sister had done. As regards the catholic bishops and clergy, her course would be to "seek, as well by parliament as by the just laws of England, in *premunire* and other such penal laws, to bring them again into order," and to withhold pardon till they should throw themselves on her mercy, "abjure the pope of Rome, and conform themselves to the new alterations." A committee was also to be appointed to have a book for the new service "ready drawn to her highness; which being approved of her majesty, may be so put into the parliament house." Meanwhile all innovations in religious worship were to be prohibited; and "until such time as the book came forth" no alterations were to be made "further than her majesty hath, except it be to receive the communion as her highness pleaseth, on high feasts. . . . And for her highness's conscience till then, if there be some other devout sort of prayers or memory, said; and the seldomer, Mass."

Elizabeth, by the ambiguity of her conduct, contrived to balance the hopes and fears of the two parties. She continued to assist, and occasionally to communicate, at mass; she buried her sister with all the solemnities of the catholic ritual; and she ordered a solemn dirge, and a mass of requiem, for the soul of the emperor Charles V. By degrees, however, the secret of the intended change of religion was suffered to transpire. White, bishop of Winchester, was imprisoned for his sermon at the funeral of queen Mary, and Bonner, bishop of London, was called upon to account for the different fines which had been levied in his courts during the last reign. Archbishop Heath either received a hint, or deemed it prudent, to resign the seals, which, with the title of lord keeper, were transferred to sir Nicholas Bacon. But that which cleared away every doubt was a proclamation, forbidding the clergy to preach, requiring that

certain portions of the service should be read in English, and ordering the catholic worship to be observed "until consultation might be had in parliament by the queen and the three estates." Alarmed by this clause, the bishops assembled in London, and declared that they could not in conscience officiate at the coronation of a princess who, it was probable, might object to some part of the service; and who, if she did not refuse to take, certainly meant to violate, that part of the oath which bound the sovereign to maintain the liberties of the catholic church. All determined to refuse to take any share in the coronation.

This unexpected determination of the prelates created considerable embarrassment. Many expedients were devised to remove or surmount the difficulty; and at last the Elizabeth bishop of Carlisle separated himself from his col- crowned leagues. He was prevailed upon to crown the January 15, queen, but she on her part was compelled to take 1559. the accustomed oath, and to conform to all the rites of the catholic pontifical.

Elizabeth met her first parliament on the 25th of January, 1559, after assisting in state at a solemn high mass, followed by a sermon from Dr. Cox, a protestant preacher. Elizabeth's The lord keeper then opened the parliament in her first parlia- presence. He first drew a melancholy picture of the ment, state of the realm under queen Mary, and next January 25, exhibited the cheering prospect of the blessings 1559. which awaited it under the new sovereign. She had called the two houses together that they might consult respecting a uniform order of religion; might remove abuses; and might provide for the safety of the state against its foreign and domestic enemies.

Before the commons proceeded to any other business, they voted an address to the queen, praying that she would marry. She thanked them, but said that she preferred a single life.

The parliament then enacted a formal recognition of Elizabeth's right to the throne. Unlike Mary, who had been eager to obtain a reversal of the act by which her mother's marriage with Henry VIII. had been declared illegitimate, Elizabeth contented herself with a declaration of her own royal descent, and left her mother, Anne Boleyn, still under the stigma put upon her before her execution. As was said, it seemed as if Elizabeth desired to forget that she ever had a mother, and only to remember that she was her father's daughter.

But the subject which principally occupied the attention of parliament was the alteration of religion. This was brought

about by three new laws. (1) An act was passed giving back to Elizabeth the firstfruits which Mary had restored to the pope.

Ecclesiastical enactments.

The new queen also at the same time took possession of all the ecclesiastical property upon which she could lay her hands, that had been restored to the church during the last reign. (2) When this had been done, the Act of Royal Supremacy was immediately proposed for the acceptance of parliament. It swept away the pope's supremacy, substituting for it that of the crown, as had been done before. For the holding of any office, a preliminary condition was imposed of taking an oath renouncing the pope and acknowledging the royal supremacy. This measure deliberately excluded any catholic from a position of trust except at the cost of denying his faith and sacrificing his conscience. (3) The Act of Uniformity authorised and imposed the use of the reformed Prayer Book on all the queen's subjects. This Prayer Book, with three slight modifications, was Edward VI.'s Second Prayer Book of 1552. It was pushed through the two houses with great haste. The bishops fought each of these bills step by step, and unanimously voted against them. Of the twenty-six English sees, ten were actually vacant in 1559, and consequently, the diminished number of bishops in the upper house were powerless to stay the result. That their weighty arguments were not wholly unheeded may be judged by the very narrow majority of three which carried the religious revolution. Five new peers of protestant principles had just been added to the house of lords; and had there not been so many sees vacant at this time there can be no reasonable doubt that the intentions of Cecil and his colleagues would have been defeated, for a time at least, and the new Prayer Book rejected. The Act of Uniformity did more, of course, than sanction the protestant Prayer Book; it made its use obligatory under grave penal enactments. Any clergyman who did not use it was fined for the first offence, deprived of his benefice for the second, and imprisoned for life for the third. All persons absenting themselves from church on Sundays were to be fined for each offence, and the amount of the fine increased as time went on. This act and that of supremacy form the basis of the restrictive code of laws which pressed so heavily for more than two centuries upon the adherents of the catholic church. A royal commission was next issued, empowering its members, who were with one exception laymen, to make a visitation of all the dioceses and conferring very full powers upon them. Before the end of the year 1559, all the bishops had been dealt with by

this commission. They were put to the test of the new oath of supremacy, and all unhesitatingly refused, with the exception of Kitchin of Llandaff. The remainder were deprived, and most of them imprisoned more or less strictly, till their deaths. After the bishops came the turn of the clergy. The first visitation, made in 1559 for the purpose of tendering the oath, was so barren of results that, after it had been in existence for six months, it was abandoned. In brief, it may be said that the purpose of the visitation was mainly defeated by the refusal of the majority of the clergy to attend according to the summons they had received. Out of eight thousand nine hundred and eleven parishes and nine thousand four hundred beneficed clergymen, only some eight hundred took the oath. It is probable that in the north and west of England in particular many of the catholic clergy were left undisturbed till three years later, when a second visitation was ordered, and the government was in a position of greater security, and thus enabled to deal with the recalcitrants with more vigour and severity. At that time, many of the married clergy ousted by Mary were reinstated; and the large number of vacant benefices attested the loyalty of great numbers of the clergy to the old faith, and compelled the authorities to ordain to the ministry a motley crowd of uneducated mechanics.

The entire bench of bishops having been got rid of, it became necessary to devise means to supply their places, for Elizabeth and her council, unlike the foreign sectaries, decided to retain an episcopate in their scheme of church government. But no bishop or bishops could at first be found to consecrate the selected prelates, until at last the foundation of the new hierarchy was secured by the consecration of Dr. Parker as archbishop of Canterbury. Bishop Barlow, whose own consecration must always be doubtful, officiated; and two Edwardine bishops, with Hodgkyns, a suffragan consecrated under the old rite, assisted at the ceremony, which was performed according to the ordinal of Edward VI. Parker without delay filled up the other vacant sees; but grave doubts were soon raised as to the validity of these consecrations, which were later laid to rest by the sovereign through an act of parliament, supplying, in virtue of the plenitude of jurisdiction which her spiritual headship conferred upon her, any deficiencies which might be considered to exist.

While the ministry were thus employed in the alteration of religion at home, important transactions were also proceeding abroad. England, France, and Spain, alike exhausted by war, had

been conferring at Cercamps since the previous summer, with a view to making peace. Philip, as a necessary condition, insisted on the restoration of Calais to England. On the death of Mary, the French king opened a clandestine correspondence with Elizabeth, with the object of detaching her from her confederacy with Philip. To separate from Spain meant to fall on the mercy of France; the English ambassadors at Cateau Cambresis, where the negotiations were then being conducted, were finally instructed to get the best terms in their power, but to conclude peace at any cost. The restoration of Calais formed the prominent article in the treaty ultimately subscribed. It was agreed that the French king should retain possession during the next eight years; and that at the expiration of the term he should restore the town with its dependencies to Elizabeth. It was evident, however, that at the expiration of eight years, French ingenuity would easily discover some real or pretended infraction of the treaty, on which the king might ground his refusal to restore the place. This consequence was foreseen by the public; and the terms were therefore condemned as prejudicial and disgraceful.

During the negotiations no mention was made of one cause of offence which had sunk deeply into the breast of Elizabeth. Ever since her accession she had, as heiress to the rights of her predecessor, styled herself queen of France. The title was ridiculous, since by Salic law no woman could inherit the French crown. Henry of France, to retaliate, caused his daughter-in-law, Mary Stuart, to adopt occasionally the style of queen of England and Ireland. This assumption not only wounded the pride, it alarmed the jealousy of Elizabeth; it proved to her that in the estimation of Henry she was a bastard, and it taught her to apprehend that on some future occasion Mary Stuart might dispute with her the right to the English crown. At the same time, Cecil, knowing that the Scottish reformers were in arms, resolved to support their rebellion; for he contemplated their triumph, whereby French influence would cease in Scotland, the new worship be established there, and the Scottish crown probably be transferred to a protestant branch of the Stuarts. The arrival in Scotland from Geneva of John Knox gave a new impulse to the zeal of the reformers. He taught the distinction between civil and religious obedience, and drew this important inference, that in spite of the legislature and the sovereign, it was their duty to extirpate idolatry, to establish the gospel, and in defence of their proceedings to oppose force to

Peace with France.

Tortuous policy towards Scotland.

force. This doctrine, the parent of sedition and civil war, was gratefully received and practically adopted. It was at this time that Mary Stuart, who had just completed her fifteenth year, married the dauphin Francis. The reformers, aware that this union yielded a considerable advantage to the catholics, entered into a new religious covenant to maintain their position. A war on the subject of religion followed this covenant, and was waged for a long time in Scotland; but the details of its course possess little interest. John Knox led the reformers, and Cecil kept alive their hopes with the prospect of support from the English queen. Elizabeth hated the principles of Knox and the fanaticism of his followers; she deemed it unworthy of a crowned head to foment rebellion among the subjects of a neighbouring and friendly sovereign. But the sophistry of Cecil overcame her objections; and in the present case, self-preservation, a principle paramount to every other motive, ultimately caused her to concur in Cecil's policy. The insurgents were urged to continue hostilities, supplied with money, and promised such aid as could be furnished without a manifest breach of the apparent peace between the two queens. The reformers got possession of Edinburgh, and were openly joined by the earl of Arran, and an English fleet was sent to the Firth of Forth, ostensibly for a legitimate purpose, really to help the Scottish insurgents. Early in 1560 a treaty between the insurgents and the Scottish lords was concluded at Berwick, whereby it was stipulated that the English queen should maintain an English army in Scotland till the French were expelled from that kingdom; and that Scotland should never consent to the union of its crown with that of France. Trouble now broke out in France; the opportunity was at once seized by Cecil to invade Scotland for the purpose of expelling the French from the northern realm. A check was received before Leith, and Elizabeth insisted on withdrawing from the coalition. At this juncture the queen-regent of Scotland died; a treaty between Francis and Mary and the Scottish insurgents was effected, and another between Mary and Elizabeth was under negotiation, whereby Mary undertook to abandon the use of the style of queen of England and Ireland; but Mary refused in the end to ratify it, on the ground that Elizabeth was supporting the Scottish insurgents.

Francis, a weak and sickly prince, died at this time, leaving Mary a widow at the age of eighteen. By this event, the near connexion between France and Scotland was dissolved, and Mary persuaded herself that she might assume without molestation the government of her native kingdom. Such, however, was not the

design of the English ministry. They were aware that she might marry a second time, and that with a new husband her former pretensions might revive, a contingency against which it was their duty to provide. With this view a resolution was taken to prevent, or at least to retard, the return of Mary Stuart to Scotland. But having spent the winter among her maternal relatives in Lorraine, she sailed from Calais with two galleys and four transports accompanied by three of her uncles and many French and Scottish noblemen. On the fourth day, Mary approached the land of her fathers with mingled emotions of hope and apprehension. To disappoint the machinations of her enemies, she had arrived a fortnight before the appointed time. No preparations were made for her reception, but the whole population, nobles, clergy, and people, poured to Leith to testify their allegiance to their young and beautiful sovereign. Her fears were dispelled: with a glad and lightsome heart she entered the capital amidst the shouts and congratulations of her subjects.

We may here call the attention of the reader to the private history of Elizabeth in the commencement of her reign. There were many, both among foreign princes and native subjects, whose vanity or ambition aspired to the honour of marrying the queen of England. Of Elizabeth's suitors. Of foreign princes the first was Philip of Spain; but as, for many reasons, she would not entertain his suit, he turned his eyes towards Isabella of France, by whom his offer was accepted. The place of Philip was supplied by his cousin Charles of Austria, son to the emperor Ferdinand; but difficulties connected with religion interfered with this alliance: and John, duke of Finland, next solicited the hand of the queen for his brother, Eric, king of Sweden. He was received with royal honours, and flattered with delusive hopes, but his suit made no better progress than those of his predecessors.

The next suitor was Adolphus, duke of Holstein. The prince was young and handsome. On his arrival he was received with honour, and treated with peculiar kindness. He loved and was beloved. The queen made him knight of the Garter; she granted him a pension for life; still she could not be induced to take him for her husband. The earl of Arran next aspired to Elizabeth's hand. During the war of the Reformation he had displayed courage and constancy. To the deputies of the Scottish convention, who urged his suit, Elizabeth, with her usual affectation, replied, that she was content with her maiden state, and that God had given her no inclination for marriage. Yet the sudden

departure of the ambassadors deeply offended her pride. She complained that while kings and princes persevered for months and years in their suit, the Scots did not deign to urge their requests a second time.

The man who made the deepest and most lasting impression on Elizabeth's heart was the lord Robert Dudley, who had been attainted with his father, the duke of Northumberland, for the attempt to remove Elizabeth as well as Mary from the succession. He had, however, been restored in blood, and frequently employed by the late queen; under the present he met with rapid preferment, was appointed master of the horse, and soon afterwards, to the surprise of the public, installed knight of the Garter. The queen and Dudley became inseparable companions. Scandalous reports were whispered and believed at home, and in foreign courts. Dudley had married Amy, the daughter and heiress of sir John Robsart; but that lady was not permitted to appear at court. Her sudden death provoked the injurious suspicion that his impatience of waiting had prompted him to make away with his wife. It was believed that the queen at this period solemnly pledged her word to Dudley; and even a lady of the bed-chamber was named as witness to the contract.

Early in 1562 religious rancour had caused the flames of war to burst out in every province of France. Each party displayed a most ferocious spirit, and the most inhuman atrocities were daily perpetrated by men who professed to serve under the banners of religion and for the honour of the Almighty.

Civil and religious war in France; Elizabeth aids the insurgents, 1562.

The French calvinists solicited aid from Elizabeth. But when her parsimony shrunk from the largeness of their demands, Cecil alarmed her into compliance by representing to her that the ruin of Condé, the leader of the protestant party, would infallibly be followed by her own deposition. A treaty was, therefore, formally concluded between Elizabeth (although she was the ally of Charles IX.) and the prince of Condé, a subject in arms against that sovereign. She engaged to advance money and to land an army on the coast of Normandy, and Condé was to surrender into her hands the town of Havre de Grace, to be detained by her as a security, not only for the repayment of the money, but also for the restoration of Calais.

The English fleet sailed to the coast of Normandy; Havre and Dieppe were delivered to the queen; and the new earl of Warwick, the brother of the lord Robert Dudley, was appointed commander-

in-chief of the English army in France. Fired with resentment, the French nobility hastened to the royal army from every province; and to animate their exertions, Charles, the queen regent, and the king of Navarre repaired to the camp before Rouen. The city was taken by assault, and abandoned, during eight days, to the fury of a victorious soldiery. Elizabeth sent reinforcements to the earl of Warwick, commissioned count Oldenburgh to levy twelve thousand men in Germany, and ordered public prayers during three days to implore the blessing of Heaven upon her cause, and that of the Gospel. She soon afterwards obtained a grant from parliament to aid in carrying on the war in France.

An act highly penal against the professors of the ancient faith was passed in this year. By the law, as it already stood, no heir holding of the crown could get possession of his lands, no individual could obtain preferment in the church, or accept office under the crown, or become member of either university, unless he had previously taken the oath of supremacy, which was deemed equivalent to a renunciation of the catholic faith. The new act extended to many others the obligation of taking the oath, and made the first refusal an offence punishable by *perpetuam*, the second by death, as in cases of treason. It is manifest that if this barbarous statute had been strictly carried into execution, the scaffolds in every part of the kingdom would have been drenched with the blood of the sufferers; but the queen was appalled at the prospect before her, and she admonished the bishops, who had been appointed to administer the oath, to proceed with lenity and caution.

When the convocation assembled, matters were submitted to its deliberations of the highest importance to the new church; viz.: an adequate provision for the lower order of the clergy, a new code of ecclesiastical discipline, and the promulgation of a national creed to be considered by protestants the future standard of English orthodoxy. The Thirty-nine Articles, as they now exist, were drawn up at this period, and ratified by the queen, with the addition of a portion of Article XX.; and from this year may be dated the legal establishment of the church of England.

The hope of recovering Calais, was one of the chief baits by which the queen had been drawn into the war between the French huguenots and their sovereign. Her ministers had predicted the

restoration of that important place; the prince of Condé had promised to support her demand with his whole power; and the admiral, Coligny, confirmed the engagement made by the prince. It was soon seen how little reliance could be placed upon men who fought only for their own emolument. The duke of Guise was assassinated. Condé aspired to the high station in the government to which he was entitled as first prince of the blood; and the catholics feared that the English, with the aid of Coligny, might make important conquests in Normandy. The leaders on both sides, anxious for an accommodation, met, were reconciled, and subscribed a treaty of peace, by which the French protestants promised their services to the king, as true and loyal subjects, and obtained in return an amnesty for the past, and the public exercise of their religion for the future.

Pacification
of parties in
France;
Elizabeth
abandoned
by the
huguenots.
Havre sur-
rendered, and
a disgraceful
peace con-
cluded, 1564.

Elizabeth received the intelligence with surprise and anger. In her public declarations, she had hitherto professed to hold the town of Havre in trust for the king of France; but now, when he required her to withdraw her forces, she replied that she would continue to hold it as a security for the restoration of Calais. She continued inexorable, till she saw that both parties, the huguenots as well as the catholics, had determined to unite and expel the English troops from the soil of France. Siege was laid to Havre, which in a few days surrendered. The queen was now doomed to pay the penalty of her bad faith. Conferences were held with a view to peace, but with respect to Calais both parties were silent. It was plain, from the treaty of Cateau, that Elizabeth had forfeited her claim to the recovery of the place, by landing a hostile army in France. In the end Elizabeth had to submit to the loss of both Calais and Havre, and to be content to receive one fourth of her original monetary demands.

Here we may return to the transactions between the English and Scottish queens. When Mary took possession of her paternal throne, she was aware that from France, distracted as it was by civil and religious dissension, she could derive no support; and therefore had determined, with the advice of her uncles, to subdue by conciliation if it were possible, the hostility of her former opponents. The lord James her illegitimate brother, and Maitland the apostate secretary, both high in the confidence of the "Congregationists," or protestant party, and both pensioners of the English queen, were appointed her principal ministers; the

Subjects of
dissension
between
Elizabeth
and Mary.

friendship of Elizabeth was sought by compliments and professions of attachment ; and an epistolary correspondence was established between the two queens.

In a few months, the jealousy or policy of Elizabeth was called into action by a communication from Mary, stating that she had received a proposal of marriage from the arch-duke Charles of Austria. The announcement put to the test all the ingenuity of Cecil. To prevent the match he devised two plans, which were instantly carried into effect. By the first Elizabeth was again brought forward as a rival to Mary. Cecil applied to the duke of Wurtemberg : and that prince, as if of himself, solicited the emperor to make a second offer of his son to the English queen. But Ferdinand replied, that he had once been duped by the selfish and insincere policy of Elizabeth, and that he would not expose himself to similar treatment a second time. The other plan was to induce Mary, by threats and promises, to refuse the archduke. Elizabeth proposed that Mary should marry Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester : but she refused, as Elizabeth evidently expected. In a short time the lord Darnley was set up as a rival to Dudley. Darnley was the eldest son of the countess of Lennox ; and it was represented to Mary that a marriage with him could not be degrading, since he was sprung by his father from the kings of Scotland, by his mother from those of England. Mary appeared to listen to this proposal with a willing ear ; and the intelligence was immediately conveyed to Elizabeth. The matter hung in suspense till Elizabeth, to the surprise of most men, though she had at first refused, allowed Darnley to proceed to the Scottish court with letters of recommendation. Mary accepted Darnley, but strange to say, this announcement irritated the English queen ; and a letter was forwarded to Mary, describing the inconveniences and impolicy of the marriage. Mary said that she had pledged her word, but would defer the ceremony for three months.

Elizabeth then sent agents to excite rebellion in Scotland. Mary summoned the Scottish nobles to meet her at Perth ; Murray and his friends refused to obey. She received secret advice that it was the intention of the discontented lords to make her their prisoner with Lennox and Darnley ; but she defeated their object. Mary now, to free herself from the state of uncertainty in which she had so long lived, privately married Darnley, on July 9, 1565.

Both parties soon began to prepare for the approaching struggle. The lords met at Stirling, and subscribed a bond to stand by each other ; a messenger was despatched the next day to Elizabeth, to solicit speed and effectual aid. Mary immediately acknowledged

her choice of Darnley. She ordered the banns to be published, created him duke of Albany, and was married openly to him in the chapel of Holyrood House, by the bishop of Brechin. Proclamation was made that he should be styled king during the time of their marriage, and that all writs should run in the joint names of Henry and Mary, king and queen of Scotland.

The associated lords receiving no aid from England, were unable to withstand the superior forces of the royalists, and the rebel forces soon disbanded.

Elizabeth was now actively employed in seeking a husband for herself. From whatever cause her former repugnance had sprung, it was at length subdued by the danger from the claim of the Scottish queen, if that princess should have issue while she herself remained childless. But she found it more easy to determine to marry, than to fix on the choice of a husband, and so she still remained single, after protracting negotiations during three years, with a view to reopening the courtship of a former suitor, the archduke Charles.

The history of the English is so interwoven with that of the Scottish queen, that it will again be necessary to revert to the extraordinary events, which took place in the neighbouring kingdom. Mary, in the ardour of her affection, had overlooked the defects in the character of Darnley. He had contracted habits of inebriety, which led him occasionally into the most scandalous excesses, and made him forget, even in public, the respect due to his consort. But his ambition proved to her a source of more bitter disquietude. She had summoned a parliament for the twofold purpose of attainting the most guilty of the fugitive rebels, and of granting liberty of conscience for those among her subjects who, like herself, professed the ancient faith. Darnley insisted that a matrimonial crown should be granted to himself, but Mary refused; and the discontented prince directed his resentment against those whom he supposed to be her advisers, and particularly against David Riccio, one of her secretaries, a native of Piedmont, who had come to Scotland in the suite of the ambassador of Savoy.

Many of the Scotch viewed Riccio with hostility. He was a stranger and a catholic; two qualities calculated to excite the jealousy both of the courtiers and of the preachers. Maitland, observing the discontent of the king, suggested to him that Mary had transferred her affections to Riccio; and that the refusal of the matrimonial crown had proceeded from the advice of that minion. On March

**Murder of
Riccio.**

9, 1566, armed men took possession of the gates of Holyrood palace. Mary, who was indisposed, was at the time seated at supper with her brother and sister. Riccio, and others of the household, were in attendance. Suddenly the king entered by a private staircase, followed by Ruthven and others, armed. Mary, alarmed at the sight of Ruthven, commanded him to quit the room, under the penalty of treason; but he replied that his errand was with David; the unfortunate secretary, sprung for protection behind his sovereign; but the assassins, dragging their victim through the bed-chamber, despatched him in the adjoining room. The following morning, the chiefs of the conspirators sat in secret consultation; and it was resolved to confine the queen in the castle of Stirling till she should consent to approve in parliament of the late proceedings, and to give to her husband the crown matrimonial.

Mary had passed the first night and day in fits and lamentations. She felt some relief from the kind expressions of her brother, the earl of Murray; and was no sooner left alone with her husband than she resumed her former ascendancy, and convinced him of the impropriety of his conduct. They both secretly left the palace, and reached in safety the castle of Dunbar. The royal standard was immediately unfurled; before the end of the week eight thousand faithful subjects had hastened to the aid of Mary; and as she approached Edinburgh, the murderers fled to Berwick. The English queen had been informed of the object of the conspiracy; but when she heard of the result she sent her congratulations to Mary, and at her request commanded the assassins to leave the kingdom. But the messenger was instructed to remark that they had nothing to fear if they did not provoke enquiry.

Mary took up her residence in the castle of Edinburgh, and on June 19, 1566, was delivered of a son. This child lived to ascend the thrones of both kingdoms. Elizabeth was dancing at Greenwich when Cecil whispered the intelligence in her ear. She instantly retired to her chair, reclined her head on her hand, and appeared for some time absorbed in profound thought. By the next morning her feelings were subdued, and she expressed her satisfaction at the happy event.

Elizabeth soon summoned a parliament. The lords of the council requested to be informed of her sentiments respecting marriage and the succession. She heard them with impatience, and told them to go and perform their duties, and that she would

Birth of
James VI. of
Scotland (I.
of England),
1566.

perform hers. But Elizabeth's obstinacy as regards marrying, and her fixed resolution to keep the right of succession undecided, was productive of one advantage to the nation ; it put an end to that tame submission to the will of the sovereign, which had characterised and disgraced the parliaments under the dynasty of the Tudors. Elizabeth and her parliament.

The discontent of the nation burst forth in defiance of every restraint imposed by the government ; and the motives and obligations of the queen were discussed with a freedom of speech, which alarmed the court, and scandalised the advocates of arbitrary power.

As soon as the motion for a supply was made in the lower house, it was opposed on the ground that the queen had not redeemed the pledge on the faith of which the last grant had been voted ; she had neither married nor declared her successor. Elizabeth sent them an order to proceed to other matters. They maintained that the royal message was an infringement of their liberties ; she repeated the command. They obeyed with reluctance ; but still allowed the bill for the subsidy, which had been read only once, to lie unnoticed on the table. The queen, after the pause of a fortnight, promised to consider the subject. The public business proceeded ; and the supply was granted.

In Scotland, the murder of Riccio disappointed the hopes of Darnley. Instead of obtaining the matrimonial crown, and with it the sovereign authority, he found himself an object of scorn and aversion. He therefore formed the design of leaving the kingdom. Mary led him before the council, and, holding him by the hand, conjured him to detail his complaints, and not to spare her if she were the cause of offence. In his answer, he exonerated her from all blame ; but on every other point was sullen and reserved. Murder of Darnley, 1567.

Mary was seized with a dangerous fever in October, 1566, and thinking herself dying, recommended, by letter, her son to the protection of the king of France and of the queen of England. Sending for the principal lords, she exhorted them to live in harmony with each other, required them to watch with care over the education of the young prince, and solicited, as a last favour, liberty of conscience for their countrymen who professed the catholic faith, the faith in which she had been bred and in which it was her determination to die. Her symptoms were soon however more favourable ; she began to recover slowly ; and the king, who had been sent for at the beginning of her illness, at length paid her a visit ; but no advance was made towards a

reconciliation. Mary was advised by some of the nobles to seek for a divorce, but she did not consent, and the lords formed a scheme of assassination. The earl Bothwell took upon himself to perpetrate the crime, and the others to save him from the consequences.

It chanced that at this time the small-pox was prevalent in Glasgow, and that Darnley took the infection. When the news reached Edinburgh, Mary sent her own physician to her husband, with a message that she would shortly visit him herself. This promise she fulfilled; their affection seemed to revive; and they mutually promised to forget all former causes of offence. From Glasgow, as soon as he was able to remove, she returned with him to Edinburgh, and, probably, to preserve the young prince from infection, lodged him, not in Holyrood House but in a house without the walls, belonging to the provost of St. Mary's, generally called "the Kirk of Field." Here it was that the conspirators prepared to execute their plan. By a door in the city wall their agents obtained access to the cellar of the house, undermined the foundations in several parts, and placed a sufficient quantity of gunpowder under the angles of the building. The queen visited her husband daily, gave him repeated testimonies of her affection, and frequently slept in the room under his bed-chamber. She had promised to be present at a ball to be given on the 9th of February, 1567, in honour of the marriage of two of her servants; and the certainty of her absence on that night induced the conspirators to select it for the execution of the plot. On that day, Mary went as usual to the Kirk of Field, with a numerous retinue, remained in Darnley's company from six till almost eleven o'clock, and at her departure kissed him, and taking a ring from her finger, placed it on his. She then returned by the light of torches to Holyrood House; on the termination of the ball, a little after twelve, she retired to her chamber; and about two the palace and city were shaken by a tremendous explosion. It was soon ascertained that the house of Kirk of Field had been blown up with gunpowder; that the dead bodies of the king and his page were lying uninjured in the garden; and that some men had perished among the ruins. This tragical event has given birth to the controversy, whether Mary was or was not privy and consenting to the death of her husband. It is acknowledged by all, that the queen acted, at first, as an innocent woman would have acted. She lamented the fate of her husband, to whom she had been so lately reconciled. She expressed her suspicion, that it had been intended to involve her in the same destruction; and she repeatedly

announced her resolution, to take ample vengeance on the authors of the crime.

Judicial enquiries were instituted, and a proclamation was issued, offering rewards in money and land, for the discovery and apprehension of the murderers, with a full pardon to any one of the party who would accuse his accomplices. The same noblemen, however, continued to attend the royal person. Darnley's father, Lennox, expressed his suspicion of Bothwell's guilt, and that nobleman demanded a trial. His request being granted, he proceeded to the Tolbooth, surrounded by two hundred soldiers and four thousand gentlemen. As no prosecutor appeared, the jury having heard the indictment, and evidence to show that Bothwell could not have been at the Kirk of Field at the time of the explosion, returned a verdict of acquittal.

On the 24th April, Mary rode to Stirling, to visit her infant son, whom, for greater security, she had lately entrusted to the custody of the earl of Mar. On her return, she was met by Bothwell at the head of one thousand horse, half a mile from the castle of Edinburgh. To resist would have been fruitless; and the queen, with her attendants, the earl of Huntley, Maitland, and Melville, was conducted to the castle of Dunbar. There she remained a captive for the space of ten days: nor was she suffered to depart till she had consented to become the wife of Bothwell. He then left the fortress; but it was to conduct the captive queen from one prison to another, from the castle of Dunbar to that of Edinburgh. Here she pleaded for time, that she might obtain the consent of the king of France, and of her relations of the house of Guise. But his ambition was too impatient to run the hazard of delay. The only remaining obstacle, his existing marriage with Janet Gordon, sister to the earl of Huntley, was in a few days removed by a divorce. Exactly one month after his trial, Bothwell led the queen to the court of session, where, in the presence of the judges, she forgave the forcible abduction of her person, and declared that he had restored her to the full enjoyment of liberty; the next day she created him duke of Orkney, and was married to him.

Several noblemen entered into a confederacy against Bothwell and openly charged him with the murder of Darnley, the treasonable seizure and marriage of the queen, and an intention of gaining possession of the young prince that he might murder him. In four days Bothwell ventured, with his friends, to meet the more numerous and well-appointed force of his enemies on Carberry Hill, at no great distance from Edinburgh. The queen offered

a full pardon to the confederates, on condition that they should disband their forces; they required of her to come over to the nobility, and leave Bothwell to suffer the punishment of his crime. At length it was agreed that he should retire without molestation; that the queen should return to her capital, and that the associated lords should pay to her that honour and obedience which was due to the sovereign. The agreement was mutually ratified, and the army returned towards Edinburgh. An hour had not

**Mary im-
prisoned at
Lochleven.**

elapsed before Mary learned that she was a captive in the hands of unfeeling adversaries. At her entrance into the city, she was met by a mob in the highest state of excitement, and her ears were assailed with reproaches and imprecations. The next day she was conveyed by a body of four hundred armed men out of the capital to the castle of Lochleven.

Elizabeth had been informed of this extraordinary revolution by an envoy from the insurgents, whom she received with the strongest expressions of displeasure. The insult offered to the Scottish queen was, she contended, common to every crowned head; it resulted from the doctrines of Knox, which she had so often condemned; it required severe and immediate punishment, that subjects might learn to restrain their unhallowed hands from the anointed persons of their sovereigns. Soon afterwards she sent an ambassador to Scotland to negotiate in Mary's favour.

The queen of Scots was called upon to resign the crown in favour of her son; and, when she had yielded to the threat of force, the royal infant was crowned in the High Church in Stirling, and Murray was appointed regent.

**Mary resigns
her crown,
July, 1567.**

Bothwell had been suffered to retire without molestation from Carberry Hill to his castle of Dunbar. Some days later he traversed the west and north of Scotland to consult with the friends of Mary, by whom it was resolved that Bothwell should proceed through Denmark to France, and solicit the advice and aid of the French monarch. The earl put to sea, but a sudden storm cast him on the coast of Norway, where he was detained a prisoner.

In June, a silver casket, which Mary had inherited from her first husband Francis, and which she is said to have given to Bothwell, came into the possession of the earl Morton. In it, if we may believe him, were found several papers in the handwriting of the queen, which proved her to have been an accomplice in Bothwell's crime. A resolution was taken in the following winter to accuse Mary of adultery and murder; and an act was passed declaring these charges true.

The Scottish queen was still confined in the towers of Lochlevin, under the jealous eye of the lady Douglas, mother to the regent. It was in vain that, to recover her liberty, she made repeated offers to her brother and the council. They had resolved that she should never leave her prison alive. But she possessed resources beyond the control of her enemies; and her beauty, her manner, and her misfortunes won for her an invaluable partisan in George Douglas, the brother of the regent. He introduced a laundress at an early hour into the bedchamber of Mary, who exchanged clothes with the woman, and, carrying out a basket of linen, took her seat in the boat. She had almost reached the opposite bank, when, to secure her muffler from the rudeness of one of the rowers, she raised her arm to her face, and a voice immediately exclaimed, "That is not the hand of a washerwoman." She was recognised, and conveyed back to Lochlevin. Five weeks afterwards she succeeded in escaping, and rode in safety to the castle of Hamilton, where she revoked the resignation of the crown she made in her prison at Lochlevin. At this intelligence, the royalists crowded round their sovereign. To her brother the regent, she made repeated offers of settling every cause of dissension in a free parliament; but without success. On May 13th, 1568, Mary was on her road to the castle of Dumbarton, when Murray, with a small but disciplined force, appeared on an eminence called Langside. At the sight, her followers rode in confusion to charge the rebels, but were repulsed. From the field of battle, the disconsolate queen rode to the abbey of Dundrennan, in Galloway, a distance of sixty Scottish miles, in the course of the same day. Her adversaries followed in every direction; but she eluded their pursuit, resumed her flight the next evening, and on the following morning, after a hasty repast, expressed her determination to seek an asylum in the court of "her good sister" the queen of England. Her best friends remonstrated; and the archbishop of St. Andrew's conjured her on his knees to change her resolution; but Mary, crossing the Solway Firth in a fishing-boat, landed with twelve attendants in the harbour of Workington, and proceeded to Carlisle.

Elizabeth had publicly professed herself the friend of the Scottish queen; but, on the other hand, her ministers were intimately leagued with the enemies of that princess, and Mary's unexpected arrival in England opened new prospects to Cecil and his confidential friends in the council. They rejoiced that

Mary attempts to escape, but is foiled.

Mary succeeds in escaping, and flees into England.

the prey, which they had hunted for years, had at last voluntarily thrown herself into the toils ; but they were perplexed to reconcile

**Plans of the
English
cabinet.**

their designs against the royal fugitive with the appearance of decency and justice. After repeated consultations, it was concluded that to detain her in captivity for life would be the most conducive both to the security of their sovereign and to the interests of their religion. The accomplishment of this object was entrusted to the dark and intriguing mind of Cecil. Mary was at first assured that Elizabeth would vindicate the common cause of sovereigns, and reinstate her in her former authority. Next it was intimated to her that the English queen had determined to essay the influence of advice, before she would have recourse to arms ; lastly, a hint was given that it was desirable that the Scottish queen should clear herself from the crimes with which she had been charged. Mary, immediately after her arrival, had demanded permission to visit Elizabeth, that she might lay before her the wrongs which she had suffered, and explain to her the deceit, the calumnies, and the crimes of her adversaries. But a personal interview might have proved dangerous, not only to Murray and his party but to their friends in the English cabinet. Cecil suggested to his mistress, that, as a maiden queen, she could not in decency admit into her presence a woman charged with adultery and murder, and proposed that first Mary should be called on to disprove the accusations of her opponents before a board of English commissioners. Mary, however, refused to submit to a trial, as she knew the court would be hostile, and requested permission to return again into Scotland, or to pass through England to France. The demand was reasonable—but it was refused. Mary then demanded to be allowed permission to prove her innocence in the presence of “her good sister,” as her friend, but not as her judge. After long consultation, it was resolved that Mary should not be received at court till her innocence had been fully established ; that her request to leave the kingdom should not be granted ; and that she should be transferred from Carlisle to Bolton Castle. Cecil suggested an expedient which served his purpose as well as a trial of Mary—an investigation, not into her conduct, but into that of her enemies. Mary assented to this expedient. Murray dared not refuse ; and the place of conference was fixed in York, which city became the scene of active and intricate negotiations. The proceedings were afterwards transferred to London. After much intrigue on the part of Elizabeth and Cecil, it was resolved to put an end to the conferences.

Murray and his associates were first licensed to depart, with a declaration that, as nothing had been proved against them to impair their honour, so *they* had shown no sufficient cause why Elizabeth "should conceive or take any evil opinion against the queen her good sister." The victory in argument was undoubtedly Mary's. It was claimed by her friends; and it appears to have been acknowledged by the chief of the English nobility, who had witnessed the whole of the proceedings.

The Scottish queen was removed to Tutbury, Elizabeth having resolved to imprison her in the heart of the kingdom, under the care of the earl of Shrewsbury. The foreign powers complained of such treatment of a crowned head; but, in answer to their remonstrances, Elizabeth boasted of her indulgence to Mary, in putting an end to the investigation, and suppressing documents which would otherwise render her the execration of her contemporaries, and immortalise her infamy with posterity.

Many intrigues were now set on foot with a view to procuring Mary's divorce from Bothwell, and her marriage with some English nobleman, preferably the duke of Norfolk. But every plan failed, and Norfolk was finally sent to the Tower, in October, 1569, for his presumption in treating with a foreign princess on such a subject.

The Scottish queen had many friends in England. To men of generous feelings, the spectacle of a young, a beautiful and accomplished princess, drawn within the borders by the promises, and then imprisoned by the jealousy of a female relative, could not fail to dispose them to favour her cause. During the summer she received many offers of service, which she refused, through the cautious advice of the duke of Norfolk. But the disgrace of that nobleman extinguished her hopes, and she despatched secret messages to the earl of Westmoreland and others, beseeching them to liberate her from the power of her enemies.

**The North-
ern Rising,
1569.
Conspiracy
to liberate
Mary.**

In November, 1569, an insurrection took place in the northern counties. The object of the insurgents was to march to Tutbury, to liberate the queen of Scots, and to extort from Elizabeth a declaration that Mary was next heir to the throne. The first act of hostility was the occupation of the city of Durham. Thence the insurgents marched forward, issuing proclamations, calling on the people for aid, and restoring the ancient service in several places. Their standard, representing the Saviour, was borne by Richard Norton, an aged gentleman, whose grey locks and

enthusiastic air aroused the feelings and commanded the respect of the beholders. They proceeded as far as Bramham Moor without opposition. But here dissension insinuated itself into their counsels. Their money was already expended, and all their expectations had been disappointed. Under these circumstances they resolved to despatch messengers into different counties, to solicit aid from the noblemen and gentlemen distinguished by their attachment to the ancient faith, or known to abet the cause of the queen of Scots. Elizabeth had recourse to the most energetic measures; and having succeeded in quelling the insurrection, she caused a large number of the insurgents to be executed.

The regent Murray was assassinated at this time in Scotland; and Lennox, the grandfather of the young king, was, at Elizabeth's recommendation, raised to the regency.

In 1570, a bull was published, in which Pius V. pronounced Elizabeth guilty of heresy, deprived her of her "pretended" right to the crown of England, and absolved her English subjects from their allegiance. Several copies were sent to the Spanish ambassador in England. Early one morning a copy was seen affixed to the gates of the bishop of London's residence in the capital. The council was surprised and irritated; a rigorous search was made through the Inns of law; and another copy of the bull was found in the chamber of a student of Lincoln's Inn, who acknowledged, on the rack, that he had received it from a person of the name of Felton. Felton on his arrest, boldly confessed that he had set up the bull, and suffered the death of a traitor, glorying in the deed, and proclaiming himself a martyr to the papal supremacy. By foreign powers the bull was suffered to sleep in silence; among the English catholics, it served only to breed doubts, dissension, and dismay. Many contended that it had been issued by incompetent authority; others that it could not bind the natives, till it should be carried into actual execution by some foreign power; all agreed that it was in their regard an imprudent and cruel expedient, which rendered them liable to the suspicion of disloyalty, and afforded their enemies a pretence to brand them with the name of traitors. To Elizabeth, however, though she affected to ridicule the sentence, it proved a source of considerable uneasiness and alarm. She persuaded herself that it was connected with some plan of foreign invasion, and domestic treason, and she even requested the emperor Maximilian to procure its revocation,

**Excommuni-
cation of
Elizabeth.**

France having again become the scene of war, Elizabeth's ministers practised their usual policy. In secret they aided the protestant party; publicly they maintained relations of amity with the catholics. After some years the war in France ceased, but Elizabeth's interference in French affairs was not forgotten, and she could have no reason to complain, if, after what had passed, the French and Spanish kings should convert her own policy against herself.

More than two years had elapsed since the arrival of Mary in England, and she was still a captive, but by the counsellors of Elizabeth this arbitrary measure was justified on the ground of expediency. They saw that her right to the succession was generally admitted. Should she survive their mistress, they could anticipate nothing but dangers to themselves from her resentment, and danger to the reformed church from her attachment to the ancient worship. Her death was strongly and repeatedly urged during several years by some of the council. If it was rejected by Elizabeth, her repugnance arose less from motives of humanity than of decency. She was willing that Mary should perish, but was ashamed to imbrue her own hands in the blood of a sister queen. Hence she offered to transfer the royal captive to the hands of the Scottish regent, provided he would give security that she should be removed out of the way; and hence the earl of Shrewsbury, who had the custody of Mary, was made to engage that she should be put to death on the very first attempt to rescue her.

Consultations about Mary Stuart.

In the autumn of 1570, the solicitations of Mary, the attempts of her friends in England, and the remonstrances of the French and Spanish monarchs, extorted from Elizabeth a promise to fix the conditions on which her captive might at last be restored to liberty. For this purpose, Cecil repaired to Chatsworth, where the Scottish queen was then confined. The negotiations, however, were soon broken off.

It had for some time been a favourite object with the leaders of the huguenots to bring about a marriage between the English queen and the duke of Anjou, the eldest of the two brothers of Charles IX. Elizabeth gave permission to those who wished to proceed with this plan. But on the part of the royal family in France, Catherine de Medicis, the queen-mother, received the proposal very coldly. Repeated messages induced her at last to view the matter in a more favourable light; but Anjou sent her word by the king, his brother, that he could not think of disgracing himself

Renewed negotiations for Elizabeth's marriage.

by taking for his wife a woman who had no regard for her own honour. More than a fortnight passed before she could extort from her son his assent. Elizabeth sent her portrait as a present to the French prince, and received at last a proposal of marriage in due form from Anjou himself.

Several new enactments were at this time proposed, having
Penal enact- for their chief object to check the boldness of the
ments on partisans of Mary, and to cut off the communication
religious between the English catholics and the court of
subjects. Rome.

Bills passed the two houses and received the royal assent, whereby it was made treason to claim a right to the crown during the queen's life; or to assert that it belonged to any other person than the queen; or to publish that she was a heretic or schismatic; or to deny that the descent and inheritance of the crown was determinable by the statutes made in parliament. The penalties of treason were enacted against all persons who should sue for, obtain, or publish any bull, writing, or instrument from the bishop of Rome, or absolve or be absolved in virtue of such bulls or writings; and the penalties of premunire against their aiders and abettors, and all others who should introduce, or receive agnus Dei, crosses, pictures or beads blessed by the bishop of Rome, or others deriving authority from him. All individuals above a certain age were compelled to attend the established service; and all who had left or who should leave the realm either with or without licence, were ordered to return within a fixed period, under the penalty of forfeiting their goods and chattels and the profits of their lands during life to the use of the queen. These enactments diffused the most serious alarm through the whole body of the catholics. It was evident that the ministers sought the total extinction of the ancient faith.

But in addition to the catholics, there was another class of religionists, that gave the queen perpetual cause of disquietude. These were the puritans, men who had imbibed the opinions of Calvin, and urged the queen to a further reformation. While they approved of much that had been done, they also complained that many things had been left untouched, to which they could not accommodate their consciences. It is pretty evident that the queen herself had formed no settled notions of religion. Policy had induced her to adopt the reformed creed: policy equally taught her to repress the zeal or the fanaticism of these ultra-reformers. By the assumption of the supremacy, it had become the duty of Elizabeth to watch over doctrine, discipline, and

public worship; and she therefore appointed delegates, whom she armed with the most formidable and inquisitorial powers. They were authorised to enquire, on the oath of the person accused, and on the oaths of witnesses, of all heretical, erroneous, and dangerous opinions; of absence from the established service, and the frequentation of private conventicles; and to punish the offenders by spiritual censures, by fine, imprisonment, and deprivation. The first victims who felt the vengeance of this tribunal, called the High Commission court, were the catholics; from the catholics its attention was soon directed to the puritans.

The proposal of marriage between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou, though entertained on each side, made but little progress. When almost every other article had been settled, the duke required the insertion of a clause securing to him the free exercise of his religion. This the queen was advised to refuse as contrary to law. He then required a promise to the same effect in her handwriting. The marriage was therefore broken off; but an international treaty was concluded to the satisfaction of the English cabinet.

In August, 1571, a conspiracy was discovered in which the duke of Norfolk was implicated. He was arrested and sent to the Tower. The depositions of his servants, and papers which had been discovered, were laid before him. He confessed that he had been made acquainted with several projects of discontented men

**Negotiation
of marriage
with Anjou,
1571-2.**

**Discontents
and conspiracy
at home.**

for the surprisal of the queen, or the deliverance of Mary Stuart; protesting, however, that the idea of injuring the person of the sovereign, or of subjugating the kingdom to a foreign prince, had never entered his mind. Norfolk was charged with the crime of imagining and compassing the death of his own sovereign: by seeking to marry the queen of Scots, who claimed the English crown to the exclusion of Elizabeth; by soliciting foreign powers to invade the realm; by sending money to the English rebels and the Scottish enemies of the queen. The duke maintained his innocence, but was found guilty; and five months after his condemnation, was led to the scaffold; in his speech to the spectators, in which he was repeatedly interrupted by the officers, he asserted his innocence of treason, and his profession of the reformed faith.

**Arrest and
execution of
the duke of
Norfolk,
1571.**

The death of the queen of Scots was next sought with equal obstinacy. Both houses resolved to proceed against her by bill of attainder; the queen forbade it; they disobeyed; and she

repeated the prohibition. Foiled in this attempt, the ministers adopted another course; they introduced a bill, which, by rendering Mary incapable of the succession, secured them from the danger of her resentment if she should survive the present sovereign. They were, however, opposed by a powerful but invisible counsellor, suspected, though not known, to be the earl of Leicester. The queen interdicted all reference to the inheritance of the crown; and seeing that, in defiance of the message, the bill had passed both houses, she prorogued the parliament.

The execution of the duke, and the proceedings in parliament, disheartened the friends of Mary in England, while, at the same time, her interest was rapidly declining in her native country, where Lennox, the regent, had exercised his authority with rigour. He was killed in 1572, and the earl of Mar was invested with the regency. His prudence and vigour rendered him formidable; Elizabeth declared openly her intention to support him with the whole power of her crown; and the avowed adherents of Mary dwindled away to a handful of brave and resolute men, who still kept for her the castle of Edinburgh, and a band of Highlanders, who maintained her cause in the mountains. The duke of Northumberland, one of her firmest friends, was executed without trial at this period.

Elizabeth was next advised to listen to a new proposal of marriage, not with her first suitor, the duke of Anjou, but with his younger brother, the duke of Alençon. The former was the leader of the catholic party; the latter was thought to incline to the tenets of protestantism. This arrangement was unexpectedly checked by an event which struck with astonishment all the nations of Europe, and which cannot be contemplated without horror at the present day. The young king of Navarre was at this time the nominal, the admiral Coligny the real, leader of the huguenots. He ruled among them as an independent sovereign; and, what chiefly alarmed his opponents, seemed to obtain gradually the ascendancy over the mind of Charles. He had come to Paris to assist at the marriage of the king of Navarre, and was wounded in two places by an assassin as he passed through the streets. The public voice attributed the attempt to the duke of Guise, in revenge of the murder of his father at the siege of Orleans; it had proceeded, in reality (and was so suspected by Coligny himself) from Catherine, the queen-mother. The wounds were not dangerous; but the huguenot chieftains crowded to his hotel;

**Attempts to
bring Mary
to the block.**

**Negotiation
of marriage
with Alen-
con, 1572.**

their threats of vengeance terrified the queen; and in a secret council the king was persuaded to anticipate the designs attributed to the friends of the admiral. The next morning (St. Bartholomew's day, 1572), by the royal order, the hotel was forced; Coligny and his principal counsellors perished; the populace joined in the work of blood; and every huguenot, or suspected huguenot, who fell in their way was murdered.

**Massacre of
protestants
in Paris.
St. Bartholo-
mew's day.
August 24,
1572.**

The news of this sanguinary transaction excited throughout England one general feeling of horror. It served to confirm in the minds of protestants, the reports of a catholic conspiracy for their destruction. Burghley again advised Elizabeth to put to death her rival, Mary. The queen did not reject the advice: but that she might escape the infamy of dipping her hands in the blood of her nearest relative and presumptive heir, a messenger was despatched to Edinburgh, ostensibly to compose some differences amongst the nobles; but, in reality, to bring about the death of the queen of Scots, from the hands of her own subjects. He was, however, warned not to commit his sovereign as if the proposal came from her. Mar, the regent, at first affected to look upon the project as attended with difficulty and peril; but afterwards entered into it most cordially, and sought to drive a profitable bargain with Elizabeth. He felt himself suddenly indisposed, and died after a short illness at Stirling (as his friends gave out, of poison), and was succeeded by Morton, a most determined enemy of Mary, and the tried friend of the English ministers.

The late massacre in France had caused many of the protestants to cross the eastern frontier into Germany and Switzerland; others, from the western coast, had sought an asylum in England; while the inhabitants of Poitou and the neighbouring provinces poured with their ministers into La Rochelle. The place, strong by nature, was still more strengthened by art. The enthusiasm of the townsmen taught them to despise the efforts of the besiegers under the duke of Anjou, while they counted on help from England. La Rochelle was eventually saved by the heroism of its inhabitants and the impatience of Anjou to take possession of the throne of Poland, to which he had been elected by the national diet.

**Siege of La
Rochelle,
1573.**

Charles IX. soon died of a pulmonary complaint. Catherine, whom he had appointed regent, preserved the crown for her second son, the king of Poland (afterwards Henry III.) but she was unable to prevent the factious proceedings of the malcontents in the provinces. Elizabeth offered herself as mediatrix between

the king of France and his revolted subjects; and a treaty was concluded, by which the public exercise of the protestant worship was permitted with a few restrictions.

But it is now time that the reader should cast his eyes across the northern frontier of France, and survey the convulsed state of the Netherlands. Elizabeth had some years before seized a few ships on their voyage from Spain to the Netherlands, with money destined for the pay of the army under the duke of Alva. The Spanish soldiers, thus left without pay, lived at free quarters on the inhabitants. The duke, to raise money, required the imposition of new taxes; and, on the refusal of the States, he published an edict, imposing them by his own authority as representative of the king. This arbitrary act, subversive of the most valuable rights of the nation, filled up, in the estimation of the Flemish people, the measure of their grievances. They rose, and many of the towns in Holland and Zeeland threw off the Spanish yoke. The prince of Orange assumed the government of Holland and Zeeland, and Elizabeth began to view his designs with jealousy and distrust, and entered into apparently more friendly relations with Spain, through its representative, Alva. The queen who had hitherto fomented, now laboured to compose the differences between Philip and his revolted subjects. A new governor of the Netherlands, John of Austria, was suspected of intending not so much the subjugation of the Netherlands as of England, and to espouse the cause of the queen of Scots. Elizabeth was beset with fears, which induced her again to espouse the cause of the insurgents, and a loan for their use was raised in London, and an alliance with them effected.

In 1579, the young duke of Anjou proposed for Elizabeth, and came over to England. Elizabeth was surprised and gratified; his youth, gaiety, and attention atoned for the scars with which the small-pox had furrowed his countenance; and, after a private courtship of a few days, he departed with the most flattering expectations of success. A preliminary treaty was concluded; but the marriage was broken off.

We should now call the attention of the reader to the state of Ireland. It was enacted, in 1560, by various statutes, that the Irish should be reformed after the model of the English church; but both the nobility and the people abhorred the change; and the new statutes were carried into execution in those places only where they could be enforced at the point of the bayonet. Among the aboriginal Irish,

England and
the Nether-
lands.

Further
negotiations
for marriage,
1579.

Affairs in
Ireland.

the man who chiefly excited the jealousy of the government was Shane O'Neil, the eldest son of the earl of Tyrone. Shane claimed the chieftainry of Ulster as his right, and the natives honoured and obeyed him as the O'Neil. Through the suggestion of the deputy Sussex, he consented to visit Elizabeth, and to lay his pretensions before her. At the English court he appeared in the dress of his country, attended by his guard, who were armed with their battle-axes, and arrayed in linen vests dyed with saffron. The queen was pleased, and, though she did not confirm his claim, dismissed him with promises of favour. He was of a turbulent but generous disposition, proud of his name and importance, and most feelingly alive to every species of insult. At last he broke—perhaps was driven—into acts of open rebellion; repeated losses compelled him to seek refuge among the Scots of Ulster; and the Irish chieftain was basely assassinated by his new friends, at the instigation of Piers, an English officer. By act of parliament, 1569, the name, with the dignity of O'Neil, was extinguished for ever, and to assume it was made high treason.

But the reduction of Ulster did not secure peace in Ireland, which was harassed continually with local wars. A new plan was tried in 1572, viz. to colonise the forfeited districts with English settlers, who, having an interest in the soil, would be willing to oppose the natives without expense to the crown. Walter Devereux, earl of Essex, offered to subdue and colonise a district in the province of Ulster. The enterprise was soon abandoned; and the earl consented to aid the deputy in suppressing the insurgents in different parts of the island. He died, however, at Dublin, in 1576. Many chieftains looked with distrust upon these plans of colonisation, and implored the aid of the catholic powers for the preservation of their property and of their religion. Gregory XIII. lent a willing ear to their solicitations, and he signed, though he did not publish, a new bull by which Elizabeth was declared to have forfeited the crown of Ireland no less than that of England. Among those who offered to carry it into execution were Thomas Stukely, an English adventurer without honour or conscience, and James Fitzmaurice, an Irishman, the brother of the earl of Desmond. Stukely obtained from the pope ships and soldiers, but never reached Ireland: Fitzmaurice, after suffering shipwreck on the Spanish coast, by the aid of the papal ambassador, procured other vessels, and with a few soldiers took possession of the port of Smerwick, near Kerry, in 1579. He was accompanied by the celebrated Dr. Sanders in the capacity of papal legate. The Irish listened with coldness to his solicitations; Fitzmaurice fell in a

private quarrel: but just when the fortunes of the invaders appeared desperate, San Giuseppe, an Italian officer in the pay of the pontiff, arrived at Smerwick, in Kerry, from Portugal, in 1580, with several hundred men. But the new-comers had scarcely erected a fort, when they were besieged by the lord deputy on land, and blockaded on the sea side by admiral Winter. San Giuseppe, in opposition to the advice of the officers, proposed to surrender. Sir Walter Raleigh entered the fort, received their arms, and then ordered or permitted them to be massacred in cold blood. This disastrous event extinguished the last hope of Desmond (then the principal Irish chieftain); yet he contrived to elude the vigilance of his pursuers, and for three years dragged on a miserable existence among the glens and forests, till at last a small party of his enemies discovered his retreat and killed him.

Elizabeth continued to persecute all her subjects who did not practise that religious worship which she practised. Every other form of service, whether it were that of Geneva or the mass, was strictly forbidden; and both the catholic and the puritan were made liable to the severest penalties if they presumed to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences. Some puritans died martyrs to their religious principles; but their sufferings bore no comparison with those of the catholics, of whom many sought with their families an asylum beyond the sea. Their lands and property were immediately seized by the crown, and given, or sold at low prices, to the followers of the court. Those who remained might be divided into two classes. Some, to escape the penalties, attended occasionally at the established service; but the greater number abstained from a worship which they disapproved, and were, in consequence, liable at any hour to be hurried before the court of High Commission, to be interrogated upon oath how often they had been at church, and when, or where, they had received the sacrament; and to be condemned, as recusants, to fines and imprisonment. Private houses were sometimes searched to discover priests or persons assisting at mass. It was expected that, in the course of a short time, the catholic priesthood, and with it the exercise of the catholic worship, would become extinct in the kingdom. But the foresight of William Allen, a clergyman of an ancient family in Lancashire, and formerly principal of St. Mary's Hall in Oxford, prevented this. To him it occurred that colleges might be opened abroad, in lieu of those which had been closed to the catholics at home. His plan was approved by his

friends; several foreign noblemen and ecclesiastical bodies offered their contributions; Allen established himself in the university of Douay, in the year 1568; and there English catholics proceeded to study theology, to receive orders, and then to return to England. Thus a constant succession was maintained; and in the course of the first five years Dr. Allen sent almost one hundred missionaries into the kingdom. But they were subjected to the utmost severity of the law. A priest named Cuthbert Mayne was charged with having obtained a bull from Rome, and that he denied the queen's supremacy, and said mass. Of these heinous offences no satisfactory evidence was offered; but the court informed the jury that, where proof could not be procured, strong presumption might supply its place, and a verdict of guilty having been returned, Mayne suffered with constancy the barbarous death of a traitor.

A more active search was now made after recusants; every jail in the kingdom numbered among its inmates prisoners for religion; and on one occasion no fewer than twenty catholics of family and fortune perished of an infectious disease in the castle of York. Nelson a priest, and Sherwood a layman, were drawn, hanged, and quartered for denying the queen's supremacy.

But the experience of ages has proved that such severities cannot damp the ardour of religious zeal. Missionaries poured into the kingdom. Gregory XIII. established an additional seminary in Rome. Robert Persons and Edward Campion, two Englishmen of distinguished merit and ability, who had enrolled themselves in the Society of Jesus, were sent by their superiors to England. Their arrival awakened the suspicion of the queen and of the council; it was believed, or at least pretended, that they had come with the same traitorous object as Sanders to oppose the authority of the sovereign. A proclamation commanded all men whose children had gone beyond the seas for education to recall them; and all persons harbouring or not revealing where any Jesuit or seminarist was concealed, were liable to punishment as abettors of treason. When the parliament assembled, the ministers called on the two houses for laws of still greater severity; and every measure which they proposed was readily adopted. No catholic could enjoy security even in the privacy of his own house, where he was liable at all hours, but generally in the night, to be visited by a magistrate at the head of an armed mob. At a signal given, the doors were burst open; and the pursuivants, in separate divisions, hastened to the different apartments, examined the beds, tore the tapestry and wainscotting from the walls, forced open the closets, drawers, and coffers, and made every search

which their ingenuity could suggest, to discover either a priest, or books, chalices, and vestments appropriated to the catholic worship. Notwithstanding the closeness of the search instituted for the capture of Campion and Persons, they managed to elude the pursuit of their enemies for nearly a year; but at last Campion was taken in Berkshire, in July, 1581, and conveyed in procession to the Tower; Persons continued for some months to brave the danger which menaced him; but at length, at the urgent request of his friends, both for their security and his own, he retired beyond the sea.

The use of the torture was common to most of the European nations; in England, during the reign of Elizabeth, it was employed with the most wanton barbarity. The catholic prisoner was hardly lodged in the Tower before he was placed on the rack. Campion (who had been often put to the torture), twelve other priests, and one layman, collected from different prisons, were arraigned for a conspiracy to murder the queen, to overthrow the church and state, and to withdraw the subjects from the allegiance due to the sovereign. They declared that, whatever might be pretended, their religion was their only offence; but the jury, after an hour's deliberation, returned a verdict of guilty against all the prisoners; though the report of their trial must convince every reasonable man of their innocence. Campion, and eight others were executed.*

That the conspiracy with which these men (and many more) were charged, was a fiction, cannot be doubted. They had come to England under a prohibition to take any part in secular concerns, and with the sole view of exercising the spiritual functions of the priesthood, and for which they generously risked their liberty and their lives. At the same time it must be owned that the answers which some gave to the queries put to them, were far from satisfactory. Their hesitation to deny the deposing power (a power then indeed maintained by most divines in catholic kingdoms) rendered their loyalty problematical in case of an attempt to enforce Pius V.'s bull by any foreign power.

The anabaptists also were doomed to suffer at the stake under Elizabeth, as their predecessors had suffered under her father and

* Hallam remarks, as an extenuating circumstance distinguishing this persecution from that of Mary, that no woman was put to death under the penal code, so far as he remembers.—Const. Hist. i. 197, note. The fact, however, is, that Margaret Clitheroe was executed in 1586, Margaret Ward in 1588, and Anne Line in 1601. Mrs. Wells received sentence of death in 1591, and died in prison.

brother. They rejected the baptism of infants, denied that Christ assumed flesh of the Virgin, and taught that no Christian ought to take an oath, or to accept the office of magistrate. Some were dismissed with a reprimand; but two perished in the flames of Smithfield. For the profession of similar opinions, Matthew Hammond, a ploughwright, who had been pronounced an obstinate heretic by the bishop of Norwich, was burnt in the ditch of that city; and in the same place, but after an interval of ten years, was also consumed Francis Kett, a member of one of the universities.

**Persecution
of the ana-
baptists.**

The unfortunate Mary had now for several years suffered all the horrors of a rigorous and protracted imprisonment in the castle at Sheffield. Elizabeth, though she graciously accepted from her captive presents of needlework and Parisian dresses, invariably eluded or rejected every petition for a mitigation of the severity of her confinement.

**Sufferings of
Mary Stuart.**

As far as regarded the Scottish adherents of the captive, the English queen was free from alarm, so long as Morton retained the regency. But his rapacity had excited the murmurs, and his submission to Elizabeth had wounded the pride of the nation. At length, the earls of Argyle and Athol obtained access to the young king; and James, by their persuasion, though he was but twelve years old, assumed the government, and Morton received an order to resign his authority. He obeyed with apparent cheerfulness; but in two months his intrigues gave him possession of the royal person, and enabled him, as head of the council, to resume the power which he had lost. One day, however, when the young king was seated at the board with his council, Stuart, captain of the guard, and son to lord Ochiltree, accused James, earl of Morton, of having had a share in the murder of the king's father, Darnley. He was tried, found guilty, and soon afterwards beheaded on June 1, 1581.

The English catholics sent deputies to James of Scotland, to whom he talked of the affection which he felt towards his mother, of his sense of the many wrongs which she had suffered, and of his readiness to co-operate in any plan for her deliverance from captivity; but lamented that his enemies had deprived him of the means, as he was a king without a revenue.

**Intrigues in
favour of
Mary.**

In France, the general opinion was, that Mary and James ought to be associated on the Scottish throne; and that the pope

and the king of Spain should be solicited to relieve the present pecuniary wants of the young king. When this plan was communicated to Mary, she not only gave her own consent, but earnestly solicited that of her son. **Raid of Ruthven, August, 1582.** At the first proposal James was alarmed; but when he was assured that Mary would leave to him the sole exercise of the sovereign authority within the realm, he signified his assent. But this project was extinguished in its very birth by the promptitude and policy of Elizabeth's cabinet. Under its auspices a new revolution was organised in Scotland. The earl of Gowrie invited James to his castle of Ruthven, secured the person of the unsuspecting prince, and assumed with his associates the exercise of the royal authority. The Scottish lords of the English faction ruled again without control.

For several weeks the Scottish queen was kept in close confinement, that this unexpected event, so fatal to her hopes, might be concealed from her knowledge. When the communication was at last made, it alarmed her maternal tenderness; she read in her own history the fate which awaited her son; and from her bed-chamber, to which she was confined by sickness, wrote to Elizabeth a long and most eloquent remonstrance, towards the end of the year 1582.

Mary also begged that if she must remain a captive, the queen would grant her a catholic clergyman to prepare her soul for death, and two additional female servants to attend on her during her sickness. Whether this appeal made any impression on the heart of Elizabeth we know not; it procured no additional indulgence to the royal captive.

A new plan for the liberation of Mary was soon devised. It was proposed that the duke of Guise should land with an army in the south of England; that James with a Scottish force should enter the northern counties; and that the English friends of the house of Stuart should be summoned to the aid of the injured queen. The king immediately expressed his assent; but Mary, aware that her keepers had orders to deprive her of life if any attempt were made to carry her away by force, sought rather to obtain her liberty by concession and negotiation. She acquainted Elizabeth with her design of transferring all her rights to her son; and proposed a league of perpetual amity between the two crowns. Elizabeth appeared to acquiesce, but soon changed her mind, and the cup of promise was again, for the twentieth time, dashed from the lips of Mary Stuart.

But the English queen herself experienced at this period

considerable inquietude, not only from foreign intrigues, but from the disaffection of her catholic subjects. At this time, the laws against catholics were enforced with unexampled severity. The scaffolds were repeatedly drenched with the blood of priests executed as traitors; and in several counties the prisons were crowded with recusants of ancient and noble families.

In the event of invasion, could she rely on the loyalty of men suffering under such oppression? To discover and guard against the designs of the disaffected, secret agents in the pay of secretary Walsingham were spread over the continent, and at home haunted the houses of the principal catholics.

In this way, in November, 1584, Francis, a son of sir John Throckmorton, by means of a letter of Charles Paget's (an exile), which fell into Walsingham's hands, was arrested on the charge of intriguing for an invasion. He was condemned and executed, protesting his innocence.

While the ministers thus punished a doubtful conspiracy at home, they were actively employed in fomenting a real conspiracy abroad, by seeking to restore and to recruit the English faction in Scotland. The intrigues of her minister, Walsingham, were supported by the gold of the queen. James, who felt his throne tremble under him, commanded, by proclamation, all disaffected persons to quit the realm. Elizabeth had resolved to aid her friends with an English force; but its advance was retarded by a strong remonstrance from the French ambassador; and the design was laid aside.

The cause of Mary had never worn so favourable an appearance as it did at the present moment. The English faction in Scotland was extinct; James was believed to be ready to help her; Elizabeth, anxious to be freed from apprehension, earnestly sought an agreement. Little doubt was entertained that a treaty would be concluded. But there always happened something to disappoint the expectations of Mary. Creighton a Scottish Jesuit, and Abdy a Scottish priest, both on their way to their native country, had been captured by a Dutch cruiser; and, though Scotland was not at war with any other power, were conducted as prisoners to England. In the Tower, and in the presence of the rack, Creighton disclosed all the particulars of a projected invasion of England, and the treaty was broken off.

It was owing, perhaps, to the peculiar circumstances in which the king of Scotland had been placed from his infancy, or to the education which he had received from his tutors, that he felt none of those generous sentiments which usually glow with so much

ardour in the bosom of youth. In 1585, Mary appealed to him. James returned a cold and disrespectful answer, which opened the eyes of the captive to the hopelessness of her situation. In the anguish of her mind she again wrote to Elizabeth, begging, as a last favour, her liberty and life. She demanded nothing more; as to the conditions, her "good sister" might name, and she would subscribe, them. She had now nothing to preserve for a son who had abandoned her; and was therefore ready to make every sacrifice, except that of her religion. But the English queen, no longer afraid of the interposition of James, neglected the offers and prayers of her captive, and committed the custody of her person to sir Amyas Paulet, an austere fanatic.

By the death of the duke of Anjou, the right of succession to the crown of France had devolved on Henry de Bourbon, king of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. Opposition to the right of Henry was organised by the young duke of Guise, a prince who had inherited the talents with the ambition of his family. Elizabeth kept her eyes fixed on the struggle between the two parties; for she believed her own interests to be intimately connected with those of the king of Navarre. She therefore sent him large sums of money, and repeatedly made the offer of an asylum in England, whenever he might find himself an unequal match for his enemies.

A treaty was also concluded between Elizabeth and the insurgents of the Low Countries. Not, as she said, to withdraw them from their dependence on the Spanish crown, but to recover for them their lost liberties. This open war on king Philip was preferable to the unauthorised piracy which had been a source of irritation to Spain for years. Leicester headed the expedition of seven thousand men; won no battles of importance; but the troops proved their valour, and, though defeated at Zutphen, suffered little harm except through the loss of sir Philip Sydney. English mariners, however, ravaged the coasts of Spain, destroying Vigo, and inflicting further damage on Spanish possessions in the West Indies.

A negotiation was opened at this time between Elizabeth and James, and a treaty was concluded, by which the queen of England and the king of Scotland bound themselves to support the protestant faith against the efforts of the catholic powers, and to furnish to each other a competent aid in case of invasion by any foreign prince.

**League with
France, 1585.**

**Expedition
to Holland,
1586.**

**Treaty with
Scotland,
1586.**

The misfortunes of Mary queen of Scots were, at length, drawing to a close; her friends had blindly adopted a course which conducted her to the scaffold. In 1586, a plan for her liberation was arranged. One of the most active in the plot was named Babington, a young man of ancient family and ample fortune. Some years previously he had been page to the earl of Shrewsbury, a situation in which he had learned to admire and to pity his lord's captive, the queen of Scots. These feelings, as he advanced in years, ripened into the most enthusiastic attachment to her interests; and he had frequently rendered her very important services. He at first objected to any forcible attempt in her favour. It would be to do the work of her enemies; to provoke her immediate death at the hands of her warder. But he learned from a priest named Ballard a plan devised in Paris; he entered into it with the most sanguine expectations of success; this plan embraced the assassination of Elizabeth, and the carrying off of the Scottish queen. It then occurred, perhaps was treacherously suggested to him, to consult Mary, and a letter to her was prepared, stating that, upon the representation received from Ballard, it was the resolution of himself and his friends, at the risk of their lives and fortunes, to procure a sufficient force to "warrant the landing of foreign aid, her deliverance from prison, and the despatch of the usurping competitor;" assuring her, that on the receipt of her approbation they were ready to bind themselves on the sacrament to succeed or forfeit their lives. The letter came into the hands of Walsingham, one of the ministers of Elizabeth, who deemed it requisite for his own safety to communicate it to the queen.

**Conspiracies
in favour of
Mary Stuart.**

**Babington's
Plot, 1586.**

Mary accepted the offer of liberation made to her by Babington, and composed instructions for his guidance on that point; but he and several others were soon arrested, tried, and executed for high treason.

Mary's fate now hung in the balance. Some of Elizabeth's counsellors endeavoured to save the life of the captive: others maintained that her death was necessary for the security of their religion. Of these, Leicester recommended the sure but silent operation of poison; Walsingham, on the contrary, advised as more honourable to the sovereign, the form and solemnity of a public trial. Mary was removed to the castle of Fotheringhay, in Northamptonshire, the place selected for her trial and death; and a commission was issued to forty-six individuals, peers, privy

**Mary
Stuart's
trial.**

counsellors, and judges, constituting them a court to enquire into the case. On the 11th of October, 1586, the commissioners arrived at the castle. Mary, on learning their business, said, "I am sorry to be charged by my sister the queen with that of which I am innocent; but let it be remembered that I am also a queen, and not amenable to any foreign jurisdiction. I will not degrade the Scottish crown, nor stand as a criminal at the bar of an English court of justice."

An expression, however, had fallen from Hatton, which exceedingly distressed the unfortunate captive; that, if she refused to plead, the world would attribute her obstinacy to consciousness of guilt. The high tone of her mind insensibly relaxed; and Mary informed the commissioners that she was content to plead, on condition (which, after some demur, was granted) that her protest against the authority of the court should be admitted.

The charges against the Scottish queen were that she had conspired with foreigners and traitors to procure the invasion of the realm, and the death of the queen. The papers exhibited to the court as Mary's were only copies. No attempt was made to show what had become of the originals, or when, where, or by whom the copies had been taken. The commissioners adjourned the court, to meet again in the Star-chamber at Westminster on an early day. The court was opened at Westminster in the presence of a numerous assemblage of members belonging to both houses of parliament; but Mary was absent, immured in the castle of Fotheringhay. With one exception, the commissioners unanimously gave judgment, that "Mary, daughter of James V., commonly called queen of Scotland, had compassed and imagined divers matters tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the queen."

On hearing the result, Mary denied solemnly that she had been privy to a conspiracy against the life of their queen. She had (she said) accepted an offer made to rescue her from prison; and where was the person in her situation who would not, after an unjust captivity of twenty years, have done the same? Her real crime was her adhesion to the religion of her fathers, a crime of which she was proud, and for which she would be happy to lay down her life. She wrote to Elizabeth, praying that her dead body might be conveyed to France, and deposited near that of her mother; that she might send a jewel, her farewell, and her blessing to her son; that her servants might be allowed to retain the small bequests which it was her intention to make them; and

that she might not be put to death in private, otherwise her enemies would say of her, as they had said of others, that despair had induced her to shorten her days. Throughout the whole letter she carefully avoided every expression which might be interpreted as a petition for mercy. This eloquent and affecting letter drew tears from Elizabeth, but no answer was returned.

James of Scotland felt little for a mother whom he had never known, and whom he had been taught to look upon as an enemy, seeking to deprive him of his authority. He would probably have abandoned her but for an admonition of the French court, that her execution would exclude him from the succession to the English throne; and the remonstrances of the Scottish nobles, who could not brook the notion that a Scottish queen should perish on a scaffold. James therefore wrote to Elizabeth a letter of expostulation, but it had no effect.

After the sentence, Elizabeth spent two months in a state of apparent irresolution. She was often heard to lament, that among the thousands who professed to be attached to her as their sovereign, not one would spare her the necessity of dipping her hands in the blood of a sister queen. After the departure of the French and Scottish ambassadors, who had fruitlessly appealed to Elizabeth for mercy, she signed the warrant, telling her secretary Davison to take it to the great seal, and to trouble her no more about it; adding, with a smile of irony, that on his way he might call on Walsingham, who was sick, and who, she feared, "at the sight of it would die outright." Then suddenly recollecting herself, she said, "Surely Paulet and Drury (Mary's gaolers) might ease me of this burthen. Do you and Walsingham sound their dispositions." A letter was accordingly forwarded to Fotheringhay. It informed the two keepers, that the queen charged them with lack of care for her service, otherwise they would long ago have shortened the life of their captive. Paulet replied immediately, that his goods, living, and life were at the queen's service; but he would never shed blood without law or warrant. Drury subscribed to Paulet's opinion. Elizabeth told Davison to proceed no further without her orders; but the council resolved unanimously, that the queen had done all that the law required on her part; and that it was now their duty to proceed, and take the rest of the burthen on themselves.

On the 7th of February, 1587, the earl of Shrewsbury arrived at Fotheringhay; and his office of earl marshal instantly disclosed the fatal object of his visit. He was accompanied by the earl of Kent, the sheriff, and several gentlemen of the county; and Beale, after a short preface, read aloud the commission for the execution.

Mary listened, without any change of countenance ; then, crossing herself, she bade them welcome ; the day, she said, which she had long desired, had at last arrived ; she had languished in prison near twenty years, useless to others, and a burden to herself ; nor could she conceive a termination to such a life more happy or more honourable, than to shed her blood for her religion. She next enumerated the wrongs which she had suffered, the offers which she had made, and the artifices and frauds employed by her enemies ; and, in conclusion, placing her hand on a Testament which lay on the table, "As for the death of the queen your sovereign," said she, "I call God to witness, that I never imagined it, never sought it, nor never consented to it." The earl exhorted her to accept the spiritual services of the dean of Peterborough, a learned divine appointed by the queen. She requested that she might have the aid of Le Préau, her almoner, who was still in the house ; but this, which was the last and only indulgence that she had to demand, was cruelly refused. Mary asked when she was to suffer. The earl of Shrewsbury answered, but with considerable agitation,—“To-morrow morning, at eight o'clock.”

Mary heard the announcement of her death with a serenity of execution of countenance, and dignity of manner, which awed Mary Stuart, and affected the beholders ; but her attendants burst February 8, into tears and lamentations.
1587.

The last night of Mary's life was spent in the arrangement of her domestic affairs, the writing of her will and of three letters, and in exercises of devotion. At the first break of day her household assembled around her. She read to them her will, distributed among them her clothes and money, and bade them adieu, kissing the women, and giving her hand to kiss to the men. Weeping, they followed her into her oratory, where she took her place in front of the altar ; they knelt down and prayed behind her.

In the midst of the great hall of the castle, had been raised a scaffold covered with black serge, and surrounded with a low railing. At eight o'clock the sheriff entered the oratory, and Mary arose, taking the crucifix from the altar in her right, and carrying her prayer-book in her left hand. Her servants were forbidden to follow ; they insisted ; but the queen bade them to be content, and turning, gave them her blessing. They received it on their knees, some kissing her hands, others her mantle. The door closed ; and the burst of lamentation from those within resounded through the hall.

Mary was now joined by the earls and her keepers, and

descending the staircase, found at the foot Melville, the steward of her household, who for several weeks had been excluded from her presence. "Good Melville," said Mary, "I pray thee report that I die a true woman to my religion, to Scotland and to France. May God forgive them that have long thirsted for my blood. Commend me to my son; and tell him that I have done nothing prejudicial to the dignity or independence of his crown." She made a last request, that her servants might be present at her death. But the earl of Kent objected. When she asked with vehemence, "Am I not the cousin to your queen, a descendant of the blood royal of Henry VII., a married queen of France, and the anointed queen of Scotland?" It was then resolved to admit four of her men and two of her women servants. Mary wore the richest of her dresses, that which was appropriate to the rank of a queen dowager. Her step was firm, and her countenance cheerful. She bore without shrinking the sight of the scaffold, the block, and the executioner; and advanced into the hall with that grace and majesty which she had so often displayed in her happier days, and in the palace of her fathers.

The queen seated herself on a stool which was prepared for her; and in an audible voice addressed the assembly. She said that she pardoned from her heart all her enemies. She then repeated with a loud voice, passages from the book of Psalms; and a prayer in which she begged of God to pardon her sins, declared that she forgave her enemies, and protested that she was innocent of ever consenting in wish or deed to the death of her English sister. She then prayed for Christ's afflicted church, for her son James, and for queen Elizabeth, and in conclusion, holding up the crucifix, exclaimed, "As Thy arms, O God, were stretched out upon the cross, so receive me into the arms of Thy mercy, and forgive me my sins." "Madam," said the earl of Kent, "you had better leave such popish trumperies, and bear Him in your heart." She replied, "I cannot hold in my hand the representation of His sufferings, but I must at the same time bear Him in my heart." One of her maids taking from her a handkerchief edged with gold, pinned it over her eyes; the executioners, holding her by the arms, led her to the block; and the queen kneeling down, said repeatedly, with a firm voice, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." But the sobs and groans of the spectators disconcerted the headsman. He trembled, missed his aim, and inflicted a deep wound in the lower part of the skull, and only at the third stroke her head was severed from her body. The executioner held it up, and cried as usual, "God

save queen Elizabeth." "So perish all her enemies!" subjoined the dean of Peterborough. "So perish all the enemies of the gospel!" exclaimed, in a still louder tone, the fanatical earl of Kent. Not a voice was heard to cry amen. Party feeling was absorbed in pity.

The body was embalmed the same day. It was afterwards enclosed in lead, and kept in the same room for six months, till August, when Elizabeth ordered it to be interred with royal pomp in the abbey church of Peterborough, opposite to the tomb of Catherine, queen of Henry VIII. It was transferred to Westminster by order of James I. in 1612.

When one of Elizabeth's ladies mentioned before her, as it were casually, the death of Mary Stuart, she maintained an air of perfect indifference; but soon, sending for Hatton, expressed the most violent indignation, and indulged in threats of the most fearful vengeance against the men who had abused her confidence and usurped her authority, by putting the queen of Scots to death without her knowledge or consent. She attempted to prove the sincerity of her regret by the execution of her threats; she suspended the obnoxious ministers; but one after another all, with the exception of Davison, were restored to office and favour. He had earned this distinction; for, in defending himself, he charged the queen indirectly with falsehood, and alluded in obscure terms to her message to Paulet. He was condemned in a fine of ten thousand marks, and to be imprisoned during the royal pleasure. The treasury seized all his property; so that at his release from confinement in 1589, he found himself reduced to a state of extreme indigence. The queen, though she lived seventeen years longer, would never restore him to favour.

It may appear surprising, but a full month elapsed before the king of Scotland received any certain intelligence of the execution of his mother. At the news he burst into tears, and talked of nothing but vengeance; but Elizabeth's partisans in the Scottish court supported her cause. They admonished James to recollect that he was now the next heir to the English crown, and advised him not to forfeit that splendid inheritance by offending a princess who alone could remove him from it. His indignation gradually evaporated; and the cry of vengeance was subdued by the suggestions of prudence.

The revenge of Henry III. of France was equally harmless. A sense of honour had compelled him to forewarn Elizabeth that he should consider the execution of a queen dowager of France as an insult offered to the French crown; but the civil wars in

which he was engaged left him in no condition to execute this menace; and thus the death of Mary was left unrevenged by those on whom that duty chiefly devolved—her son the king of Scotland, and her brother-in-law the king of France.

That spirit of commercial enterprise which had been awakened under Mary, seemed to pervade and animate every description of men during the reign of Elizabeth. For the extension of trade, and the discovery of unknown lands, associations were formed, companies were incorporated, expeditions were planned; and the prospect of immense profit, which, though always anticipated, was seldom realised, seduced many to sacrifice their whole fortunes, prevailed even on the ministers, the nobility, and the queen herself, to risk considerable sums in these hazardous undertakings. **Commercial enterprise.**

In 1562, sir John Hawkins commenced the trade in slaves. He made three voyages to the coast of Africa; bartered articles of trifling value for negroes; crossed the Atlantic to Hispaniola and the Spanish settlements in America; and in exchange for his captives, returned with large quantities of hides, sugar, ginger, and pearls. This trade was, however, illicit; and during his third voyage he was surprised by the Spanish fleet. Hawkins lost his fleet, his treasure, and the majority of his followers. Out of six ships under his command, two only escaped; and of these one foundered at sea, the other, commanded by Francis Drake, brought back the remnant of the adventurers to Europe. Drake thirsted for revenge. He made three predatory voyages to the West Indies and in the last amply indemnified himself. During this last expedition he beheld the Pacific Ocean for the first time, and resolved one day to unfurl the English flag on that hitherto unknown sea. From England he set out to fulfil this purpose, and after an absence of three years, returned in triumph, the first of mortals who had in one voyage circumnavigated the globe. For this he was knighted by Elizabeth.

We now arrive at a memorable epoch in the reign of Elizabeth. The queen had almost annually offered injuries to the king of Spain. She had intercepted his treasure, had given aid to his rebels, had hired foreign mercenaries to fight against his armies, and had suffered her mariners to plunder and massacre his defenceless subjects on the high seas and in his American dominions. Policy taught him to dissemble for a long time; but the constant repetition of insult sharpened the edge of his resentment. At length he resolved to invade England with 135 **Philip of Spain prepares to invade England.**

sail of men-of-war, carrying 8000 seamen and 19,000 soldiers who obeyed the commands of the marquess of Santa Crux, an officer who had grown grey in the naval service, and whose brow was shaded with the laurels of numerous victories.

Elizabeth ordered that a military council for the defence of the kingdom should be established; and that all the male population from the age of eighteen to that of sixty should be enrolled. But these raw and hasty levies could have opposed but a feeble resistance to the disciplined forces of Philip. England, however, was destined to be saved by the skill and intrepidity of her navy, which at this time consisted of thirty-four men-of-war. The city of London added thirty-three, and private individuals eighteen sail; and to these, in such an emergency, were added forty-three hired ships and fifty-three coasters. The chief command was assumed, in virtue of his office, by lord Howard of Effingham, admiral of England. Drake was appointed lieutenant of the fleet; and the best ships were given to Hawkins, Frobisher, and other mariners, who had acquired experience, and displayed that contempt of danger and that spirit of enterprise which have long been characteristic of the British sailor.

There was within the realm a class of men whose doubtful loyalty created alarm in the cabinet. The real number of the English catholics was unknown (for the severity of the penal laws had taught many to conceal their religion); but it was loosely conjectured that they amounted to at least one-half of the population of the kingdom. But, though persecuted, they displayed no less patriotism than their more favoured countrymen. The peers armed their tenants and dependants in the service of the queen; some of the gentlemen equipped vessels, and gave the command to protestants; and many solicited permission to fight in the ranks as privates against the common enemy.

After five years of procrastination, Philip exchanged his previous caution for temerity. Various preliminary precautions, as the possession of a harbour capable of sheltering the fleet, were put before the king, but he would admit of no further delay. The fact is, that the Spanish monarch was using the cloak of an apparently religious crusade to deal a blow at English commerce and enterprise then threatening the hitherto unchallenged maritime supremacy of Spain, and the aggressiveness of the English sea captains needed to be put down. Accordingly, as soon as he understood from the pope that on his part everything was ready; that the money had been collected, and the bill of deposition

signed, but that the pontiff would commit himself by no public act till the Spanish forces had obtained a footing in England, Philip issued peremptory orders for his Armada to put to sea. In compliance with these orders, the Armada sailed from the Tagus under the duke of Medina Sidonia in May, 1587. The grandeur of the spectacle excited the most flattering anticipations; but in a few days the delusion was dispelled. Off Cape Finisterre a storm dispersed the Armada along the shores of Galicia; several galleys ran aground or were dismasted, and no ship escaped without considerable damage. To collect and repair his shattered fleet, detained the duke three weeks in the harbour of Corunna.

This disaster had been announced to Elizabeth as the destruction of the Armada—the end of the expedition. If she received the intelligence with joy, she did not forget her usual economy; and the lord admiral received an order to dismantle immediately the four largest ships in the royal navy. Fortunately he ventured to disobey, offering to bear the expense out of his private fortune; and in the middle of July, the duke of Medina was discovered off the Lizard Point. The Armada formed in the shape of a crescent, the horns of which lay some miles asunder, and with a gentle breeze from the south-west proudly advanced up the Channel. The lord admiral had already formed his plan. To oppose might be dangerous; but he followed and annoyed the Spaniards from a distance. The Spanish admiral found his progress slow and laborious; the enemy was daring, and the weather capricious; some of his ships were disabled by successive engagements; others were occasionally entangled among the shoals of an unknown coast; and the necessity of protecting his fleet from the incessant pursuit of the English, so retarded his course, that six days elapsed before he could reach his destination and cast anchor in the vicinity of Calais. Several of the Spanish ships were destroyed by fire on the coast of France; then a fierce gale began to blow from the south-west, dispersing the Armada along the coast from Ostend to Calais, and the English renewed their attack. The storm so reduced the numbers and efficiency of the Spanish fleet, that the Spanish admiral resolved to return home; but his advisers all agreed that but one way remained open to them, round the north of Scotland and Ireland. For the first time the Spaniards fairly fled before their pursuers. Only want of ammunition prevented the English from completing the annihilation of the invaders. But though the fugitives met with no enemy, they had to contend against the violence of winds and waves; the shores of

Defeat of the
Armada,
1588.

Scotland and Ireland were strewn with the wrecks of their vessels ; and king Philip had to be made acquainted only with the disastrous termination of the great expedition.

During this crisis, the queen displayed the characteristic courage of the Tudors. She appeared confident of success, and proceeded to Tilbury to animate her troops there collected, who, intoxicated with joy, expressed the most ardent attachment to her person. Mounted on a white palfrey, and bearing a marshal's truncheon in her hand, she rode along the ranks ; the soldiers rent the air with acclamations of triumph ; and the raw recruits expressed their regret that they had not been permitted to measure arms with the veteran forces of Spain.

In 1588, the earl of Leicester died. He was one who as a statesman or a commander, displayed little ability ; but his rapacity and ambition knew no bounds. Were we to judge of his moral character from the language of his writings, we should allot to him the praise of distinguished piety ; but if we listen to the report of his contemporaries, the delusion vanishes, and he stands before us as the most dissolute and unprincipled of men, and that to his charge has been laid a long catalogue of crimes, of treachery to his friends, of assassination of his enemies, and acts of injustice and extortion. The reader will pause before he gives his unqualified assent to such reports ; yet, when he has made every allowance for the envy and malice of political enemies, when he has rejected every charge which is not supported by probable evidence, there will still remain much to stamp infamy on the character of Leicester.

The defeat of the Armada had thrown the nation into a frenzy of joy. The people expressed their feelings by bonfires, entertainments, and public thanksgivings ; the queen, whether she sought to satisfy the religious animosities of her subjects, or to display her gratitude to the Almighty, by punishing the supposed enemies of His worship, celebrated her triumph with the immolation of human victims ; and several catholics, in prison on account of religion, suffered the cruel and infamous punishment of traitors. It was not so much as whispered that they had been guilty of any act of disloyalty. On their trials, nothing was objected to them but the practice of their religion. The earl of Arundel was tried at this time on an accusation of having caused mass to be said for the success of the Armada, and upon very insufficient evidence was found guilty. He was not executed, however, but died after eleven years of imprisonment, in the year 1595.

**Death of
Leicester.**

**Sufferings
of the
catholics.**

From the defeat of the Armada till the death of the queen, during the lapse of fourteen years, the catholics groaned under the pressure of incessant persecution. Sixty-one clergymen, forty-seven laymen, and two gentlewomen suffered capital punishment for some or other of the spiritual felonies and treasons which had been lately created. Generally the court dispensed with the examination of witnesses: by artful and ensnaring questions an avowal was drawn from the prisoner, that he had been reconciled, or had harboured a priest, or had been ordained beyond the sea, or that he admitted the ecclesiastical supremacy of the pope, or rejected that of the queen. Any one of these crimes was sufficient to consign him to the scaffold. Life, indeed, was always offered, on the condition of conformity to the established worship; but the offer was generally refused; the refusal was followed by death; and the butchery, with very few exceptions, was performed on the victim while he was yet in perfect possession of his senses. For professing catholicity, heavy fines were imposed on men of property. Recusants in meaner circumstances were thrown into prison, and the jails were soon crowded. The visitation of private houses in search of priests is described as the most intolerable of grievances. It was in vain that the catholic gentleman withdrew himself from the eyes of the public, and sought an asylum in solitude. His house afforded him no security; even in the bosom of his family he passed his time in alarm and solicitude; and was exposed at every moment to the capricious visits of men, whose pride was flattered by the wanton exercise of authority over their betters, or whose fanaticism taught them to believe that they rendered a service to God by insulting and oppressing the idolatrous papist.

The puritans were also persecuted at this period. Many were imprisoned; some were convicted of recusancy; a few were banished; and a few even executed. But the queen had now grown old; the king of Scots, her presumptive heir, professed puritanical principles; and the leaders of the orthodox party saw the danger of persisting in a course which might draw upon themselves the vengeance of the next sovereign. The persecution subsided by degrees; and the separatists enjoyed a state of comparative tranquillity, long before the death of Elizabeth.

**Proceedings
against the
puritans.**

As soon as the intoxication of joy, excited by the defeat of the Armada, had subsided, the commons coupled with a liberal vote a petition to the queen to punish the insult which she had received from Philip, by carrying the scourge of war into his dominions.

An expedition under Drake sailed to Corunna, where partial success awaited them. Thence the fleet sailed to the mouth of the Tagus, but nothing of importance was effected, though Vigo was taken and pillaged, and the queen rejoiced that she had retaliated the boast of invasion upon Philip. Essex, the favourite who had replaced Leicester in the queen's affections, took part in this expedition.

Expedition to Spain, 1588.

Henry III. of France died in 1589, by the hand of an assassin; and the king of Navarre, a descendant of St. Louis, succeeding, took the title of Henry IV., king of France and Navarre. He became the close ally of Elizabeth, from whom he received much aid in his contests with the French nobles and the Spanish king; though she was much chagrined when he embraced the catholic faith in 1593.

Affairs in France, 1589.

The public mind was once again agitated by rumours of plots to take the life of the queen. That such plots were sometimes

Plots against the queen's life.

Lopez.

entertained can hardly be doubted; yet it is extremely difficult to fix on any one instance in which the alleged facts can be fairly proved. In 1594 Roderigo Lopez, a foreigner long resident in England, was accused of practising against the queen's life by poison; he was examined; but the result was a conviction of his innocence. Elizabeth was irritated: the enquiry was resumed, and resulted in the execution of Lopez and two more; but the confessions obtained on the rack, whereby they were condemned, are open to question.

The king of France, having declared war on Spain in 1594, called on Elizabeth for aid; but in vain, and therefore threatened

New expedition against Spain.

that he would have to make terms. The reports, however, of preparations in the Spanish harbours during 1595 excited general alarm throughout England; and the capture of Calais, in April, 1596, by the Spanish, offered additional facilities to the invasion of England. To augment the general disquietude, an expedition to the West Indies, lately undertaken by Hawkins and Drake, had failed; and for several weeks the defence of the realm was the subject of daily deliberation in the council. Howard of Effingham, the lord admiral, urged the sending out of an expedition to destroy the Spanish ports, shipping, and magazines. He was powerfully seconded by Essex, who despised the cautious policy of Burghley, and by his influence, after a long struggle, obtained the consent of the queen. She gave him the command of the land, while the lord admiral held that of the naval force; but, to restrain his

impetuosity, he was ordered to ask the advice of a council of war, and to be guided by the opinion of the majority. After much irresolution, and considerable delay, occasioned partly by the disguised opposition of the Cecils, and partly by the inconstant humour of the queen, the expedition left the harbour of Plymouth, carrying fourteen thousand men. The fleet took Cadiz by storm and reduced it to ashes, and razed the defences to the ground, inflicting on the Spanish monarch a severer blow than he had ever before received; but dissension amongst the English leaders marred further action, and when the expedition returned, Essex found himself in disgrace with the queen.

For some years Philip had appeared to sleep over the war with England; the blow received at Cadiz awakened him from his apathy, and he resolved on taking steps to place his daughter on the throne of England, a project favoured by some of the English catholics in exile headed by Father Persons, who, since the death of Mary Stuart, thought thus to provide for a catholic succession by the exclusion of James of Scotland.

Projects of a
Spanish suc-
cession.
Expedition
against
Spain, 1597.

A pamphlet put forward the infanta's claims as being the lineal descendant and representative of John of Gaunt, son of Edward III. This tract, revised and edited by Persons, alarmed and irritated the queen and her ministers; and to counteract the preparations of Philip, Elizabeth determined that a powerful armament should be fitted out for the destruction of the Spanish fleet, and gave the command to Essex, towards whom she had relented. But he was destined to experience nothing except misfortune in this expedition. The fleet had not proceeded more than forty leagues, when it was driven back to port by a storm. Essex sailed again, but with a smaller force, and on a different destination. He reached the Azores; Fayal, Graciosa, and Flores submitted; but the Spanish fleet from the Indies, the real object of the expedition, had already escaped into the harbour of Tercera; and the English, with four inconsiderable prizes, and some plunder, directed their course to England, and Essex once more fell into disgrace.

In Ireland, the lord Grey, by his cruelty and rapacity, had earned the hatred of all. He was replaced in 1585 by sir John Perrot, who made no distinction between the English or the Irishman, but inflicted punishment on all offenders, according to their demerits. It had long been the wish of the queen to colonise Ireland from England. Hitherto she had been deterred by consideration of the expense; now, however, earl Desmond's lands

were granted to English settlers ; and most of the royal favourites obtained ample districts, on the condition that one family should be settled on every two hundred and forty acres ; and that no native of Irish origin should be admitted among the new colonists.

Perrot reduced Ireland to a state of tranquillity hitherto unknown in its annals. The indigenous Irish observing the severity with which he punished the injuries inflicted on them by the English adventurers, looked up to him as their friend ; but those who suffered from his justice sought to ruin him in the estimation of his sovereign. His hasty temper occasionally betrayed him into unseemly expressions ; his words, his actions, and his friendships were misinterpreted and misrepresented ; and Elizabeth began to doubt his loyalty, and to think him capable of seeking a kingdom for himself. Perrot was arraigned in Westminster Hall on a charge of high treason. That he was innocent of treason there cannot be a doubt ; yet he was found guilty, and two months later received judgment of death. For six months his fate was kept in suspense ; but then, a broken heart, or a poisonous potion deprived him of life.

Among the native Irish who had distinguished themselves in the war against the earl of Desmond, was Hugh, the son of the late baron of Dungannon. His services had merited the approbation of the lord Grey, and he had been rewarded by the queen, first with the earldom of Tyrone, and afterwards with all the rights and lands which his grandfather Conn had formerly possessed. To this title of English origin he soon added, without her consent, another which rendered him far more respectable in the eyes of the natives. On the death of Tirlough Lynnhough, he proclaimed himself the O'Neil, in 1593, and was considered by his countrymen as the Irish sovereign of Ulster. To secure the liberty of conscience which was withheld by the English cabinet, he was driven to head a rebellion, and after many alternations of peace and war, of victory and defeat, he inflicted a decisive defeat on the English commander, in August, 1598, near the fort of Blackwater in Tyrone. The O'Neil was celebrated in every district as the saviour of his country ; and the whole population rose in arms to assert the national independence of Ireland.

In 1599, Essex obtained for himself the office of lord deputy in Ireland, with the command of the expedition fitted out for the subjugation of Tyrone's rebellion. His first act, after his arrival in Ireland, was a direct contradiction to the royal will : his express orders were to march

Essex's
rebellion.

against Tyrone. Disobeying these, he received a peremptory command to undertake the indicated expedition. He met Tyrone, but instead of fighting, held a conference with him, and undertook to transmit his demands to the queen. Essex then suddenly returned to England without orders. He was put under arrest, brought to trial, and found guilty; but his punishment only consisted of some forfeitures. Enraged at having lost the royal favour, he attempted an insurrection in the streets of London in company with lord Southampton and some others. They were captured, tried, and found guilty. Essex was executed on the 25th February, 1601, in the Tower.

In September, 1601, four thousand men under the command of Don Juan D'Aguilar, arrived in Ireland from Spain. They landed at Kinsale, fortified the town, and called on the natives to join them against a princess who had been excommunicated and deposed by several succeeding pontiffs. Whilst the deputy Mountjoy assembled an army to oppose the invaders, Elizabeth summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster. Her only object was to obtain a supply of money for the Irish war;

and this wish was gratified by a liberal vote. But if the members were liberal in their grant to the crown, they were obstinate in demanding the redress of their grievances. The great subject of complaint, both within and without the walls of parliament, was the multitude of monopolies bestowed by the queen on her favourites. By a monopoly was understood a patent signed by her, and vesting in an individual, as a reward for his real or pretended services, the exclusive right of vending some particular commodity. The commons demanded the abolition of so oppressive a grievance, and by their perseverance, subdued the obstinacy of the queen, who, though she annually became more attached to what she deemed the rights of the crown, at length yielded. Sending for the speaker, she assured him, in the presence of the council, that she would, by proclamation, revoke every patent prejudicial to the liberties of the subject, and thus satisfied the people, without surrendering the prerogative of the crown.

Opposition to monopolies in parliament.

In the mean while, the lord deputy in Ireland besieged D'Aguilar with his Spaniards within their lines at Kinsale. Tyrone watched the operations of the besiegers. With six thousand natives, and about two hundred Spaniards, who had landed at Castlehaven, he hastened early in the morning to surprise the English camp, ordering another party at the same time to convey a supply of provisions to the besieged. But his project had been already

betrayed to lord Mountjoy, who in the ensuing engagement dispersed the Spaniards and the rebels. D'Aguilar, convinced of the hopelessness of resistance, surrendered Kinsale and the forts in his possession, and obtained permission to return to Corunna with his men, their arms, and ammunition. O'Neil offered to submit on honourable terms; but the pride of Elizabeth demanded an unconditional surrender. But her life was now in danger; and when Mountjoy heard of this, he sent for the Irish chieftain, who made his submission; and Mountjoy, in return, subscribed a full pardon for him and his followers.

The views of those catholics who looked to a Spanish succession have been already mentioned. They met with opposition from those who pretended not to wish for a catholic sovereign to the prejudice of the lawful heir. Every year the division grew wider between these two parties; it crept into the seminaries abroad, it began to disunite the missionaries in England. It was thought that the severity of the government had been sharpened by the proceedings of the Spanish faction. Some of the clergy in England petitioned Rome for the appointment of bishops, that they might live under episcopal authority, and might thereby be more widely separated from the men whose supposed action rendered them all objects of suspicion to the queen. Instead of bishops, an arch-priest was appointed; but this arrangement gave dissatisfaction and led to complaints and disunion. The queen's ministers, soon acquainted with these controversies, gave a measure of countenance to those priests who opposed the Spanish faction; but the puritans gaining knowledge of such connivance, made so great an outcry that a proclamation had to be issued in 1601, commanding all priests to leave the kingdom within a fixed period. As a distinction had been admitted in the proclamation between the clergy of the Spanish faction, and the rest; those who were thereby encouraged to hope for further indulgence, presented to the queen a protestation of civil allegiance in the most ample and satisfactory form. It never reached the hands of the queen, however, for her life was drawing to its close, with every accompaniment of gloom and sorrow. The bodily infirmities which she suffered may have been the consequences of age; her mental afflictions are usually traced

**The queen's
illness and
death, 1603.**

by historians to regret for the execution of Essex. That she bewailed his fate is not improbable; but she had learned from a confession he had left behind him, the unwelcome and distressing truth, that she had lived too long; that her favourites looked with impatience to

the moment which would free them from her control; and that the very men on whose loyalty she had hitherto reposed with confidence, had already proved unfaithful to her. She became pensive and taciturn; she sat whole days by herself, indulging in the most gloomy reflections; and the solitude of her court, the opposition of the commons to her prerogative, and the silence of the citizens when she appeared in public, were taken by her for proofs that she had survived her popularity, and was become an object of aversion to her subjects.

In January, 1603, she was troubled with a cold, and about the end of the month removed, on a wet and stormy day, from Westminster to Richmond. In the first week of March all the symptoms of her disorder were considerably aggravated. The council, having learned from the physicians that her recovery was hopeless, prepared to fulfil their engagements with the king of Scots, by providing for his peaceable succession to the throne.

For some days the queen sat on a chair supported by cushions. She seldom spoke, and refused all nourishment. At the commencement of her illness she had said that she would leave the crown to "the right heir." This statement not being deemed sufficiently certain, she was questioned on the subject on the last night of her life. Some say that she declared her wish to be that James of Scotland should succeed to the throne; there is, however, considerable doubt on this point. Queen Elizabeth, the last of the Tudor line of English sovereigns, died on the 24th March, 1603.

Elizabeth has been numbered among the greatest and the most fortunate of our sovereigns. The tranquillity which, during a reign of nearly half a century, she maintained within her dominions, while the neighbouring nations were convulsed with intestine dissensions, was taken as a proof of the wisdom of the vigour of her government; and her successful resistance against the Spanish monarch, the severe injuries which she inflicted on that lord of so many kingdoms, and the spirit displayed by her fleets and armies in expeditions to France and the Netherlands, to Spain, to the West, and even the East Indies, served to give to the world an exalted notion of her military and naval power. When she came to the throne, England ranked only among the secondary kingdoms; before her death it had risen to a level with the first nations in Europe.

In what exact proportion the merit of this result should be shared between Elizabeth and her counsellors, it is impossible to

determine. On many subjects she could see only with their eyes, and hear with their ears; yet it is evident that her judgment or her conscience frequently disapproved of their advice. Sometimes, after a long struggle, they submitted to her wisdom or obstinacy; sometimes she was terrified or seduced into the surrender of her own opinion; generally a compromise was effected by mutual concessions. This appears to have happened on most debates of importance, and particularly with respect to the treatment of the unfortunate queen of Scots. Irresolution seems to have been a weakness inherent in the constitution of her mind. To deliberate appears to have been her delight, to resolve, her torment. She would receive advice from any, from foreigners as well as natives, from the ladies of her bed-chamber no less than the lords of her council; but her distrust begot hesitation; and she always suspected that some interested motive lurked under the pretence of zeal for her service. Hence she often suffered months, sometimes years, to roll away before she came to a conclusion; and then it required the same industry and address to keep her steady to her purpose as it had already cost to bring her to it.

Besides irresolution, there was in Elizabeth another quality, that of frugality, which degenerated into parsimony, if not into avarice.

Elizabeth, while she was yet a subject, was haughty and overbearing; on the throne she was careful to display that notion of her own importance, that contempt of all beneath her, and that courage in time of danger, which were characteristic of the Tudors. She seemed to have forgotten that she ever had a mother, but was proud to remind both herself and others that she was the daughter of a powerful monarch, Henry VIII. Yet she condescended to court the good will of the common people, and in the country they had access to her at all times. Her natural abilities were great; she had studied under experienced masters; and her stock of literature was much more ample than that of most females of the age. Like her sister Mary, she possessed a knowledge of five languages. The queen is said to have understood the most difficult music. But dancing was her principal delight; and she retained her partiality for it to the last, condescending to perform her part in a dance with the duke of Nevers at the age of sixty-nine.

It is seldom that females have the boldness to become the heralds of their own charms; but Elizabeth by proclamation announced to her people that none of the portraits which had

hitherto been taken of her person did justice to the original ; that at the request of her council she had resolved to procure an exact likeness from the pencil of some able artist ; that it should soon be published for the gratification of her loving subjects ; and that on this account she strictly forbade all persons whomsoever, to paint or engrave any new portraits of her features without licence, or to show or publish any of the old portraits till they had been re-formed according to the copy to be set forth by authority. The courtiers soon discovered how greedy their sovereign was of flattery ; and adulation the most fulsome and extravagant was accepted by the queen with gratitude, and rewarded with bounty.

In her temper Elizabeth seemed to have inherited the irritability of her father. The least inattention, the slightest provocation, would throw her into a passion. At all times her discourse was sprinkled with oaths ; in the sallies of her anger it abounded with imprecations and abuse.

Her familiarity with Dudley provoked dishonourable reports respecting her chastity. At first they gave her pain ; but her feelings were soon blunted and she proved that she was become regardless of her character, and callous to every sense of shame. The court imitated the manners of the sovereign. It was a place in which, according to a contemporary writer, "all enormities reigned in the highest degree."

Elizabeth firmly believed, and zealously upheld the principles of government established by her father—the exercise of absolute authority by the sovereign, and the duty of passive obedience in the subject. In her opinion, the chief use of parliaments was to vote money, to regulate the minutiae of trade, and to legislate for individual and local interests.

Besides the judicial tribunals, which remain to the present day, there were, in the age of Elizabeth, several other courts, the arbitrary constitution of which was incompatible with the liberties of the subject : the court of High Commission, for the cognisance of religious offences ; the court of Star-chamber, which inflicted the severest punishments for that comprehensive and undefinable transgression, contempt of the royal authority ; and the courts martial, for which the queen, from her hasty and imperious temper, manifested a strong predilection. Another and an intolerable grievance was the discretionary power assumed by the queen, of gratifying her caprice or resentment by the restraint or imprisonment of those who had given her offence.

The queen was not sparing of the blood of her subjects. The statutes inflicting death for religious opinion have been already

noticed. In addition, many new felonies and new treasons were created during her reign ; and the ingenuity of the judges gave to these enactments the most extensive application.

It is evident that neither Elizabeth nor her ministers understood the benefits of civil and religious liberty. The prerogatives which she so highly prized have long since withered away ; the blood-stained code which she enacted against the rights of conscience has ceased to disfigure the pages of the statute-book ; and the result has proved that the abolition of despotism and intolerance adds no less to the stability of the throne than to the happiness of the people.

CHAPTER XXIV

JAMES I. 1603-1625

By the influence of Cecil the accession of the Scottish king was proclaimed, before the death of the late queen had become publicly known. The officers of state assembled, and the king of Scots was proclaimed by the voice of Cecil himself; the citizens, by their acclamations, bonfires, and the ringing of bells, testified their satisfaction at the accession of the new monarch.

Accession of
James I.,
1603.

James, who was in his thirty-seventh year, lost not a moment in taking possession of his new inheritance, and soon arrived in London. All hastened to meet the new monarch, that they might remind him of their past, and tender to him their future services. James confirmed Cecil in office. A new council was formed, into which, by his advice, or at least with his approbation, six Scotsmen were admitted; but, at the same time, to balance the account between the nations, six English noblemen received the same honour.

As the king entered London, proclamation was made to suspend all grants of monopolies till they had been examined by the council. Honours were afterwards bestowed with a most lavish hand; nine new barons were created, among whom was Cecil, the secretary; and in the course of three months the honour of knighthood was conferred on seven hundred individuals.

The states of Holland, then at war with Spain, sent to James a splendid and honourable embassy, at the head of which was Frederic, prince of Nassau; but James stood on his guard against their entreaties and flattery, being distrustful of their motives. The Spanish cabinet was slow to make overtures, as to solicit a peace from the new king appeared to Philip equivalent to a confession of weakness. However, after a struggle with his pride, he rejected offers of service from some English catholic exiles, as he had no cause of hostility against James, and appointed an ambassador to the English court.

A conspiracy to seize the person of James was formed at this time in England, but the conspirators quarrelled, and the design was at last abandoned as impracticable. A proclamation was issued, describing the names and persons of several of the conspirators. In a few days these were in the hands of the officers of government, and then subjected to the most searching examinations before certain commissioners.

The "Main" and "Bye" plots.

The apprehension of the conspirators was followed by the king's coronation. He had long ago appointed for this purpose his saint's day, the festival of St. James ; and though a dangerous mortality raged in the city, he would not allow of any postponement. The ceremony was hastily performed by the archbishop of Canterbury, without the usual parade. From Westminster the king fled into the country ; but the infection pursued him wherever he went.

James's coronation.

In November the conspirators (amongst whom was Raleigh) were tried. The jury returned a verdict of guilty. By the great mass of the spectators it was received with disapprobation. Many pronounced Raleigh innocent ; most acknowledged that he had been condemned without legal or sufficient proof. Of the others arraigned, some were condemned and executed : with respect to the remainder, James resolved to surprise his subjects with a specimen of that kingcraft in which he deemed himself so complete a master. Confining his secret within his own breast, he signed the warrants for the execution of Markham, Grey, and Cobham, but gave private instructions to the sheriff, who, in a loud voice declared that the king of his own gracious disposition had granted life to each of the convicts. They were conducted to different prisons, and Raleigh, whose execution had been fixed for the Monday, shared the royal mercy in common with his fellows. James reaped the full fruit of this device. The existence of the plot was proved by confessions made on the scaffold ; and the royal ingenuity as well as clemency was universally applauded.

To the catholics, James felt inclined to grant some partial indulgence. He owed it to their sufferings in the cause of his unfortunate mother ; he had bound himself to it by promises to their envoys, and to the princes of their communion. But his secret wishes were opposed by his advisers ; and, if he was ashamed to violate his word, he was taught also to dread the offence of his protestant subjects. At last he compromised the matter in his own mind, by

James's attitude towards the catholics,

drawing a distinction between the worship and the persons of the petitioners. To every prayer for the exercise of that worship he returned a prompt and indignant refusal. But he invited the catholics to frequent his court, he conferred on several the honour of knighthood ; and he promised to shield them from the penalties of recusancy, as long as by their loyal and peaceable demeanour they should deserve the royal favour.

The puritans relied with equal confidence on the good-will of the new monarch. He had been educated from his infancy in the Genevan theology ; but in proportion as the declining age of Elizabeth brought the English sceptre nearer to his grasp, he learned to prefer the submissive discipline of a church which owned the sovereign for its head, to the independent forms of a republican kirk ; and, as soon as he saw himself possessed of the English crown, he openly avowed his belief that the hierarchy was the firmest support of the throne, and that, where there was no bishop there would shortly be no king.

and towards
the puritans.

The Hamp-
ton Court
Conference.

The puritan ministers succeeded in obtaining a conference with the king, whereat they presented him with their "Millenary Petition," in which their demands were reduced to four points—purity of doctrine, a learned ministry, the reformation of the ecclesiastical courts, and the correction of the Book of Common Prayer. But the conference was a mere farce : James himself argued with the ministers, declared his adhesion to existing forms of church government ; and in conclusion, all that the ministers could obtain was, that a national catechism should be framed, and a new translation of the scriptures be published.

James met his first parliament with the most flattering anticipations, but found himself entangled in disputes, from which he could not extricate himself with satisfaction or credit. In the lower house a formidable party was marshalled against him, composed of the men who, about the close of the last reign, had dared to advocate the rights of the subject against the abuse of the prerogative ; and though the king, by his interest in the upper house, succeeded in averting every blow aimed by the puritans at the discipline of the church, he was yet unable to carry in the lower any of the measures which he had contemplated, or to obtain a supply of money in addition to the accustomed vote of tonnage and poundage. On one question only were all parties agreed. Fanaticism urged the puritans to persecute the catholics,

James and
his parlia-
ment.

and the hope of conciliation induced the friends of the crown to add their support. The oppressive and sanguinary code, framed in the reign of Elizabeth, was re-enacted to its full extent ; it was even improved with additional severities.

The puritans accused the king of a leaning to popery. James hastened to rescue himself from the charge. A proclamation was published, enjoining the banishment of all catholic missionaries ; regulations were adopted for the discovery and presentment of recusants ; and orders were sent to the magistrates to put the penal laws into immediate execution.

**Proceedings
against the
catholics.**

Fines were at this time levied upon catholics to a considerable amount, and their payment enforced with peculiar severity : for sums of money that had been allowed to fall into arrears were now demanded in full, thus exhausting the whole annual income of men in moderate circumstances. Of the moneys thus extorted, a considerable

**The Gun-
powder Plot,
1605.**

portion was appropriated to stay the clamours of the needy Scots men that followed the court. The sufferers bitterly complained that they were reduced to beggary for the support of a crowd of foreign beggars and harpies. Among the sufferers was one Robert Catesby, descended from an ancient and opulent family in Northamptonshire. In revenge he conceived a plan so atrocious in principle, and so sanguinary in execution, that it is difficult to conceive how it could be harboured in the mind of any human being—the plan of blowing up the parliament-house with gunpowder, and involving in one common destruction the king, the lords, and the commons : all those who framed, with the chief of those who executed the penal laws against the English catholics. Catesby communicated his plan to a friend named Winter, who, when in Ostend, met with Guy Fawkes, a native of Yorkshire, and a soldier of fortune. Fawkes had long served in the Netherlands, and had visited Madrid as agent for the exiles of the Spanish party. His courage, fidelity, and military experience pointed him out as a valuable auxiliary. He consented to return with Winter to England, but was kept for some time in ignorance of the part which he was designed to act.

Before their arrival, Catesby had communicated the plan to two others, Percy and Wright, the former being a distant relation and steward to the earl of Northumberland. The catholics at this time made the king the voluntary offer of a yearly sum in lieu of the penalties payable by law ; but the king, under the advice of his ministers, was inexorable, stating that even if he were willing,

he dared not make a concession so offensive to the religious feelings of his protestant subjects. The judges and magistrates were ordered to enforce the immediate execution of the penal laws; measures were adopted for the more certain detection of recusants; and many priests were sent into banishment for life. These proceedings, following in rapid succession, extinguished the last ray of hope in the breasts of the conspirators, who then hastened to execute that plan which appeared to be their only resource. On enquiry, they found contiguous to the old palace of Westminster an empty house, with a garden attached to it, exactly adapted to their purpose. It was hired by Percy, under pretence of convenience, because his office of gentleman pensioner occasionally compelled him to reside in the vicinity of the court. On one side of the garden stood an old building raised against the wall of the parliament-house. Within this they began to excavate a mine, concealing the rubbish under the soil of the garden. The parliament was prorogued from the 7th of February to the 3rd of October. The mine was at a later period abandoned, for Fawkes hired a cellar under the house of lords, and into it were conveyed, under the cover of night, several barrels of gunpowder, which had been collected in a house at Lambeth. To elude suspicion, these were concealed under stones, billets of wood, and articles of household furniture, and the conspirators having completed their preparations, separated to meet again in September, a few days before the opening of parliament.

In the mean time the persecution, which had commenced in the preceding year, daily increased in severity. The gaols were crowded with prisoners; and some missionaries and laymen suffered—more were condemned to suffer—death for religious offences. To add to the terrors of the catholics, a report was spread that in the next parliament measures would be adopted to ensure the total extirpation of the ancient faith.

Catesby was indefatigable in the prosecution of his designs. But, though he might rely with confidence on the fidelity of his accomplices, suspicion was awakened; and Garnet, the provincial or superior of the Jesuits in England, having received, in confession, some general knowledge of a conspiracy, seized an opportunity to inculcate on Catesby the obligation of submitting to the pressure of persecution, and of leaving the redress of wrongs to the justice of Heaven. When, finally, Catesby offered to reveal his secret to Father Garnet, the latter refused to hear him. Garnet prevailed on Catesby to do nothing till news should come from Rome, and meanwhile a messenger was to be sent

there to represent the condition of catholics in England. Garnet persuaded himself that he had secured the public tranquillity for a certain period, before the expiration of which he might receive from the pope a brief prohibitory of all violent proceedings. Meanwhile, when September came, parliament was again prorogued from October to the fifth of November.

It is to these successive postponements that the failure of the plot must be attributed. None of the conspirators, if we except Catesby, were rich, and his resources being now exhausted, the necessity of having a large sum of money at his disposal against the day of the explosion, compelled him to trust his secret to two catholic gentlemen of considerable opulence. The first was a young man of five-and-twenty, sir Everard Digby of Buckinghamshire. The second was Francis Tresham of Northamptonshire.

The plan of operations was next finally arranged. A list was made of all the peers and commoners whom it was thought desirable to save on account of their religion, or of their previous opposition to the penal enactments, or of the favour which they had hitherto shown to the catholics. It was resolved that each of these, if he were in London, should receive on the very morning a most urgent message, which might withdraw him to a distance from Westminster, and at so late an hour that the artifice should not be discovered till the blow had been struck. To Guy Fawkes was allotted the desperate office of firing the mine. Percy was to obtain possession of the young prince Charles, to take him under pretext of greater security to a carriage in waiting, and thence to conduct him to the general rendezvous of the conspirators. Catesby undertook to proclaim the heir apparent, and to issue a declaration abolishing several national grievances. It was agreed that a protector (his name was never suffered to transpire) should be appointed to exercise the royal authority during the nonage of the new sovereign.

Tresham pleaded most earnestly that warning of the danger should be given to lord Mounteagle, who had married his sister. The proposal confirmed suspicions which Catesby had for some time cherished; but he deemed it prudent to dissemble, and, after some objections, pretended to acquiesce. Lord Mounteagle received a letter without date or signature, written in a disguised hand, containing advice not to go to the opening of parliament. When the king returned to London, the letter was laid before him; for Mounteagle had sent it to the secretary of state. He perused it repeatedly, and spent two hours in consultation with his ministers. This intelligence reached the conspirators, some

of whom proposed to flee immediately to Flanders; but Percy confirmed the resolution of his associates; a change, however, was made in their former arrangements. Fawkes undertook to keep guard within the cellar; Percy and Winter to superintend the operations in London; Catesby and John Wright departed the next day for the general rendezvous, which was in Warwickshire.

Towards the evening of Nov. 4, 1605, the lord chamberlain, whose duty it was to ascertain that the necessary preparations had been made for opening the session, visited the parliament-house, and in company with lord Mounteagle entered the cellar. Casting around an apparently careless glance, he enquired by whom it was occupied; and then fixing his eye upon Fawkes, who was present under the designation of Percy's servant, observed that his master had laid in an abundant provision of fuel. This warning was lost on the determined mind of the conspirator. Though he saw and heard all that passed, he was so fixed on his ruthless purpose, that he resolved to remain to the last moment; and having acquainted Percy with the circumstance, returned to his post, with a determination on the first appearance of danger to fire the mine, and perish in the company of his enemies.

A little after midnight (the reader will observe that it was now the fifth of November, the day appointed for the commencement of the session) Fawkes had occasion to open the door of the vault; and that very moment was seized by sir Thomas Knevet and a party of soldiers. He was dressed and booted for a journey—three matches were found in his pockets—and in a corner behind the door was concealed a dark lantern containing a light. The search immediately began; and, on the removal of the fuel, barrels of gunpowder were discovered.

By four o'clock the king and council had assembled to interrogate the prisoner. Fawkes stood before them collected and undaunted: his replies, though delivered in respectful language, gave no clue to the discovery of his associates. His name, he said, was Johnson—his master, Percy; whether he had or had not accomplices, should never be known from him; his object was to destroy the parliament, as the sole means of putting an end to religious persecution. More than this he refused to disclose, though he was repeatedly examined in the presence of the king. In the Tower, though orders were given that he should be racked to extremity, his resolution was not to be subdued; nor did he make any disclosure till his associates had announced themselves by appearing in arms. They, the moment they heard

of his apprehension, had mounted their horses, and on the same evening reached their friends in Warwickshire. They soon fled over the country. Some were shot in an encounter with the authorities, and some were taken prisoners. More than two months intervened between the apprehension and trial of the conspirators. The ministers had persuaded themselves, or wished to persuade others, that the Jesuit missionaries, Gerard, Garnet, and Greenway, were deeply implicated in the plot. At length, eight prisoners were arraigned. They pleaded not guilty; not, they wished it to be observed, because they denied their participation in the conspiracy, but because the indictment contained much to which till that day they had been strangers. It was false that the Jesuits had been the authors of the conspiracy, or had ever held consultations with them on the subject. With respect to themselves, they had certainly entertained the design laid to their charge; but whatever men might think of the fact, they would maintain that their intention was innocent before God. The prisoners received judgment, and suffered the punishment of traitors, having on the scaffold repeated the same sentiments which they had before uttered at their trials. Garnet, the Jesuit, having previously sent to the council a protestation of his innocence, secreted himself at Hindlip, near Worcester, in the house of Thomas Abingdon, who had married the sister of lord Mount-eagle. The place of his concealment was known to Humphrey Littleton, one of the conspirators, who had not yet been brought to trial; and the hope of saving his own life induced him to communicate the intelligence to the council. Sir Henry Bromley, a neighbouring magistrate, succeeded in arresting Garnet. After an interval of two months, his trial took place. Though a verdict of guilty was returned, his friends professed themselves satisfied with the proceedings, for all that had been proved against him was, that he had not betrayed the secret confided to him in confession.

More than two months were permitted to elapse between his condemnation and execution: a long and anxious interval, which, however, he was not suffered to spend in peaceful preparation for the fate which awaited him. He had been examined three-and-twenty times before his trial; after trial the examinations were resumed. On the scaffold he denied all knowledge of the plot, except by confession. His pious and constant demeanour excited the sympathy of the crowd; their vociferations checked the impatience of the executioner, and the cruel operation of quartering was deferred till he was fully dead.

To a thinking mind, the late conspiracy must have proved the danger and impolicy of driving men to desperation by the punishment of religious opinion. But the warning was lost ; the existing enactments against the catholics, oppressive and sanguinary as they were, appeared too indulgent ; and though justice had been satisfied by the death and execution of the guilty, revenge and fanaticism sought out additional victims among the innocent. Every member was ordered to stand up in his place and to propound those measures which in his judgment he thought most expedient. These in successive conferences, were communicated by one house to the other, and in each, motions were made and entertained abhorrent from the common feelings of humanity.

After a long succession of debates, conferences, and amendments, the new code received the royal assent. It repealed none of the laws then in force, but added to their severity by two new bills, containing more than seventy articles, inflicting penalties on the catholics in all the several departments of life. The enactment of a new oath of allegiance, for the avowed purpose of drawing a distinction between those catholics who denied, and those who admitted the temporal pretensions of the pontiffs, effectually broke the power of the catholic body in England, by dividing them into two parties marshalled against each other. That James, in the proposal of this measure, had the intention of gradually relieving one portion of his catholic subjects from the burden of the penal laws, is highly probable ; but whether those to whom he committed the task of framing the oath were animated with similar sentiments has been frequently disputed. They were not content with the disclaimer of the deposing power ; they added a declaration that to maintain it was impious, heretical, and damnable. The question as to the propriety of taking the oath as it was framed divided the English catholics for a long time.

When James prorogued the parliament in 1606, he had been more than three years on the throne, and yet had made no progress in the esteem, had acquired no place in the affections, of his English subjects. His inattention to business, and his love of dissipation, provoked remonstrances and complaints, for questions of great national importance were suffered to remain unnoticed.

James had scarcely recovered from the panic excited by the gunpowder treason, when he was alarmed by an insurrection in the very heart of the kingdom. It was provoked by the rapacity of the lords of manors, who had enclosed for their own use large parcels of lands which had hitherto been common, and had thus diminished the usual means of subsistence

Insurrection.

of their poorer tenants. At the first report of this commotion, James knew not whether to suspect the catholics or the puritans; the guards in the palace were doubled; and the lord mayor was instructed to watch the motions of the apprentices within the city. More accurate information relieved his terrors. The insurgents were commanded by proclamation to disperse: but they maintained that their occupation was lawful; they were employed in executing the statute against new enclosures. This insurrection was suppressed, but proved the weakness of the government.

Among the projects which James had formed, there was one upon which he had set his heart, but in which he was strongly opposed by the prejudices of his subjects of both **Union of England and Scotland proposed.** His accession had given to England and Scotland the same head; he wished to unite them in one body. By the English parliament the king's

proposal was received with coldness, by the Scottish with aversion; nor could the prayer of James obtain from the former, nor his threats extort from the latter, anything more than the appointment of commissioners to meet and deliberate on the question. These, after several conferences, agreed that all hostile laws between the two kingdoms ought to be repealed; that the border courts and customs should be abolished; that there should be free intercourse of trade throughout the king's dominions, and that the subjects of each should be naturalised in the other. Though these propositions did not equal the expectations of James, he was content to accept them, as a foundation for the superstructure which he meditated, and, therefore, assumed by proclamation the new style of king of Great Britain. When, however, they were laid before the parliament, the two first only were adopted. The king addressed the commons, but his eloquence was poured in vain; it only provoked angry discussions, and the king withdrew his favourite question from the consideration of parliament; but he had, however, the means of establishing the naturalisation of all his subjects in both kingdoms by decisions in the courts of law. One of the king's favourite maxims was, that to spend was *his* province, to provide money that of his ministers. The treasury was drained; and to meet the annual deficiency of the income, he enforced feudal aids and imposed additional duties on almost every article of foreign commerce, by the sole power of the crown.

For more than two years the parliament had been successively prorogued, through the unwillingness of James to meet the men who presumed to question his prudence. In 1610, his obstinacy was compelled to yield to necessity; and he convened the houses.

The commons appointed a committee to search for precedents, on the subject of taxation by the king alone, and the discussion occupied the house during the remainder of the session. The opposition members had the better of the argument, though they had to contend against the eloquence and ingenuity of sir Francis Bacon, the solicitor general. The threat of a dissolution prevailed on the commons to grant a supply.

Besides the great objects of contention, the commons presented several petitions for the redress of particular grievances, to which the king replied principally at the end of the session. Some he granted ; to others he promised to give the most serious attention ; a few he unequivocally refused.

During these protracted disputes there was one subject on which all parties were, as usual, unanimous—the persecution of the catholics. At the petition of the two houses, James issued a proclamation against priests and Jesuits ; an act was passed ordering, under the penalty of premunire, that all persons under the age of eighteen should take the oath of allegiance framed by his majesty ; and, “for the reformation of married women, who were popish recusants,” it was provided that they should be committed to prison, and remain there till they would receive the sacrament in the church, unless they should be redeemed by their husbands with the payment of ten pounds per month. In May, 1612, Cecil died.

While Cecil had laboured in vain to supply the wants of the treasury, the king’s attention had been occupied by occurrences within the circle of his own family, respecting his cousin-german, Arabella Stuart. Her descent, like **Arabella Stuart.** his own, from Margaret the eldest daughter of Henry VII., had formerly taught him to look upon her as a rival ; and a suspicion haunted his mind that her pretensions, if they were suffered to survive her, might prove dangerous to his own posterity. He treated her indeed as his kinswoman ; but at the same time he secretly condemned her in his own breast to live and die unmarried. She, however, formed an attachment for William Seymour, son to lord Beauchamp ; the king heard this intelligence with anger. The lovers were twice summoned before the council, reprimanded for their presumption, and forbidden on their allegiance to marry without the royal permission. They submitted till the next interview : a furtive marriage took place. Seymour was committed to the Tower—Arabella to the custody of sir Thomas Parry, at Lambeth. Seymour escaped, but Arabella, who got away from custody for a day, was retaken and again

consigned to the Tower. The rigour of her confinement was increased; and her mind, yielding to despair, betrayed symptoms of derangement. In the fourth year of her imprisonment she expired.

While the king thus severely punished the marriage of his cousin Arabella, he had been busily engaged in negotiating marriages for his son Henry and his daughter Elizabeth. Henry, the heir apparent, had reached his eighteenth year when he died. The princess Elizabeth was the only survivor of four daughters, and, after two brothers, the next heir to the throne. She had many suitors; but the profession of the reformed faith by Frederic count palatine of the Rhine, gave him the preponderance, and as soon as the articles of the marriage had been signed, he came to England to receive his young and beautiful bride.

From the king's children we may pass to his favourites. From the commencement of his reign, he had surrounded himself with several of his countrymen, but as long as Salisbury lived, he possessed exclusively his affection. The death of that powerful minister allowed James to follow his own inclinations, and he first selected Robert Carr, and afterwards George Villiers, as objects of peculiar attachment; and these, the creatures of the royal caprice and bounty, soon acquired the government of the king himself, and, through him, of his three kingdoms.

Carr was the son of one who had suffered much in the cause of the unfortunate Mary Stuart. He was distinguished with many marks of the royal favour; riches and honours poured upon him; and he became viscount Rochester, and a knight of the Garter. Unequal to the task of managing court intrigues, he employed the aid of sir Thomas Overbury as his guide and assistant; but Overbury was committed a close prisoner to the Tower in 1611. The occasion of his disgrace was the unfortunate passion of Rochester for the lady Frances Howard, the daughter of the lord chamberlain, Suffolk. At the age of thirteen she had been married to the earl of Essex, who was only a year older than herself. Dissensions between them produced on the part of each a rooted antipathy to the other. At court, the young countess had many admirers, among whom Rochester was the favoured lover; and in one of their furtive meetings it was proposed that she should sue for a divorce from Essex, and afterwards marry the viscount. The king approved of the project, but by Overbury

it was decidedly and violently opposed. The countess offered one thousand pounds to sir John Wood to take Overbury's life in a duel; but her friends suggested a more innocent expedient to remove him from court, by sending him on an embassy to France or Russia. He refused, observing that the king could not in law or justice exile him from his country. This answer was pronounced a contempt of the royal authority, and he was committed to the Tower.

Within a few days, proceedings for a divorce between the earl and the countess of Essex were instituted before a court of delegates, appointed by the king; decision was pronounced in favour of the divorce. On the preceding day Overbury expired, after a confinement of six months. The time, the manner of his death, the reported state of the body, and its precipitate interment, provoked a general suspicion that he had perished by poison. After a short delay, Frances Howard was married in the royal chapel to her lover, who, that she might not lose in title by the exchange, had been previously created earl of Somerset.

In the sale of offices, which was usual at this time, that of cupbearer had fallen to George Villiers, a younger son of sir Edward Villiers, of Brookesby in Leicestershire. He was tall and well-proportioned; his features bespoke activity of mind and gentleness of disposition; and the new cupbearer immediately attracted the notice of his sovereign; and the warmth with which the king spoke in his commendation, suggested to some of the court the idea of setting him up as a rival to Somerset. On St. George's feast, 1615, he was sworn a gentleman of the privy chamber; and the next day, while he was employed in the duties of his new office, he received the honour of knighthood.

Rise of
George Vil-
liers.

From that moment the influence of Somerset declined. The suspicion that Overbury had been poisoned had not been allayed, and a later discovery caused James to order the arrest of the earl; and he and the countess of Somerset were, in 1615, tried for the murder of Overbury. He was found guilty, but only suffered loss of property and station. The countess pleaded guilty, but was permitted to live.

Enquiry into
the death of
Overbury.

Sir Edward Coke, the celebrated lawyer, fell into disgrace about this period. In professional knowledge, Coke stood pre-eminent; but his notions were confined and illiberal, his temper arrogant and unfeeling. He even ventured, on occasion, to oppose the infallible judgment of James himself, and condemned

some even of the royal acts as illegal, and he became an object of personal dislike to the king. Bacon began to rise to eminence at this period, and became chancellor a few years afterwards.

In 1607, after a contest of forty years, both the king of Spain and the United Provinces having grown weary of hostilities, a truce was concluded. During the preliminary conferences, much occurred to prove how low the king of England was sunk in the estimation of his contemporaries. It was believed that he had not the spirit to engage in war. But England had reason to be satisfied with the result. It secured the independence of the States; and their reduction by Spain or their voluntary submission to France would have proved dangerous to the commerce and the greatness of England.

James, as head of the Church of England, aspired to the same pre-eminence in his native kingdom of Scotland. The Scottish clergy were men of bold, untameable characters; their efforts to establish a republican form of church government had led them to discuss the authority of the civil magistrate, and to inculcate principles of resistance to unjust and despotic sovereigns. Hence, to overthrow the fabric raised by Knox and his disciples became the chief object of the king's policy in Scotland. He made the attempt, and was apparently successful. With the aid of intrigue, and bribery, and force, he at length imposed bishops on the Scottish Church; but the clergy and the people remained attached to the presbyterian discipline. But to induce the leaders to yield to the wishes of the king, with respect to the superiority of bishops, the persons and property of the catholics was placed at their mercy. Every catholic nobleman was compelled to receive an orthodox minister into his family, and was forewarned that, unless he should conform within a given period, his obstinacy would be punished with judgment of forfeiture. At the same time, the prisons were filled with victims of inferior quality.

At his accession to the English throne, James had promised to visit his countrymen once in the space of three years. Fourteen elapsed before he at length redeemed his pledge, in 1616. He held a session of parliament, but did not succeed in his attempted changes in public affairs, and soon returned to England.

As James claimed his descent from Fergus, the first king of the Scots in Albion, who was sprung from the ancient kings of Ireland. Erin, his accession was hailed as a blessing by the aboriginal Irish; they congratulated each other on the event, and boasted that the sceptre of Ireland was restored to

the rightful national line. An act of parliament had been passed under Elizabeth to abolish the catholic worship in Ireland, but it had not been in the power of a handful of protestants to deprive a whole people of their religion. If the law were at all obeyed, it was only in the garrison towns; and even in these, the great mass of the inhabitants, the chief burghers and the magistrates, secretly cherished their former attachment to the catholic creed. The death of Elizabeth afforded them an opportunity of expressing their sentiments with less restraint; and the announcement of that event was immediately followed by the restoration of the ancient service in Cork, Waterford, Clonmel, Limerick, Cashel, and other places. Mountjoy, the lord deputy, however, collected a strong body of troops, proceeded from town to town, and, partly by argument, partly by intimidation, prevailed on the inhabitants to submit. The catholics, in 1603, sent over a deputation to petition for the free exercise of their religion. But James treated the proposal as an insult. It was, he told them, contrary to his conscience; as long as he could find one hundred men to stand by him, he would fight till death against the toleration of an idolatrous worship.

Two years later a proclamation was issued, commanding all catholic priests to quit Ireland under the penalty of death; and an order was sent to the magistrates and principal citizens of Dublin to attend regularly at the reformed service. By law, the refusal subjected the offenders to a certain fine; in this instance it was also visited with imprisonment. The great English families within the pale became alarmed. They remonstrated against the punishment as illegal, and prayed to be indulged with freedom of religious worship; but the chief of the petitioners were arrested and confined in the castle. To allay the discontent occasioned by this act of oppression, James issued a commission of graces. The levy of fines for absence from church, and the administration of the oath on the livery of lands were suspended till further orders. But the mass of the people were not on that account more deeply attached to the crown. Several Irish chiefs took arms against James, but each attempt failed. By several outlawries it was estimated that two millions of acres, almost the whole of six northern counties, were escheated to the crown. James was aware that the endeavours to colonise Ulster under Elizabeth had proved unsuccessful; but after long deliberation determined to make another trial on a new and improved plan. Some hundred thousand acres were planted; and the vigour of the measure,

joined to the intermixture of a new race of inhabitants, served to keep in awe those turbulent spirits that had so often defied the authority and arms of the English government. A parliament was held in Ireland in 1608, after an interval of seven-and-twenty years. The avowed object was to enact new laws, and to obtain a supply for the king; but the catholics suspected a further design of imposing on their necks that penal code which weighed so heavily on their brethren in England. An act was passed by which the punishment of high treason was to be enforced against all priests who should remain in the kingdom after the term of forty days from the conclusion of the parliament; and every person harbouring or aiding a priest, was for the first offence to pay forty pounds, for the second to incur a premunire, for the third to suffer death.

The catholics presented a remonstrance containing the catalogue of their religious grievances, but obtained no redress.

Another proclamation soon appeared, leaving to the catholic clergy of Ireland the option between self-banishment or death. But however anxious James might feel to strengthen the protestant interest in the island, he saw that additional persecution, without a larger force than he could maintain, would only provoke a general and perhaps successful rebellion. The recusants, therefore, received private assurances of forbearance and indulgence; and when the parliament met again, both parties appeared to be animated with the spirit of reconciliation and harmony.

James himself was now convinced that before he could extirpate the catholic worship, it would be necessary to colonise the other provinces after the example of Ulster. New inquiries into defective titles were instituted; by the most iniquitous proceedings it was made out that almost every foot of land possessed by the natives belonged to the crown, and the "plantation" system was thus considerably extended.

To return to England. Though the prisons were crowded with priests, James was less prodigal of human blood than Elizabeth, and in eleven years, from 1607 to 1618, the number of those who suffered as traitors for the exercise of their functions, amounted only to sixteen.

The lay catholics, however, were still liable to the fines of recusancy, from which the king, according to his own account, received a large income. Non-attendance at church was visited with excommunication and the civil consequences of that ecclesiastical sentence; and the refusal of the oath subjected them to perpetual imprisonment and the penalties of premunire. Another

grievance arose from the illegal extortions of the pursuivants. Armed with warrants from the magistrates or the under-sheriff, they selected a particular district, and visited every catholic family under the pretext of enforcing the law. From the poor, they generally exacted the sacrifice of their furniture or their cattle; to the more wealthy, they repeatedly sold their forbearance for large sums of money. These excesses attracted the notice of parliament; a promise of redress was given; and a royal proclamation proved, but did not abolish the evil.

Archbishop Bancroft "purged" the established church of non-conformist ministers. Fines, and imprisonment, and deprivation taught them a wholesome lesson; and the less obstinate persuaded themselves that it was lawful to submit in silence to that which, though they might condemn, they could not prevent.

Besides the catholics and puritans, there was a third class of religionists obnoxious to the law, the unitarians, few in number, but equally unwilling to abjure their peculiar doctrines. Two were burned; but James, informed of the murmurs uttered by the spectators, prudently prevented any further such executions to the end of his reign.

From these instances of religious intolerance we may turn to the civil transactions which filled up the residue of James's reign. While the king was in Scotland, Bacon had taken possession of his office. He fell into disgrace in 1617, in consequence of some court intrigues, and only escaped by acts of degradation and protestations of repentance. As the reward of his repentance, he obtained the appointment of lord chancellor, with a pension of one thousand two hundred pounds a year, besides the emoluments of his office, and the title of lord Verulam.

George Villiers now reigned without control. He was rapidly raised to the dignity of the dukedom of Buckingham; peerages were created, offices distributed, and ecclesiastical preferments conferred at his pleasure: his influence extended into the courts of law, and every department of government. James appeared to rejoice in the wealth and authority of his favourite; was never happy but in his company, and made him the depository of his secrets. His influence was all for evil.

Power of
Buckingham.

In 1619, a distressing scene was opened to the public by the last adventures and the subsequent fate of the gallant but unprincipled sir Walter Raleigh. After his conviction in 1603, he had remained thirteen years a prisoner in the Tower; but the earl of Northumberland, the

Sir Walter
Raleigh.

Mæcenæ of the age, had converted that abode of misery into a temple of the muses. Raleigh was gradually inspired by the genius of the place ; at first he endeavoured to solace the tedium of confinement by the study of chemistry ; thence he proceeded to different branches of literature ; and two years before his enlargement published his celebrated History of the World. At the request of Buckingham, James gave him liberty in 1619, but refused him pardon, so that he still lay under sentence of death.

In 1584, Raleigh had obtained from queen Elizabeth a patent, which gave to him, his heirs and assigns, full power to discover and subdue foreign and heathen lands not in possession of any Christian prince. In consequence of this most ample grant, Raleigh sent to the shores of North America several expeditions, which proved ruinous to the projector, though beneficial to the country, inasmuch as they led to the colonisation of Virginia.

In 1596, he sailed in person, and in the account which he published after his return, the riches of the natives, the fertility of the soil, and the salubrity of the climate, were painted in the most seductive colours. He continued to press the subject on the attention of secretary Winwood, till that minister, dazzled by the prospect, presented his petition to the king, and obtained for him the permission which he sought, of going out on behalf of the nation. The expedition, consisting of fourteen sail, was compelled to put into Cork, whence, after a long and tedious voyage of four months, during which the elements seemed to have conspired against the adventurers, it reached the coast of Guiana. Misfortunes occurred to Raleigh in various forms. Ship after ship abandoned his flag ; the men under his immediate command mutinied and split into parties ; and, after an unsuccessful attempt to slink away on the coast of Ireland, he returned to the harbour of Plymouth ; but whether by choice or compulsion is uncertain. As Raleigh had attacked some Spanish settlements in America contrary to James's orders, he was arrested.

James consulted the judges, who said, that Raleigh, remaining under sentence of death, had all along been dead in law ; he could not, therefore, be brought to trial for any subsequent offence, but, in contemplation of his more recent conduct in sacking and burning the town of St. Thomas, the judgment passed on him in the first year of the king might with justice be carried into execution. Four days later he was placed at the bar of the King's Bench : he pleaded that his commission, by giving him power of life and death over others, was equivalent to a pardon ; but the chief justice interrupted him, saying that in cases of treason,

pardon could not be implied, but must be expressed; and after a suitable exhortation, conceived in terms of respect unusual on such occasions, ended with these words, "execution is granted." Raleigh, from the moment he despaired of saving his life, displayed a fortitude worthy of his character. His cheerfulness on the scaffold was remarkable. He laid his head on the block, and gave the signal; and at the second blow his head was severed from his body.

During sixteen years James had now wielded the sceptre in peace: before the close of his reign he was reluctantly dragged into a war by the ambition of his son-in-law and the enthusiasm of his people. The cause originated in a quarrel respecting the site of churches amid the mountains of Bohemia; but that quarrel was connected with religion; and in an age mad with religious fanaticism, the most trifling provocation was sufficient to array one half of Europe in battle against the other.

England and
the Thirty
Years' War.

The calvinists rose in insurrection against their aged prince, Matthias. Matthias died in 1619, and was succeeded by his cousin Ferdinand. But the insurgents offered the crown of Bohemia to Frederic the elector palatine by whom it was accepted. The whole English nation called on James to support the interests of his son-in-law. James saw that to engage in the war was to espouse a cause evidently unjust; but he chose a middle course: that of granting the aid of an army for the protection of Frederic's patrimonial possessions! But Frederic was defeated at the battle of Prague, and wandered with his family, an exile and a suppliant, till he reached the Hague, where he obtained a pension from the States.

With a view to obtain supplies to enable the king to afford more powerful aid to his son-in-law it was resolved to take advantage of the enthusiasm of the people, and to convoke a parliament.

The first care of the commons was to gratify the call of religious animosity, and they petitioned the king to banish all recusants to the distance of ten miles from London; to restrain them from attending mass; to carry all the penal laws against them into execution, and they prepared a bill to give the crown two-thirds of the property of popish recusants.

The commons then turned to abuses, especially of monopolies, and impeached some of the patentees for their conduct. But the patentees were comparatively ignoble game: the lord chancellor, sir Francis Bacon, offered a higher and more reputable quarry. Nature had designed him to rule, as a master spirit, in the world of letters; but ambition led him to crouch at court in search

Impeach-
ment of lord
Bacon.

of wealth and preferment. He succeeded, but if he found the ascent to greatness slow and toilsome, his fall was sudden and instantaneous. He had not borne his honours with meekness. Vanity led him into great and useless expenses; his extravagance was supported by rapacity; and the suitors in his court, even the successful suitors, complained that they were impoverished by the venality of the judge. The commons presented a bill of impeachment, charging Bacon with bribery and corruption. This stroke unnerved him: after an unsatisfactory interview with the king, he shrank from the eyes of his accusers, and under the pretence of sickness, retired to his bed; whence he wrote to the house a letter acknowledging the enormity of his offences, and soliciting mercy for the repenting sinner. He was condemned to pay to the king a fine of £40,000, to be imprisoned during the royal pleasure, and to be incapacitated for life from coming within the verge of the court, from sitting in parliament, and from serving his country in any office of dignity or emolument.

Of Bacon's guilt there was no doubt; but, had he submitted with patience to his fate, had he devoted to literary pursuits those intellectual powers which made him the prodigy of the age, he might have redeemed his character, and have conferred immortal benefits on mankind. He revised, indeed, his former works, he procured them to be translated into the Latin language, and he wrote a life of Henry VII. He still hoped for the favours of the court; and, in addition to the restoration to liberty and the remission of his fine—boons which were granted—he solicited with unceasing importunity both a pension and employment. With this view he continued to harass the king, the prince, and the favourite with letters; but his petitions were received with coldness, and treated with contempt; the repeated failure of his hopes soured his temper and impaired his health; and he died, the victim of mistaken and disappointed ambition, in the fifth year after his disgrace.

James had long sought to connect himself with France, by soliciting the hand of the princess Christine for his eldest son Henry, and on the death of Henry, for his next surviving son Charles. But Christine was already contracted to Philip, prince of Spain, whom she afterwards married. There was another infanta, Donna Maria, and her the Spanish minister, the duke of Lerma, offered to prince Charles. By James the proposal was cheerfully entertained, under the idea that the riches of the father would supply a large portion with the princess, and his superior power would render him a more valuable ally. His views were eagerly seconded in

**Treaty of
marriage
with Spain.**

England by Gondomar the Spanish, and in Spain by Digby the English ambassador. By their exertions the chief difficulty—difference of religion—was apparently surmounted: articles, securing to the princess the free exercise of the catholic worship in England, received the approbation of the two monarchs; and James was induced to promise that he would never more suffer catholic priests to be executed for the sole exercise of their functions, and that he would grant to the catholic recusants every indulgence in his power. Though the negotiation was kept secret, its general tendency transpired; the clergy and the more zealous of their hearers maintained that religion was in danger from the restoration of popery; and the result was, a petition of the commons which provoked the dissolution of parliament.

Two strangers, calling themselves John and Thomas Smith, arrived in the dusk of the evening at the house of the earl of Bristol, the English ambassador in Madrid, on the 7th March, 1623. They were the prince of Wales and the marquess of Buckingham, who had left England without the privity of any other person than the king, and had travelled in disguise, to the capital of Spain. The king, the nobility, and the population of Madrid, seemed at a loss to testify their joy at this unexpected event. The prince was received with every complimentary honour which Spanish ingenuity could devise; the prisons were thrown open; disposal of favours was placed in his hands; he was made to take precedence of the king himself; and two keys of gold gave him admission, at all hours, into the royal apartments. His visit was considered not only as a proof of his reliance on Spanish honour, an earnest of his attachment to the Spanish princess, but also as a prelude to his conversion to the catholic faith, of which hopes had already been held out, and, there is reason to believe, not entirely without foundation. In England, the sudden disappearance of the prince had excited surprise and alarm; the intelligence of his arrival in Spain, though celebrated at the royal command with bonfires and the ringing of bells, was received with strong expressions of disapprobation. The match was soon broken off in consequence of disputes between Buckingham and the Spanish court.

The king was engaged, in 1624, in a new treaty of marriage, which had been set on foot to console him for the failure of that with Spain. When Charles and Buckingham passed through France, they had stopped a day in Paris, and had been admitted in quality of strangers to the French court, where they saw the princess Henrietta

**Journey of
prince
Charles to
Spain.**

**Treaty of
marriage
with France.**

Maria at a ball. She was the youngest daughter of the last king, in her fourteenth year, dark of complexion and short of stature, but distinguished by the beauty of her features and the elegance of her shape. At that time she seems to have made no impression on the heart of the prince; but afterwards, in proportion as his affections were estranged from the infanta, his thoughts reverted to Henrietta; and, after his return to England, the proposal of marriage was formally made to the French court. The French cabinet acquiesced; and the king of England promised that all catholics, imprisoned for religion since the rising of parliament, should be discharged; that all fines levied on recusants since that period should be repaid; and that for the future they should suffer no molestation on account of the private and peaceable exercise of their worship.

In March, 1625, before the marriage was solemnised, James fell ill of gout. Early on the 14th, James sent for Charles; but before the prince could reach the chamber, the king had lost the faculty of speech, and in the course of a few hours expired, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign. Of his seven children, three sons and four daughters, two only survived him; Charles, his successor on the throne, and Elizabeth, the titular queen of Bohemia.

James though an able man, was a weak monarch. His quickness of apprehension and soundness of judgment were marred by his credulity and partialities, his childish fears, and habit of vacillation. Eminently qualified to advise as a counsellor, he wanted the spirit and resolution to act as a sovereign. His discourse teemed with maxims of political wisdom, his conduct frequently bore the impress of political folly. If in the language of his flatterers, he was the British Solomon, in the opinion of less interested observers he merited the appellation given to him by the duke of Sully, that of "the wisest fool in Europe." It was his misfortune at the moment when he took into his hands the reins of government in Scotland, to fall into the possession of worthless and profligate favourites, who, by gratifying his inclinations, sought to perpetuate their own influence; and it is to that love of ease and indulgence which he then acquired that we ought to attribute the various anomalies in his character. To this we see him continually sacrificing his duties and his interests, seeking in his earlier years to shun by every expedient the tedium of public business, and shifting at a later period the burthen of government from himself

to the shoulders of his favourites. It taught him to practise, in pursuit of his ends, duplicity and cunning, to break his word with as much facility as he gave it, to swear and forswear as best suited his convenience. It plunged him into debt that he might spare himself the pain of refusing importunate suitors, and induced him to sanction measures which he condemned, that he might escape from the contradiction of his son and his favourite. To forget his cares in the hurry of the chase, or the exercise of golf, in carousing at table, or laughing at the buffoonery practised by those around him, seems to have constituted the chief pleasure of his life.

In temper James was hasty and variable, easily provoked, and easily appeased. Of his intellectual acquirements he has left numerous specimens in his works; but his literary pride and self-sufficiency, and the ostentatious display which he continually made of his own learning, though they won the flattery of his attendants and courtiers, provoked the contempt and derision of real scholars. Theology he considered as the first of sciences on account of its object, and of the highest importance to himself, in quality of head of the church and defender of the faith. Besides divinity there was another science with which he was equally conversant, that of demonology. With great parade of learning, he demonstrated the existence of witches. Witchcraft, at his solicitation, was made a capital offence, and, from the commencement of his reign, there scarcely passed a year in which some aged female or other was not condemned to expiate on the gallows her imaginary communications with the evil spirit.

Had the lot of James been cast in private life, he might have been a respectable country gentleman: the elevation of the throne exposed his foibles to the ridicule of the public. With all his learning and eloquence, he failed to acquire the love or the esteem of his subjects; and though he deserved not the reproaches cast on his memory by the revolutionary writers of the next and succeeding reigns, posterity has agreed to consider him as a weak and prodigal king, and a vain and loquacious pedant.

CHAPTER XXV

CHARLES I. 1625-1649

CHARLES was in his twenty-fifth year when he ascended the throne. His accession caused no material alteration in the policy of the government, for Buckingham possessed the confidence of the son as firmly as he had enjoyed that of the father. The first question which claimed the attention of the new monarch was the match with France; and on the third day after the decease of his father he ratified the treaty of marriage. The ceremony was performed by proxy on a platform erected before the great door of the cathedral of Paris; and the duke of Buckingham hastened to that capital with a numerous retinue to bring home the royal bride.

Charles soon met his first parliament, and submitted the state of his finances to its consideration. James had left personal debts amounting to £700,000; and the accession and marriage of the new king had involved him in heavy expenses. In the commons, the saints or zealots formed a most powerful phalanx; they generally fought under the same banner, and on most questions made common cause with the members of the country party, who, whatever might be their religious feelings, professed to seek the reformation of abuse in the royal prerogative, and the preservation of the liberties of the people. The session was opened with a gracious speech from the throne; but, though it had been customary to give credit to the professions of a new sovereign, nothing was heard among the commons but the misbodings of fanaticism and the murmurs of distrust. The king was urged, as he valued the advancement of true religion, as he disapproved of idolatry and superstition, to put into immediate execution all the existing laws against catholic recusants and missionaries. At no time could such an address have proved more unwelcome to his feelings. He had just married a catholic princess; he had bound himself by treaty to grant indulgence to her brethren of the same faith, and his palace was crowded with catholic noblemen whom he had invited from France to do

honour to his nuptials; but prudence taught him to subdue his vexation, and he returned a gracious and satisfactory answer. They next proceeded to the supplies; the predecessors of Charles, ever since the reign of Henry VI., had received the duties of tonnage and poundage for life. Parliament voted the same to him, but, to the surprise and indignation of the king, limited the duration to the first year of his reign; and to meet the enormous demands which Charles had laid before them, they refused to grant him more than two small subsidies.

The war with Spain, promised by the late king, was now clamoured for by the nation; but when at length an expedition sailed for Cadiz, late in the year, it returned after a few months without having accomplished its original purpose, or effecting any capture of importance. Charles ordered an enquiry; but after a long investigation, it was deemed expedient to bury the whole matter in silence.

**Expedition
against
Cadiz.**

To please the puritans, Charles now persecuted the catholics; the magistrates received orders to watch over the strict execution of the penal laws; a commission was appointed to levy the fines due by the catholics, and to apply them to the charges of the war; and a succession of proclamations enjoined all parents and guardians to recall their children and wards from seminaries beyond the seas: all catholic priests to quit the kingdom against a certain day: and all recusants to deliver up their arms, and confine themselves within the circuit of five miles from their respective dwellings. The king of France remonstrated by an extraordinary ambassador; he insisted on the faithful observance of the treaty; but Charles, who had pledged his word to call a parliament after Christmas, dared not face his opponents until he had carried into effect the prayer of their petition; and in excuse to Louis alleged, that he had never considered the stipulation in favour of the catholics as anything more than an artifice to obtain the papal dispensation for the marriage of the French princess.

**Measures
against the
catholics.**

At Candlemas the king was crowned, and four days later he met the new parliament. A committee of the commons denounced to the house sixteen abuses, as subversive of the liberties of the people. Of these the most prominent were, the practice of impositions, which had been so warmly debated in the last reign; that of purveyance, by which the officers of the household collected provisions at a fixed price to the distance of sixty miles from the court; and the

**Charles
crowned,
1626.**

illegal conduct of the lord treasurer, who persisted in levying the duties of tonnage and poundage without authority of parliament.

Charles reminded the house of his wants, and received in return a promise of three subsidies and fifteenths, as soon as he should give a favourable answer to their prayer for the redress of grievances. His pride spurned the condition. He advised them to hasten and augment the supply, or "else it would be worse for themselves;" he repeated the menace, he wrote to the speaker, he reprimanded the house in the presence of the lords, and at last extorted the vote of an additional subsidy. But, by this time, the commons had discovered that the duke of Buckingham was the real cause of the national evils; and under this impression a resolution was taken to impeach him, before the upper house, of sundry high crimes and misdemeanours. Pending the impeachment, however, the king to protect Buckingham dissolved parliament. The dissolution left him to struggle with his pecuniary difficulties. He had threatened the commons to pursue "new counsels:" necessity compelled him to execute his threat. Tonnage and poundage, comprising all the duties levied on imports and exports, formed the principal portion of the annual income. No bill authorising these duties had been passed: nevertheless he ordered the officers of the customs to exact them in the same manner as had been done in his father's reign. Under pretence of the protection of commerce in the narrow seas, the several ports were compelled to provide and maintain, during three months a certain number of armed vessels, and at the same time the lords lieutenants of the different counties received orders to muster the inhabitants, train them to arms, and employ them for the purpose of suppressing civil tumult or of repelling foreign invasion. Charles next resolved to raise a forced loan by his own authority; and with this view he appointed commissioners in every county, instructed them to take the book of the last subsidy for their guide, and empowered them to exact from each individual the advance of a certain sum of money.

The duke of Buckingham, at this time, was employed in a mission which had for its object to arm the French protestants against their sovereign, and to make a descent upon the French coast.

It was a strange policy which led the king, at a moment when, in the estimation of every thinking man, there were only two

expedients by which he could extricate himself from his difficulties—a peace with Spain, or a reconciliation with his parliament, to neglect them both, and, in addition, to provoke a war with the monarch whose alliance he had courted and whose sister he had married. The war which followed has been attributed by English writers (amongst other causes), to the resentment of Buckingham, the disappointed lover of one of the continental princesses. Charles had bound himself to grant the catholics every indulgence in his power, and yet he had enforced the penal laws against them, which course greatly exasperated the French king. At last both kings, as if it had been by mutual compact, signed orders for the suspension of all commercial intercourse between the two nations. A treaty of alliance was concluded between France and Spain, which provided that in the course of the next year both powers should unite their forces, and make a descent on some part of the British islands. Buckingham soon sailed, and in a few days appeared before La Rochelle; but the Rochellois were taken by surprise; and, alarmed at the sight of his formidable armament, fearing they should find in Buckingham a master instead of an ally, they said that they could make no demonstration till they had collected the harvest, and consulted the other churches of the union. In the mean time Buckingham published a manifesto in vindication of his proceedings. He declared that the king of Great Britain had no intention of conquest; that he had taken up arms not as a principal in the war, but as an ally of the protestants of France. The Rochellois at last declared themselves: but little of interest occurred before the eleventh week of the siege undertaken by them and Buckingham of the castle of St. Martin, when a fleet burst through the boom and revictualled the fortress. The failure to capture it by assault induced Buckingham to abandon the enterprise; but the withdrawal of the English troops was only effected with heavy loss. Although Buckingham had failed, yet Charles received him with a cheerful countenance and undiminished affection. He had even the generosity to transfer the blame from Buckingham to himself, and to give out that the failure was owing to the want of supplies which it was his own duty to have provided.

Expedition
in aid of La
Rochelle.

Parliament was soon summoned, but before it assembled the king again endeavoured to raise taxes by royal authority alone; and the people were admonished that, if the money were dutifully paid, the king would meet the parliament; if not, “he would think of some more speedy way.” This attempt threw the whole

nation into a ferment. The expression of the public discontent appalled the boldest of the ministers ; and the taxation commission was revoked by proclamation, with a promise, " that the king would rely on the love of his people in parliament." Yet a fortnight did not elapse before he imposed new duties on merchandise by his own authority, and then recalled them on the declaration

**Attempts at
taxation by
royal
authority
alone.**

of the judges that they were illegal. Such vacillating conduct, the adoption and rejection of such arbitrary measures, served only to excite in the nation two different feelings, both equally dangerous to the sovereign—disaffection and contempt. When parliament met, the leaders of the country party conducted their proceedings with the most consummate address. They resolved to grant a supply, but no art, no entreaty, could prevail on them to pass their resolution in the shape of

**Parliament
and supply.**

a bill. It was held out as a lure to the king ; it was gradually brought nearer and nearer to his grasp ; but they still refused to surrender their hold : they required, as a previous condition, that he should give his assent to those liberties which they claimed as the birthright of Englishmen. The four following resolutions were passed : 1. That no freeman ought to be restrained or imprisoned, unless some lawful cause of such restraint or imprisonment be expressed. 2. That the writ of habeas corpus ought to be granted to every man imprisoned or restrained, though it be at the command of the king or of the privy council, if he pray for the same. 3. That when the return expresses no cause of commitment or restraint, the party ought to be delivered or bailed. 4. That it is the ancient and undoubted right of every freeman, that he hath a full and absolute property in his goods and estate, and that no tax, loan, or benevolence ought to be levied by the king or his ministers without common consent by act of parliament.

It would fatigue the patience of the reader to detail the numerous expedients by which Charles, during the space of two months, laboured to lull the suspicions, or exhaust the perseverance of his opponents. At length they solicited his assent to the celebrated "Petition of Right." This document set forth the acts of tyranny which had long been practised, and prayed that all such proceedings should cease, and never afterwards be drawn into precedents ; "as being contrary to the rights and liberties of the subject, and the laws and statutes of the nation." Charles was at a loss what answer to return, and resolved to dissemble. His subsequent conduct,

**Petition of
Right, 1628.**

during the session, was accordingly formed on a studied plan of hypocrisy and deceit.

On the 23rd of August, 1628, the duke of Buckingham was assassinated at Portsmouth, by a man whose name was Felton, a retired lieutenant in the army. **Assassination of Buckingham.**

La Rochelle surrendered, at this time, to the king of France. To the French monarch the reduction of this town was a beneficial achievement; it put an end to that kind of independent republic which the protestants had erected in the heart of France, and enabled him to consolidate his extensive domains into one powerful empire. To the king of England it furnished a source of regret and self-accusation. Ineffectual attempts had been made to relieve it: on the English king lay the blame and disgrace of the fall of one of the strongest bulwarks of the protestant interest. **Surrender of La Rochelle.**

Parliament soon re-assembled. The king, by message, ordered the commons to take the bill for tonnage and poundage into immediate consideration; but the patriots demanded the precedence for grievances, the saints for religion. The last succeeded, and many debates took place on religious subjects. On the subject of the Petition of Right violent disputes occurred, and parliament was soon dissolved. By the order of the king the most violent of the opposition members were singled out for punishment, previously to the dissolution; and, after a hasty examination before the council, were committed, some to the Tower, others to different prisons. The attorney-general filed a criminal information against three of them; but they refused to plead, on the ground that the court of King's Bench had no right to sit in judgment on their conduct in parliament. Judgment, however, was given, that all three should be imprisoned during the royal pleasure. **Charles and the lower house.**

Charles next resolved to govern for the future without the intervention of parliament. To strengthen the administration he resolved to tempt with the offer of favour and office the most formidable of his adversaries in the last parliament. To archbishop Laud he resigned the government of the church, and that prelate marshalled the church in support of the royal prerogative, and watched with a vigilant eye over its interests. **Government without parliament.**

Charles had been advised to issue a proclamation forbidding preachers to deal with disputed controversies; but the

prohibition was repeatedly disregarded, and the puritans, of unbending character, suffered fine, imprisonment, and deprivation. Many of them sought to leave a land where they could not enjoy religious freedom, and, migrating to America, laid the foundations of the state of New England.

The puritans and New England.

Having arranged his foreign disputes, his attention was next chiefly occupied with the improvement of the revenue. He not only persisted in levying the duties of tonnage and poundage, but augmented the rates on several descriptions of merchandise, and ordered the goods of the refractory to be distrained for immediate payment. He contrived to raise a considerable revenue by the revival of the numerous monopolies which had been abated on the successive remonstrances of parliament.

About this time the jealousy of the puritans was roused to the highest pitch by their knowledge of the fact that an accredited agent from Rome had received the royal permission to reside in London. The reception given to Panzani and other papal envoys was a fatal error on the part of the king; for it provoked in the minds of many a doubt of his attachment to the reformed faith, and enabled his enemies to raise the cry that religion was in danger.

The court of Star-chamber, established under Henry VII., continued to grow in importance through several reigns. Whatever by legal ingenuity could be tortured into a contempt of the royal authority was brought before it; and in the eyes of the public it held the superiority over every other judicial tribunal. But as it gained in dignity and importance, it lost in reputation. Decisions were generally founded on precedent rather than law; and it was believed that the wish to humble an adversary, or the needs of the exchequer, induced punishment without sufficient proof of guilt, or beyond the real demerit of the offender. Thus William Prynne, a barrister, wrote a ponderous volume of one thousand pages, entitled *Histriomastix*, to prove that the nation was rapidly lapsing into paganism. Prynne was indicted in the Star-chamber as the author of a dangerous and seditious libel: he was adjudged to the pillory, the loss of his ears, to have his book burnt, to pay a fine of £5000, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment. Dr. Bastwick, a physician, for a strange and incoherent rhapsody entitled *The Litany of John Bastwick*, suffered a similar penalty, as did many others for like offences. Such punishments encouraged a notion that the condemned books asserted truths which could

Prynne and the Star-chamber.

not be refuted, and elevated the libellers to the rank of martyrs.

In 1633, the king visited his native country, and was there received with the most enthusiastic welcome. During the six years which followed his return from Scotland, England appeared to enjoy a calm, if that could be called a calm which continually gave indications of an approaching storm. Charles governed without a parliament, but took no pains to allay, he rather inflamed, that feverish irritation which the illegality of his past conduct had excited in the minds of his subjects. Nor can it be said in his excuse, that he was ignorant of their dissatisfaction. He saw it, and despised it; believing firmly in the divine right of kings, he doubted not to bear down the force of public opinion by the mere weight of the royal prerogative.

Another grievance soon extended itself over the whole kingdom. In 1634, writs were issued to London, and the different ports, ordering them to supply a certain number of ships of a specified tonnage, sufficiently armed and manned, to rendezvous at Portsmouth on the first of

Ship-money,
1634.

March of the following year, and to serve during six months under an admiral to be appointed by the king. The experiment succeeded; the imprisonment of those who refused to pay their share of the expense enforced obedience; and the council resolved to extend the measure from the maritime towns to the whole kingdom. Writs were directed to the sheriffs, informing each that his county was assessed at a certain number of ships towards the fleet for the ensuing year. The king's right to levy the tax was denied by many of his subjects, and the claims of the crown were disputed by the celebrated John Hampden, a gentleman of Buckinghamshire; one so quiet, so

John Hampden.

courteous, so submissive, that he seemed the last individual in the kingdom to offer opposition. But, under the appearance of humility and diffidence, he veiled a correct judgment, an invincible spirit, and the most consummate address. In 1626, he had suffered imprisonment for his refusal to pay his assessment towards the forced loan; a refusal which he justified by the danger of drawing upon himself the curse pronounced against the violators of Magna Charta; now, in 1637, in similar manner, he ventured to meet his sovereign in a court of law, merely, as he pretended, to obtain a solemn judgment on a very doubtful question; though it was plainly his real object to awaken the people from their apathy, by the public discussion of a subject which so nearly concerned their rights and liberties. The sum

demande amounted to twenty shillings. Hampden demurred to the proceedings in the court of Exchequer, and the question was solemnly argued before the twelve judges during twelve days. The judges delivered their opinions during the three next terms, four in each term. Seven pronounced in favour of the prerogative, and five in favour of Hampden. The termination of this great trial, which had so long kept the nation in suspense, was hailed as an important victory by the court; but it proved a victory which, by its consequences, led afterwards to the downfall of the monarchy. The reasoning in favour of the prerogative was universally judged weak and inconclusive; and men who had paid cheerfully while they conceived the claim might be good in law, parted with their money reluctantly after they had persuaded themselves that it was illegal.

Charles was not satisfied with sowing the seeds of disaffection in England; the same arbitrary sway, the same disregard of the royal word, the same violation of private rights, Ireland. marked his government of the people of Ireland. Wentworth.

In 1632, viscount Wentworth had accepted the office of chief governor of Ireland. Wentworth brought with him to the service of his sovereign that austerity of disposition and that obstinacy of purpose which had formerly earned for him the hostility of the king. As he had once been the zealous champion of the rights of the people, so he now knew no rights but those of the crown. Ireland, he maintained, was a conquered country; whatever the inhabitants possessed, they derived from the indulgence of the conqueror; and the imprudent grants of preceding kings might be resumed or modified by the reigning monarch. With these principles he proceeded to Dublin. By means of promises, which he broke, he raised supplies, and his success stimulated him to carry into execution other plans which he had formed respecting Ireland. Under the notion that the attachment of the lower orders to the catholic faith sprung out of their aptitude to imitate the conduct of their chiefs, he had persuaded himself that if the principal landholders could be induced to conform to protestantism, the great mass of the people would spontaneously follow their example. With this view, he restored to full activity the oppressive powers of the court of Wards. The catholic heir, if he were a minor, was educated by order of the deputy in the protestant faith; if of age, he was refused the possession of his lands till he had abjured his religion by taking the oath of supremacy.

Wentworth next arranged a most extensive plan of spoliation,

and claimed the whole province of Connaught in right of the sovereign. Those who ventured to resist, and refused to surrender the inheritance of their fathers, were summoned before the Castle-chamber in Dublin, where they were heavily fined, and consigned to prison. Wentworth was of a temper jealous, haughty, and impatient of contradiction. The slightest resistance to his will, the semblance of contempt of his authority, was sufficient to kindle his resentment; and from that moment the unfortunate offender was marked out for ruin. He adopted the same "**Thorough.**" motto as archbishop Laud: "thorough"—the rejection of half measures, and the enforcement of obedience by the terror of punishment.

Much, however, as the people of Ireland and England were aggrieved, they betrayed no disposition to oppose open force to the unjust pretensions of their sovereign; it was in Scotland that the flame was kindled, which gradually spread, till it involved the three kingdoms in one common conflagration. When Charles returned from his native country in 1633, he brought back with him strong feelings of resentment against some lords who had ventured to oppose his favourite measures in the Scottish parliament. Laud, too, laboured strenuously to establish the English liturgy in Scotland; but his reasoning **New Liturgy for Scotland.** and influence were compelled to yield to the obstinacy of the Scottish bishops, who deemed it a disgrace to their country to owe either the service or the discipline of their church to their English neighbours. To four of the prelates, whose principles or subserviency had lately raised them to the episcopal dignity, the king assigned the task of compiling a new code of ecclesiastical law, and a new form of public worship. Charles had no right to impose on the nation a new form of worship or new rules of conduct abhorrent from its religious habits and persuasion. He was not by law the head of the Scottish church. The moment the liturgy was announced, woes and curses were uttered from every pulpit, and riots took place; but the ministers of the crown in Scotland were slow to engage in a contest in which they felt no interest, and the issue of which seemed more than doubtful.

But the leaders of the anti-episcopal party adopted a new and most efficient expedient. Under their auspices, a form of covenant was devised with the view of uniting the whole nation into one dissenting body. By orders from **The Covenant.** the committees, every Scotsman who valued the pure faith and discipline of the kirk was summoned to the capital to observe a solemn fast, as a preparation for the renewal of the

covenant between Israel and God ; and on the appointed day, the form of covenant was sworn to by many hundreds. From the capital the enthusiasm quickly diffused itself to the extremities of the kingdom ; and the covenanters, in every county but that of Aberdeen, outnumbered their opponents in the proportion of a hundred to one. The royal authority, though still acknowledged, was no longer obeyed.

Charles resolved, in opposition to the remonstrances of his council in Scotland, to suppress the covenant by open force. He at first, however, offered concessions ; but the Scottish leaders refused to accept them, for they received information that no reliance was to be placed on this apparent change of disposition in the monarch ; and that his object was to lull them into a fatal security, till he had completed his preparations for war. By the General Assembly episcopacy was abolished ; and the bishops themselves, with the ministers, the known friends of the bishops, were excommunicated or deprived. Charles by proclamation annulled these proceedings ; while the Scots received them with transports of joy, and celebrated a day of national thanksgiving. While the covenanters thus steadily pursued the abolition of episcopacy, they were not inattentive to the danger which threatened them from England. Their preparations for war kept pace with those of their sovereign, and every man capable of bearing arms was regularly trained.

Charles could not but remark the visible indifference of his English subjects. To the majority, discontented with the illegal tenour of his government, it was a matter of little concern, perhaps of real satisfaction, that the Scots refused submission to his mandates ; the puritans openly condemned the war as an impious crusade against the servants of God ; and the only persons who seemed to interest themselves in the cause were the more orthodox of the clergy, and the few men of wealth and importance who depended on the favour of the court. The war soon began in Scotland, and the king was unsuccessful in all directions. Every day brought him intelligence of some new disaster or disappointment.

The Covenanters.

Charles repaired to York, whence he advanced to the neighbourhood of Berwick ; Leslie, the Scottish general, had fixed his head-quarters at Dunglass, where twelve thousand volunteers crowded to his standard. To this army, animated by the most powerful motives that can influence the human breast, Charles could oppose an equal, perhaps superior number of men ; but they were men who felt no interest in the cause for which they were destined to fight,

and who disapproved of the arbitrary proceedings of their sovereign. Negotiations, however, took place, and Charles returned to London.

He, however, resolved on a second campaign against Scotland ; but wanted money. By the advice of Wentworth, it was resolved to apply in the first instance to the liberality of the Irish parliament. Before his departure, to reward his past services and to give greater weight to his efforts, he was created earl of Strafford, and appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland. There no man dared openly to oppose his pleasure ; the two houses voted a grant of four subsidies ; and at his command added a promise of two more, if they should be found necessary.

Wentworth
created earl
of Strafford.

In England the meeting of a parliament, after an interruption of many years, was hailed with expressions of joy, and the people expected from its labours the redress of those grievances under which they had laboured, and the vindication of those liberties which had been violated.

The "Short
Parliament,"
1640.

Charles met the two houses without any sanguine expectations of success ; but he called upon them to grant him an ample and speedy supply ; and to demonstrate to them the justice of his cause, exhibited an intercepted letter, subscribed by seven of the principal covenanters, and soliciting the aid of the king of France. The result, however, proved that the commons had inherited the sentiments and policy of their predecessors. They took no notice of the wants of the sovereign ; but gave their whole attention to the national grievances. Charles viewed the apathy of the commons with alarm. It was in vain that he endeavoured to quicken their proceedings by an earnest and conciliatory speech at Whitehall ; and his request to the lords, that they would not listen to the grievances of the commons till the royal wants had been supplied, was productive of a fatal dispute between the two houses. Finding the commons determined, Charles dissolved parliament. Riots took place in London. The king passed some days in the deepest anxiety, looking with impatience for the arrival of troops from the army ; and beholding evening after evening, from his palace, the illegal proceedings of the mob, and the conflagration of houses on the opposite bank of the river. At last, he found himself at the head of six thousand men.

In Scotland, the covenanters acted with unanimity and enthusiasm. When Charles commenced his preparations, his enemies were ready to act. Leslie collected his army at

Chouseley Wood, near Dunse; and, on August 20th, he crossed the Tweed with twenty-three thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry. The lord Conway had arrived in Northumberland to take the command, with the rank of general of the horse. He dared not oppose an inferior and undisciplined force to the advance of the enemy; but received a peremptory order from the earl of Strafford, the commander-in-chief under the king, to dispute the passage of the Tyne. The works which he hastily erected, in Stella-haugh, were demolished by the Scottish artillery; a division led by Leslie's guard passed at Newburn ford, and was speedily driven back into the river by a charge of six troops of horse; but these in their turn were checked by the fire from a battery; the Scots a second time formed on the right bank, and the whole English army retired; the horse towards Durham, the infantry, four thousand in number, to Newcastle. Thence they hastened by forced marches to the borders of Yorkshire, and the two northern counties remained in the undisputed possession of the conquerors.

Charles, finding himself in urgent need of supplies, was at length forced once more to summon a parliament, which he met with the most lively apprehensions. The task of leading the opposition was assumed by Pym, Hampden, and St. John. The catholics, according to custom, were the first to feel their enmity. Charles, harassed with petitions to relieve his protestant subjects from their terrors, gave orders that all catholics should quit the court, and be expelled from the army; that the houses of recusants should be searched for arms; and that the priests should be banished from the realm within thirty days. Both houses concurred in pronouncing the commissions for the levy of ship-money, and all the proceedings consequent on those commissions, to be illegal. Impeachments against Laud and Strafford were next resolved on, and they were taken into custody.

Strafford's trial soon took place: Westminster Hall was fitted up for the purpose, and the proceedings were conducted during thirteen days, and so ably was the defence conducted, that it appeared likely that Strafford would secure an acquittal.

The parliament, to secure Strafford's death, abandoning the method of impeachment, brought in a bill of attainder, which the king reluctantly signed, after making many efforts to save his friend; and on the 12th May, 1641, the

Scots taken
up arms.
English rout
at Newburn,
1640.

The "Long
Parliament,"
November,
1640.

Trial and
execution of
Strafford,
1641.

unfortunate nobleman was led to execution. He had requested archbishop Laud, also a prisoner in the Tower, to impart to him his blessing from the window of his cell. The prelate appeared; he raised his hand, but grief prevented his utterance, and he fell senseless on the floor. On the scaffold the earl behaved with composure and dignity. At the first stroke his head was severed from the body. Thus, after a long struggle, perished the earl of Strafford, the most able and devoted champion of the claims of the crown, and the most active and formidable enemy to the liberties of the people.

Hitherto, on most subjects, the two houses had concurred; both had voted the abolition of the courts of Star-chamber and High Commission: the holding of triennial parliaments, even without the royal summons: had declared illegal the levy of ship-money and benevolences, and had determined that judges were henceforth to hold office while they properly discharged their duties, and not merely at the king's pleasure.

Parliamentary reforms: dissensions; the "Root and Branch" bill.

But the pretensions set up, and the power exercised by the commons, began to provoke the jealousy of the lords, many of whom determined to withstand any further attempt to subvert the constitution or the rights of the crown. They rejected two bills; one to exclude the bishops and clergy from politics, and another providing security for true religion. Later, the commons proposed the total abolition of bishops, in a measure that was known as the "Root and Branch" bill. These symptoms of misunderstanding, not only between lords and commons, but also between the fanatics, and those who, although they were constitutional reformers, yet remained loyal churchmen, awakened the most pleasing anticipations in the mind of the king, who still cherished the hope of being able to give the law to his opponents.

Charles, soon afterwards, visited Scotland peaceably, and was received with honour by a deputation from the estates at his entrance into Edinburgh. He was aware that in Scotland a reaction had long been working in the minds of moderate men, who, satisfied with the concessions already made by the sovereign, began to look with suspicion on the obstinacy and pretensions of the popular leaders. A party had some time before been secretly formed under the auspices of the earl of Montrose, who opened a correspondence with the king. Montrose, however, and several others being suspected by their countrymen were thrown into prison. The

Charles in Scotland.

king procured their release, and after some arrangements with the Covenanters returned to England.

The proceedings of the English parliament, and the success of the Scottish covenanters, had created a deep and general sensation in Ireland. Could that be blameable in Irishmen which was so meritorious in others? The gentlemen of the pale persuaded the Irish to imitate the conduct of the English parliament. Enquiries were instituted into the abuses of government, and commissioners were sent to London to demand toleration from the justice of Charles. It was plainly his interest to conciliate his Irish subjects. He gave them a most flattering reception, and bade them hope for full redress from his equity and affection. Disturbances, however, arose in Ireland, and whether it was that the lords justices felt themselves unequal to the station which they held, or that they allowed the insurrection to grow for the sake of the forfeitures which must follow its suppression, their conduct displayed no energy. They despatched information to the king and the lord lieutenant (then in London), fortified the city of Dublin, and, secure within its walls, awaited the arrival of succours from England. In the mean time the open country was abandoned to the mercy of the insurgents, who, mindful of their own wrongs and those of their fathers, burst into the English plantations, seized the arms and the property of the inhabitants, and restored the lands to the former proprietors or to their descendants.

In defence of their proceedings, the rebel chieftains published a declaration that they had taken up arms in support of the royal prerogative, and for the safety of their religion against the machinations of a party in the English parliament, which had invaded the rights of the crown, intercepted the graces granted by the king to his Irish subjects, and solicited subscriptions in Ireland to a petition for the total extirpation of the protestant episcopacy and of the catholic worship.

This made it appear to the English fanatics that Charles was privy to the rising and the massacres of protestants that had accompanied it. Accordingly, the parliament on The "Grand Remonstrance," 1642. meeting again early in 1642 resolved to present to the king a remonstrance on the state of the nation: a document enumerating every real or imaginary grievance which had excited complaint during his reign. This remonstrance passed only with a small majority, but the patriots nevertheless presented it to the king.

The disputes between Charles and his parliament continued,

and at last the king adopted the bold but hazardous expedient of impeaching of high treason the lord Kimbolton, Holles, Haslerig, Pym, Hampden, and Stroud, all distinguished members of the country party. He charged them with having conspired to alienate from him the affections of his people, to excite disobedience in the army, to subvert the rights of parliament, and to extort the consent of the majority by the influence of mobs and terror; and with having actually levied war against the sovereign. The king himself proceeded to the house of commons. His purpose was to arrest the accused members; but his secret had been betrayed, and the objects of his search had already left the house. The king, having taken the chair, looked around him, and, not seeing the persons whom he sought, enquired of the speaker if they were present. The speaker, falling on his knees, replied that he was merely the organ of the house, and that he had neither ears to hear, nor tongue to speak, but as he was directed by it. The king said that it was not his intention to offer violence, but to proceed against the accused by due course of law; that, if the birds had not flown, he would have taken them himself; as the case was, he expected from the loyalty of the house that they would send them to him, or he should have recourse to other expedients.

Charles pur-
poses to
arrest the
five
members.

This unadvised and abortive attempt completed the degradation of the unfortunate monarch. It was equally condemned by his friends and enemies; and it furnished the latter with the means of working on the passions of their adherents, and of exciting them to a state bordering upon frenzy. The commons adjourned for a week; but during this recess a permanent committee sat in the city to concert matters with their partisans, and to arrange a new triumph over the fallen authority of the sovereign. On the appointed day the five accused members proceeded to the house, escorted by thousands. Charles, aware of the power of his opponents, had, on the preceding evening, fled with his family to Hampton Court.

It now became evident that any hope of a reconciliation was at an end, and that both parties resolved to stake the issue of the contest on the sword. Aware that, by his irregular entrance into the house of commons, he had given the vantage-ground to his adversaries, Charles attempted to retrace his steps by apologising for his conduct, by promising to proceed against the five members by due course of law, by abandoning the prosecution altogether, and proposing

The eve of
war.

that they should accept a general pardon. But these concessions, instead of mollifying, strengthened their obstinacy. They rejected every offer, and insisted that, to atone for so flagrant a breach of privilege, he should deliver up the names of his advisers. He scorned to return an answer. To prove, however, the sincerity of their declarations, he made to them a request that they should lay before him, in one view, a summary of all the enactments which they required, respecting his authority and revenue, their own privileges, the rights of the people, and the reformation of the church, with a promise that his answer should prove him one of the most easy and benevolent of monarchs. To such a proposal

The commons at-
tempt to gain
control of the
army.

it would have been impolitic to return a direct refusal. But they grasped at the opportunity to effect what they had long sought, and what they had previously demanded as a ground of confidence, that the government of the forts, and the command of the army and navy, should be entrusted to officers nominated by the two houses of parliament. The king was startled by this answer, and endeavoured to temporise.

A long succession of declarations and answers served to occupy the attention of the public during several months. In this war of words, these appeals of the contending parties to the good sense of the people, the king had plainly the advantage over his adversaries. But the real object of Charles was, like that of his opponents, to prepare for war. He had in February sent his queen to Holland, under the pretence of conducting his daughter Mary to her husband, but for the purpose of soliciting aid from foreign powers, of raising money on the valuable jewels which she had carried with her, and of purchasing arms and ammunition. In the mean time he gradually withdrew himself from the vicinity of the metropolis, first to Newmarket, then into the more northern counties, and at last fixed his residence in York. A body-guard was raised for him by the neighbouring gentlemen, to form in due time the nucleus of a more numerous army.

In Ireland a national association was formed, and the members, in imitation of the Scottish covenanters, bound themselves by a common oath to maintain the free and public exercise of the catholic worship, to bear true faith and allegiance to king Charles, and to defend him against all who should endeavour to subvert the royal prerogative, the power of parliament, or the just rights of the subject. They resolved never to lay down their arms till they had obtained an acknowledgment of the independence of the Irish from the

State of
Ireland.

English parliament, the repeal of all degrading disqualifications on the ground of religion, the free exercise of the catholic worship, and the exclusion of all but natives from civil and military offices within the kingdom.

In England, the two houses had already voted a levy of sixteen thousand men in opposition to the king, who intended to levy war against the parliament. On the other hand, the king was not idle. He attempted to get possession of Hull, but the governor, sir John Hotham, closed the gates against the king. This disappointment, however, was counterbalanced by the numbers and the loyalty of the nobility, gentry, and clergy, with the members of both universities, who lent him money. An accommodation was, however, again attempted. The parliament demanded many matters restricting the prerogative; that catholic peers should be deprived of their votes until they had conformed; and that the children of catholics be brought up in the protestant faith. Charles replied that he was willing to concur in the forced education of catholic children, to compel the catholic peers to give their proxies to protestants, and to abolish all innovations in religion; but he could not consent to the rest of the demands.

Charles, finding that the parliament had commenced to denounce his proclamations, resolved on hostile measures. Having sounded the disposition of the Yorkshire gentlemen, he summoned all his loving subjects north of the Trent, and within twenty miles to the south of that river, to meet him in arms at Nottingham on the 22nd of August, 1642. On that day the royal standard was carried into a large field; the king followed with a retinue of two thousand men; and the inhabitants crowded around to hear the proclamation read by the herald-at-arms. This ceremony, called the raising of the standard, was deemed equivalent to a declaration of hostilities; and thus was the country led into the most direful of national calamities—a civil war.

**The raising
of the stand-
ard, 1642.**

From Nottingham Charles despatched deputies to London, the bearers of a proposal, that commissioners should be appointed on both sides, with full powers to treat of an accommodation. The two houses, assuming a tone of conscious superiority, replied that they could receive no message from a prince who had raised his standard against his parliament. He next conjured them to think of the blood that would be shed, and to remember that it would lie at their door; they retorted the charge; he was the aggressor, and his would be the guilt. With this answer vanished

every prospect of peace; both parties appealed to the sword; and within a few weeks the flames of civil war were lighted up in every part of the kingdom.

There was one class of men on whose services the king might rely with confidence—the catholics—who, alarmed by the fierce intolerance and the severe menaces of the parliament, saw that their own safety depended on the ascendancy of the sovereign. But Charles hesitated to avail himself of this resource. His adversaries had allured the zealots to their party, by representing the king as the dupe of a popish faction, which laboured to subvert the protestant, and to establish on its ruins the popish worship.

While the higher classes repaired with their dependants to the support of the king, the call of the parliament was cheerfully obeyed by the yeomanry in the country, and by the merchants and tradesmen in the towns. Both parties soon distinguished their adversaries by particular appellations. The royalists were denominated cavaliers; and they on their part gave to their enemies the name of roundheads, because they cropped their hair short. The command of the royal army was entrusted to the earl of Lindsey, that of the parliamentary forces to the earl of Essex. Charles, having left Nottingham, proceeded to Shrewsbury, collecting reinforcements, and receiving voluntary contributions on his march. Half-way between Stafford and Wellington he halted the army, and placing himself in the centre, solemnly declared in the presence of Almighty God that he had no other design, that he felt no other wish, than to maintain the protestant faith, to govern according to law, and to observe all the statutes enacted in parliament. In the meantime Waller reduced Portsmouth, while Essex concentrated his forces in the vicinity of Northampton, whence he hastened to Worcester to oppose the advance of the royal army.

At Nottingham the king could muster no more than six thousand men; but he left Shrewsbury at the head of thrice that number. By a succession of skilful manœuvres he contrived to elude the vigilance of the enemy; and had advanced two days' march on the road to the metropolis before Essex became aware of his object. That general saw his error, and followed the king with expedition. His vanguard entered the village of Keynton on the same evening on which the royalists halted on Edgehill, only a few miles in advance. At midnight Charles held a council of war, in which it was resolved to turn upon the pursuers, and to offer them battle.

Charles and the catholics.

The two parties.

Battle of Edgehill, October 23, 1642.

The action, which commenced on the following afternoon, at two o'clock, was a very severe engagement. After some hours the firing ceased on both sides, and the adverse armies stood gazing at each other till the darkness induced them to withdraw—the royalists to their first position on the hills, and the parliamentarians to the village of Keynton. Both armies claimed the honour, neither reaped the benefit, of victory. Essex, leaving the king to pursue his march, withdrew to Warwick, and thence to Coventry; Charles, having compelled the garrison of Banbury to surrender, turned aside to the city of Oxford. The two houses, though they assumed the laurels of victory, felt alarm at the proximity of the royalists, and ordered Essex to come to their protection. In the meanwhile the royal army, leaving Oxford, loitered in the vicinity of Reading, and permitted Essex to march without molestation by the more eastern road to the capital. Kingston, Acton, and Windsor were already garrisoned for the parliament; and the only open passage to London lay through the town of Brentford. Charles had reached Colnbrook in this direction, when he was met by commissioners from the parliament, who prevailed on him to suspend his march. Their conference lasted two days; on the second of which Essex threw a brigade, consisting of three of his best regiments, into Brentford. Charles felt indignant at this proceeding. It was in his opinion a breach of faith: and two days later, after an obstinate resistance on the part of the enemy, he gained possession of the town; but the king's situation daily became more critical. His opponents had summoned forces from every quarter to London, and Essex found himself at the head of twenty-four thousand men. The two armies faced each other a whole day on Turnham Green; but neither ventured to charge, and the king, understanding that the corps which defended the bridge at Kingston had been withdrawn, retreated first to Reading, and then to Oxford.

The whole kingdom at this period exhibited a most melancholy spectacle. No man was suffered to remain neuter. The intercourse between distant parts of the country was interrupted, and the operations of commerce were suspended. In Oxford and its vicinity, in the four northern counties, in Wales, Shropshire, and Worcestershire, the royalists triumphed without opposition; in the metropolis, and the adjoining counties, on the southern and eastern coast, the superiority of the parliament was equally decisive. But the nation soon got tired of civil war. Petitions for peace, though they were ungraciously received, continued to load the tables of both houses;

Local hos-
tilities.

and, as the king himself had proposed a cessation of hostilities, prudence taught the most sanguine advocates for war to accede to the wishes of the people. A negotiation was opened at Oxford, but no pacific result took place.

During the late pause in hostilities every effort was made to recruit the parliamentary army; at its expiration, Essex invested Reading, and took that town. After several messages from the parliament, he removed from Reading and fixed his headquarters at Thame. One night prince Rupert, making a long circuit, surprised Chinnor in the rear of the army, and killed or captured the greater part of two regiments that lay in the town. In his retreat to Oxford, he was compelled to turn on his pursuers at Chalgrove; they charged with more courage than prudence, and were repulsed with considerable loss. It was in this action that the celebrated Hampden received the wound of which he died. The reputation which he had earned by his resistance to the payment of the ship-money had deservedly placed him at the head of the popular leaders. Measures were soon taken to recruit to its full complement the army under Essex; and committees invested with almost unlimited powers, for the exercise of which they were made responsible to no one but the parliament itself, were appointed to raise men and money in numerous districts.

Here, however, it is time to call the attention of the reader to the opening career of that extraordinary man, who, in the course of the next ten years, raised himself from the ignoble pursuits of a grazier to the high dignity of lord protector of the three kingdoms. Oliver Cromwell was sprung from a younger branch of the Cromwells, a family of note and antiquity in Huntingdonshire, and widely spread through that county and the whole of the Fen district. In the more early part of his life he fell into a state of profound and prolonged melancholy; and it is plain, from the few and disjointed documents which have come down to us, that his mental faculties were impaired. It was probably to withdraw him from scenes likely to cause the prolongation or recurrence of his malady that he was advised to direct his attention to the pursuits of agriculture. He disposed by sale of his patrimonial property in Huntingdon, and took a large grazing farm in the neighbourhood of the little town of St. Ives. Those stirring events followed, which led to the first civil war; Cromwell's enthusiasm kindled, the time was come "to put himself forth in the cause of the Lord," and that cause he identified in his own mind with the cause of the country party in

Skirmish of
Chalgrove
Field. Death
of Hampden,
June 18, 1643.

Oliver Crom-
well.

opposition to the sovereign and the church. The energy with which he entered into the controversies of the time attracted public notice, and the burgesses of Cambridge chose him for their representative in both the parliaments called by the king, in 1640. It was not, however, before the year 1642 that he took his place among the leaders of his party. When the parliament selected officers to command in the new army under the earl of Essex, Cromwell received the commission of captain; within six months afterwards, he was raised to the higher rank of colonel, with permission to levy for himself a regiment of one thousand horse out of the trained bands in the Eastern association. To the sentiment of honour, which animated the cavaliers in the field, he resolved to oppose the energy which is inspired by religious enthusiasm. At the head of his *Ironsides*, he by his activity and daring added new laurels to those which he had previously won; and from parliament, as a proof of confidence, he received the commission of lieutenant-general in 1643.

The campaign of 1643 saw royalist successes in the west, at Lansdowne near Bath, and at Roundway Down, near Devizes, and Bristol fell into the hands of the king in July. Some minor successes in the north also graced the royalist cause; but Oliver Cromwell counteracted their effects by his operations in Lincolnshire. In August of that year, Charles invested Gloucester, the only place of note in the midland counties which admitted the authority of the parliament, but was compelled to raise the siege. A battle took place soon afterwards, at Newbury, **First Battle of Newbury** in which the king's cavalry appears to have been more than a match for that of the enemy; but it **September 19, 1643.** could make no impression on the forest of pikes presented by the infantry, the greater part of which consisted of the trained bands from the capital. The battle raged till late in the evening, and both armies passed the night in the field, but in the morning the king allowed Essex to march through Newbury to London; and having ordered prince Rupert to annoy the rear, retired with his infantry to Oxford.

Ever since the beginning of the troubles, a thorough understanding had existed between the chief of the Scottish covenanters and the principal of the English reformers. Their views were similar; their object the same. The English parliament sent commissioners to Scotland; after prolonged negotiations, a "solemn league and covenant" was entered into, which was to preserve the kirk, and ensure the reform of the English church, and on this understanding

the covenanters engaged to help the roundheads. A proclamation was issued summoning all the lieges in Scotland, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, to appear in arms; and the chief command of the forces was, at the request of the parliament, accepted by Leslie, the veteran general of the covenanters in the last war. This formidable league struck alarm into the breasts of the royalists. But Charles stood undismayed, and prepared to meet

**Charles
seeks Irish
help.**

this additional evil. With this view he laboured to secure the obedience of the English army in Ireland against the adherents and emissaries of the parliament. The catholics, by the establishment of a federative government, had consolidated their power, and their leaders copied the example given by the Scots during the successful war of the covenant. Like them they professed a sincere attachment to the person, a profound respect for the legitimate authority of the monarch; but like them they claimed the right of resisting oppression, and of employing force in defence of their religion and liberties. At their request, and in imitation of the general assembly of the Scottish kirk, a synod of catholic prelates and divines was convened; a statement of the grievances which led the insurgents to take up arms was placed before them; and they decided that the grounds were sufficient, and the war was lawful, provided it were not conducted through motives of personal interest or hatred, nor disgraced by acts of unnecessary cruelty. An oath and covenant was ordered to be taken, binding the subscribers to protect, at the risk of their lives and fortunes, the freedom of the catholic worship, the person, heirs and rights of the sovereign, and the lawful immunities and liberties of the kingdom of Ireland, against all usurpers and invaders whomsoever.

Experience had proved to Charles that the very name of parliament possessed a powerful influence over the minds of the lower classes in favour of his adversaries. To dispel the charm, he resolved to oppose the loyal members to those who remained at Westminster, and summoned by proclamation both houses to meet him at Oxford on the twenty-second of January in the succeeding year. Forty-three peers and one hundred and eighteen commoners obeyed; the usual forms of parliament were observed, and the king opened the session with a gracious speech, in which he deplored the calamities of the kingdom, desired them to bear witness to his pacific disposition, and promised them all the freedom and privileges belonging to such assemblies. Negotiations were attempted, but without success.

**The king's
parliament at
Oxford,
January,
1644.**

The severity of the winter of 1643 afforded no respite from the operations of war. In several counties actions were fought, of which the success was various and the result unimportant. Every eye fixed itself on the two grand armies in the vicinity of Oxford and London. The parliament professed a resolution to stake the fortune of the cause on one great and decisive battle. The king's principal resource was in the courage and activity of prince Rupert. He ordered that commander to collect all the force in his power, to hasten into Yorkshire and fight the enemy. He did so; and on 2nd July, 1644, was fought the battle of Marston Moor. Rupert, at the head of the royal cavalry, charged with his usual impetuosity, and with the usual result. He bore down all before him, but continued the chase for some miles, and thus, by his absence from the field, suffered the victory to slip out of his hands. At the same time the royal infantry, under Goring, Lucas, and Porter, charged their opponents with equal intrepidity and equal success. The line of the confederates was pierced in several points, and their generals, Manchester, Leven, and Fairfax, convinced that the day was lost, fled in different directions. By their flight the chief command devolved upon Cromwell, who improved the opportunity to win for himself the laurels of victory. With his "Ironsides" and the Scottish horse he drove the royal cavalry, under the earl of Newcastle, from their position. It was not long, indeed, before the royal cavalry, amounting to three thousand men, made their appearance returning from the pursuit. But the aspect of the field struck dismay into the heart of Rupert. His thoughtless impetuosity was now exchanged for an excess of caution; and after a few skirmishes he withdrew. Cromwell spent the night on the spot; he expected every moment a nocturnal attack from Rupert, who had it in his power to collect a sufficient force from the several corps of royalists which had suffered little in the battle. But the morning brought him the pleasing intelligence that the prince had hastened by a circuitous route to York, whence he returned to his former command in the western counties; and York, abandoned to its fate, opened its gates to the parliament men, on condition that the citizens should not be molested.

If disaster dogged the king in the north, in the south of England Charles obtained some advantage, for Essex was surrounded at Lostwithiel, and his army, guns, and stores fell into the hands of the king. This success elevated his hopes; but his opponents quickly recruited

**Battle of
Marston
Moor, July 2,
1644.**

**Second
Battle of
Newbury,
October,
1644.**

their diminished forces, and a second battle was fought at Newbury, towards the end of October, 1644, with indecisive results. On the whole, however, the balance was in favour of the parliamentarians, though they wasted time and strength in personal disputes. Essex and other rebel generals were accused of incompetence and of prolonging the war unnecessarily. Cromwell

proposed in the commons what was afterwards called the "self-denying ordinance," that the members of both houses should be excluded from all offices, whether civil or military. His real object was open

to every eye: to confine military command to professional soldiers: and an exception in his own favour was made. The catholics endured much persecution from the parliament, but it affected property more than life or limb. Episcopacy was at this time abolished by the parliamentarians. In January,

Execution of archbishop Laud. 1645, archbishop Laud, who had been more than three years in prison, was attainted and executed.

An attempt at negotiation soon afterwards took place between the king and parliament, but without success. War was resumed; and Montrose, acting for the king, gained some advantages in Scotland.

England, however, was the real arena on which the conflict was to be decided, and in England the king soon found himself unable to cope with his enemies. He still possessed one-third of the kingdom. From Oxford he extended his sway almost without interruption to the extremity of Cornwall: North and South Wales, with the exception of the castles of Pembroke and Montgomery, acknowledged his authority; and the royal standard was still unfurled in several towns in the midland counties. But his army, under the nominal command of the prince of Wales, and the real command of prince Rupert, was frittered away in a multitude of petty garrisons, and languished in a state of the most alarming insubordination.

Charles took the field again, in May, 1645. He marched from Oxford at the head of ten thousand men, of whom more than one-half were cavalry; the siege of Chester was raised at the sole report of his approach: and Leicester, an important post in possession of the parliament, was taken by storm on the first assault. Fairfax had appeared with his army before Oxford, where he expected to be admitted by a party within the walls; but the intrigue failed, and he received orders to proceed in search of the king. On the evening of June 13th his van overtook the rear of the royalists between Daventry and Harborough. Fairfax, the parliamentary

general, and his officers hailed with joy the prospect of a battle. Charles, on the contrary, had sufficient reason to decline an engagement. His numbers had been diminished by the necessity of leaving a strong garrison in Leicester, and several reinforcements were still on their march to join the royal standard. But in the presence of the roundheads, the cavaliers never listened to the suggestions of prudence. Early in the morning, the royal army formed in line about a mile south of Harborough. Till eight, they awaited with patience the expected charge of the enemy; but Fairfax refused to move from his strong position near Naseby, and the king, yielding to the importunity of his officers, gave the word to advance. The enemy fled before him; six pieces of cannon were taken, and Ireton, the general of the parliamentary horse, was wounded, and for some time a prisoner in the hands of the victors. But the lessons of experience had been thrown away upon Rupert. He urged the pursuit with his characteristic impetuosity, and, as at Marston Moor, by wandering from the field suffered the victory to be won by the masterly conduct of Oliver Cromwell. In this battle, fought near the village of Naseby, the king lost more than three thousand men, nine thousand stand of arms, his park of artillery, the baggage of the army, and with it his own cabinet, containing private papers of the first importance. Out of these the parliament made a collection, which was published, with remarks to prove to the nation the falsehoods of Charles, and the justice of the war.

**Battle of
Naseby, June
14, 1645.**

After the disastrous battle of Naseby, the campaign presented little more than the last and feeble struggles of an expiring party. Charles himself bore his misfortunes with an air of magnanimity, which was characterised as obstinacy by the desponding minds of his followers. From Leicester he retreated to Hereford; from Hereford to Raglan Castle, the seat of the loyal marquis of Worcester; and thence to Cardiff, that he might more readily communicate with prince Rupert at Bristol. Each day brought him a repetition of the most melancholy intelligence. From Cardiff he hastily crossed the kingdom to Newark. Learning that the Scottish cavalry were in pursuit, he left Newark, burst into the associated counties, ravaged the lands of his enemies, took the town of Huntingdon, and at last reached in safety his court at Oxford. His generals in Scotland gained some advantages at this time, and the Scottish cavalry, which, in accordance with treaty, had already advanced to Nottingham, marched back to the Tweed to protect their own country. The king on the third day

left Oxford with five thousand men, to drive the infantry from the siege of Hereford. They did not wait his arrival, and he entered the city amidst the joyful acclamations of the inhabitants. But Charles was not long suffered to enjoy his triumph. Full of confidence, he marched from Hereford to the relief of Bristol; but at Raglan Castle learned that it was already in possession of the enemy. Whilst the king mourned over the loss of
Rout at enemy. Whilst the king mourned over the loss of
Philiphaugh, Bristol, he received disastrous intelligence from
September, Scotland. His troops met with a severe reverse at
1645.

Philiphaugh, and the prisoners, not men only, but also women and children, were put to death in cold blood. Montrose himself threaded his way back to the Highlands, where he once more raised the royal standard, and, with a small force and diminished reputation, continued to bid defiance to his enemies. At length, in obedience to repeated messages from the king, he dismissed his followers, and reluctantly withdrew to the continent.

Oxford during the war had been rendered one of the strongest fortresses in the kingdom. With a garrison of five thousand men, and a plentiful supply of stores and provisions, Charles might have protracted his fate for several months; yet, the result of a siege must have been his captivity. He possessed no army; he had no prospect of assistance from without; and within, famine would in the end compel him to surrender. The march of Fairfax with the advanced guard of his army towards Andover admonished him that it was time to quit the city of Oxford. He left Oxford at midnight, disguised as a servant, following his supposed master Ashburnham, who rode before in company with a clergyman, well acquainted with the country. They passed through Henley and Brentford to Harrow; thence he turned in the direction of St. Albans; and, avoiding that town, hastened through by-ways to Harborough.

Charles sur- Crossing by Stamford, he rested at Downham, and
renders him- spent two or three days in enquiries for a ship which
self to the might convey him to Newcastle or Scotland. Not
Scots, April, having succeeded, he surrendered at Kelham to the
1646.

Scottish army, on a verbal promise of safety. The moment the place of the king's retreat was ascertained, both presbyterians and independents united in condemning the perfidy of their northern allies. Menaces of immediate hostilities were heard. Poyntz received orders to watch the motions of the Scots with five thousand horse; and it was resolved that Fairfax should follow with the remainder of the army. But the Scottish leaders, anxious to avoid a rupture, and yet unwilling to surrender the royal prize, broke up their camp before Newark, and retired with

precipitation to Newcastle. Charles, desiring an accommodation, requested the two houses to send him the propositions of peace, and ordered his officers to surrender the few fortresses which still maintained his cause. The war was at an end. While the houses debated the propositions to be submitted to the king, the Scots employed the interval in unavailing attempts to convert Charles to the presbyterian creed. The propositions of peace were submitted to the king's consideration at the end of July, but Charles replied after ten days that a personal conference was necessary to remove doubts and come to a perfect understanding. This message was deemed evasive, and the independents no longer disguised their wish to dethrone the king.

It now became necessary to settle with the Scots for their services, and after lengthy debates the Scots agreed to accept four hundred thousand pounds in lieu of all demands, of which one half should be paid before they left England, the other after their arrival in Scotland. The first payment of two hundred thousand pounds was made at Northallerton; the Scots, according to agreement, evacuated Newcastle; and the parliamentary commissioners from London, without any other ceremony, took charge of the royal person, at the end of January, 1647. Four days later the Scots received the second sum of two hundred thousand pounds; their army repassed the border-line between the two kingdoms; and the captive monarch, under a strong guard, but with every demonstration of respect, was conducted to prison at Holmby. The king during his captivity at Holmby divided his time between his studies and amusements. Three months passed away without any official communication from the two houses. The king's patience was exhausted; and he addressed them by a letter in which he said that on full consideration there were many things he would cheerfully concede. By the lords the royal letter was favourably received, and they resolved by a majority of thirteen to nine that the king should be removed from Holmby to Oatlands; but the commons neglected to notice the subject.

To disband the army now became the main object of the presbyterian leaders, because they recognised that it was the mainstay of their opponents, the independents; but they disguised their real motives under the pretence that it was time to relieve the country from the charge of supporting a multitude of men in arms without any ostensible purpose. The independents resolved to oppose their adversaries with their own weapons, and to intimidate those whom they were unable to convince. Suddenly,

Disputes
between
presby-
terians and
inde-
pendents.

at their secret instigation, the army, rising from its cantonments in the neighbourhood of Nottingham, approached the metropolis, and selected quarters in the county of Essex. The person of the king was soon afterwards taken possession of by the army, and he was removed from Holmby to Childersley, not far from Cambridge. This design was attributed to the contrivance of Cromwell. The day after the abduction of the king from Holmby the army concentrated at Newmarket, and entered into a solemn engagement, stating that, whereas several officers had been called in question for advocating the cause of the military, they had chosen certain men out of each company, who then chose two or more out of themselves, to act in the name and on behalf of the whole soldiery of their respective regiments; and that they did now unanimously declare and promise that the army should not disband till their grievances had been redressed. The chiefs, however, who now ruled at Westminster, were not the men to surrender without a struggle. They submitted, indeed, to pass a few ordinances calculated to give satisfaction, but these were combined with others which displayed a fixed determination not to succumb to the dictates of a mutinous soldiery. Every day the contest assumed a more threatening aspect, and the army approached London; and as many presbyterians fled, the independents found themselves in a majority, and thus in a position to treat with the king. Accordingly, a council of officers drew up a plan "for the settlement of the nation," which they submitted first to the consideration of Charles, and afterwards to that of the parliamentary commissioners. On the whole, the terms were moderate in tone, and had the king accepted them, he would most probably have been replaced on the throne; but, to every one's astonishment, he returned an unqualified refusal. It was understood that many royalists had joined the presbyterians, and that a declaration had been circulated in the name of the king, condemning all attempts to make war on the parliament. Charles was conjured by the independents to write a conciliatory letter, disavowing any design of assisting the enemy. The ill-fated monarch hesitated, but though at last, after a day's delay, the letter was sent, it served no useful purpose. It was interpreted as an artifice to cover his intrigues with the presbyterians. After a short time the army took possession of London. The submission of the citizens made a considerable change in the prospects of the captive monarch, for the army now felt its superiority; and whereas it might have declared for the king, as was at one time thought likely, now the policy of restoring him became more doubtful. Still the officers

continued to treat him respectfully. In August, 1647, he was transferred to the palace of Hampton Court. There he was suffered to enjoy the company of his children, whenever he pleased to command their attendance, and the pleasure of hunting, on his promise not to attempt an escape; all persons whom he was content to see found ready admission to his presence; and what he prized above all other concessions, he was furnished with the opportunity of corresponding freely and safely with the queen at Paris. At the same time the two houses, at the requisition of the Scottish commissioners, once more submitted propositions to the royal consideration; but Charles replied that a plan suggested by the army was better, and professed his readiness to treat on the basis of that plan, with commissioners appointed by the parliament, and others by the army. While thus flattering the officers, he was employed in treating with the opposite party for the Scots to enter England and join the presbyterians, and for the prince of Wales to head the rising. Cromwell, however, heard of the plan, and complained of the king's duplicity.

But by this time a new party had risen, equally formidable, from their fanaticism, to royalists, presbyterians, and independents. They called themselves by the expressive appellation of levellers. Their revolutionary demands were opposed even by Cromwell; but the daily increasing violence of these levellers caused the king to fear for his own safety. Charles accordingly withdrew his word of honour not to attempt to escape; and, in November, 1647, found means to elude his military guards: but within three days, through the blundering of his confidants, was in the hands of the governor of the Isle of Wight, who, while he granted every indulgence to his captive, kept him secure in Carisbrooke Castle. Here Charles recommenced his former intrigues; but the answers he received were not encouraging. He was also given an ultimatum from the independents, demanding his assent to four bills which they had prepared. His answer was a refusal; and aware of the consequences, he resolved to anticipate the vengeance of the parliament by making his escape to a ship which had been sent by the queen, and had been waiting for him several days in Southampton Water, but he was prevented by the vigilance of Hammond, who closed the gates on the departure of the commissioners, doubled the guards, confined the royal captive to his chamber, and dismissed the greater part of his attendants. An attempt to raise in his favour the inhabitants of the island was instantly suppressed, and

The level-
lers.

Charles
escapes to
the Isle of
Wight.

the houses resolved that they would receive no additional message from the king; that they would send no address or application to him; that if any other person did so without leave, he should be subject to the penalties of high treason.

In the mean while an extraordinary ferment seemed to agitate the whole mass of the population. With the exception of the army, every class of man was dissatisfied. Four-fifths of the nation began to wish for the re-establishment of the throne. The king appealed to the people through the agency of the press. The impression made by him called for an answer, and a long and laboured vindication of the proceedings of the house of commons was published, to which several answers, eloquently and convincingly written, were circulated in many parts of the country. But, whilst the royal cause made rapid progress among the people, in the army itself the principles of the levellers had been embraced by the majority of the privates, and had made several converts among the officers. They insisted that the king was answerable for the blood which had been shed; and that it was the duty of the representatives of the nation to call him to justice for the crime, and, in order to prevent the recurrence of similar mischiefs, to provide for the liberties of all, by founding an equal commonwealth on the general consent. Cromwell invited the patrons of this doctrine to meet at his house the grandes (so they were called) of the parliament and army, but they took care not to commit themselves by too explicit an avowal before they could see their way plainly before them.

In this feverish state of the public mind in England every eye watched the proceedings in Scotland. The original plan devised at Hampton Court had been for a simultaneous rising in every quarter of the kingdom when the Scots should enter England. But the zeal of some could brook no delay, and risings took place in favour of Charles in several places, but, being unsupported, failed; the royalists began to despair, when at last, on April 28, 1648, the duke of Hamilton entered England at the head of a numerous army. Private jealousies and feuds caused the waste of weeks in inaction; and Cromwell coming up with them, inflicted a severe defeat in the decisive battle fought at Preston on August 17th. Another force which had marched from London was also surprised, and after a short conflict, surrendered on July 10th. Colchester also surrendered. The council deliberated on the fate of the captives,

**Reaction in
favour of
Charles.**

**War breaks
out again,
1648.**

**Battle of
Preston,
August 17,
1648.**

and while quarter was granted to the men, the officers were executed as traitors.

At this time the prince of Wales had been more than six weeks in the Downs. Having heard that the fleet had revolted, he repaired to the Hague, and taking upon himself the command, hastened with nineteen sail to the English coast. Had he appeared before the Isle of Wight, there can be little doubt that Charles would have recovered his liberty; but the council with the prince decided that it was more for the royal interest to sail to the mouth of the river, where they long continued to solicit by letters the wavering disposition of the parliament and the city. While Hamilton advanced, there seemed a prospect of success; the destruction of his army extinguished their hopes. The king, by a private message, suggested that before their departure from the coast they should free him from his captivity. But the mariners proved that they were the masters. They demanded to fight the hostile fleet under the earl of Warwick, who studiously avoided an engagement, that he might be joined by a squadron from Portsmouth. During two days the royalists offered him battle; by different manœuvres he eluded their attempts; and on the third day the want of provisions compelled the prince to steer for the coast of Holland, without paying attention to the request of his royal father.

Prince of
Wales and
the navy.

It is now time to revert to the subject of the proposed treaty with the king. Fifteen commissioners, five lords and ten commoners, were appointed to conduct the negotiation with Charles, who repaired from his prison in Carisbrooke Castle to the neighbouring town of Newport; their instructions bound them to insist on the king's assent to every proposition which had been submitted to his consideration at Hampton Court. Charles offered expedients and modifications, and on some points was inflexible, and the negotiations, therefore, fell through.

Dangerous maxims began now to prevail. Some maintained that no treaty could be safely made with the king. The fanatics went further, and said that it was a duty to call the king to strict account for all the blood that had been shed.

The result of the debates in the house was that a remonstrance was drawn up; and for greater security, Charles was removed from Carisbrooke to Hurst Castle at the end of November, 1648.

At the same time the council of officers published a declaration

against the house of commons, and asserted that it was their duty to provide for the settlement of the kingdom and the punishment of the guilty. But the presbyterian members declared that the seizure of the royal person had been made without their knowledge and consent; and some upbraided the presumption and perfidy of the army. On December 6, colonel Pride went down to the house with an armed force, and took into custody two-and-fifty presbyterian members, and warned off nearly a hundred more; and the house after this "Pride's Purge." The "Rump." "Pride's Purge." was reduced to about fifty individuals, who, in the quaint language of the time, were afterwards known by the appellation of the "Rump." Thus ended the "long parliament." The "Rump" alone was left to represent the civil and legislative power of England.

The government of the kingdom had now devolved in reality on the army; and its officers were soon called upon to pass a vote the very mention of which a few years before would have struck the boldest among them with astonishment and terror. It had long been the conviction of the officers that the life of the king was incompatible with their own safety. If he were restored, they would become the objects of his royal vengeance; if he were detained in prison, the public tranquillity would be disturbed by a succession of plots in his favour. To bring him to public justice was to give to the world a proof of the sovereignty of the people and of the responsibility of kings. When the motion was made in the commons, a few ventured to oppose it; not so much with the hope of saving the life of Charles, as for the purpose of transferring the odium of his death to its real authors. A committee of thirty-eight members was appointed to receive information and to devise the most eligible manner of proceeding. At the recommendation of this committee, the house passed a vote declaratory of the law, that it was high treason in the king of England, for the time being, to levy war against the parliament and kingdom of England; and this was followed up with an ordinance erecting a high court of justice to try the question of fact, whether Charles Stuart, king of England, had or had not been guilty of the treason described in the preceding vote. The lords would not concur in the proceedings, and the act for the trial of the king was passed by the authority of the commons only.

Cromwell continued to act his accustomed part. Whenever he rose in the house, it was to recommend moderation, to express

the doubts which agitated his mind, to protest that if he assented to harsh and ungracious measures, he did it with reluctance, and solely in obedience to the will of the Almighty.

On the 18th December, 1648, the king, in anticipation of his subsequent trial, was removed to St. James's palace. The princes of Europe looked with cold indifference on his fate. The Scottish parliament, indeed, made a feeble effort in his favour. The commissioners subscribed a protest against the proceedings of the commons, by whom it was never answered; and argued the case with Cromwell, who referred them to the covenant, and maintained that if it was their duty to punish the malignants in general, it was still more so to punish him who was the chief of the malignants.

As the day of trial approached, Charles resigned the hopes which he had hitherto indulged; and prepared for that important scene on which he was soon to appear. Without information or advice, he could only resolve to maintain the port and dignity of a king, to refuse the authority of his judges, and to commit no act unworthy of his exalted rank and that of his ancestors.

Charles's
trial and exe-
cution,
January,
1649.

On the 20th of January, 1649, the commissioners appointed by the act assembled in Westminster Hall. After the preliminary formalities of reading the commission, and calling over the members, Bradshaw, the lord president, ordered the prisoner to be introduced.

Charles was received at the door by the serjeant-at-arms, and conducted by him within the bar. His step was firm, his countenance erect and unmoved. He did not uncover; but first seated himself, then rose, and surveyed the court with an air of superiority, which abashed and irritated his enemies. While the clerk read the charge, he appeared to listen with indifference; but a smile of contempt was seen to quiver on his lips at the passage which described him as a "tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth of England." At the conclusion, Bradshaw called on him to answer; but he demanded by what lawful authority he had been brought thither. He was king of England; he acknowledged no superior upon earth; and the crown, which he had received from his ancestors, he would transmit unimpaired by any act of his to his posterity. He would never acknowledge an usurped authority. But the president would not suffer the jurisdiction of the court to be questioned. The two following days the court sat in private, to receive evidence, and to deliberate on the form of judgment to be

pronounced. On the third, when Bradshaw took his seat, Charles demanded to be heard, not acknowledging or denying the authority of the court, but asking permission to confer with a joint committee of the lords and commons. The president refused assent, and proceeded to animadvert in harsh and unfeeling language on the principal events of Charles's reign. The meek spirit of the prisoner was roused; he made an attempt to speak, but was immediately silenced with the remark that the time for his defence was past. The charge was again read, and was followed by the judgment "that the court, being satisfied in conscience that he, the said Charles Stuart, was guilty of the crimes of which he had been accused, did adjudge him as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good people of the nation, to be put to death by severing his head from his body." The king heard it in silence. At the conclusion the commissioners rose in a body to testify their assent, and Charles made a last and more earnest effort to speak; but Bradshaw ordered him to be removed, and the guards hurried him out of the hall.

By his conduct during the trial Charles had exalted his character even in the estimation of his enemies: he had now to prepare himself for a still more trying scene; to nerve his mind against the terrors of a public and ignominious death. But he was no longer the man he had been before the civil war. Affliction had chastened his mind; he had learned from experience to submit to the visitations of Providence; and he sought and found strength and relief in the consolations of religion, devoting his time to devotional exercises in the company of Herbert and of Dr. Juxon, bishop of London, who, at the request of Hugh Peters (and it should be recorded to the honour of that fanatical preacher), had been permitted to attend the monarch.

On the morning of January 30th, the day appointed for his execution, he put on two shirts, on account of the severity of the weather: "For," he observed, "were I to shake through cold, my enemies would attribute it to fear. I would have no such imputation. I fear not death. Death is not terrible to me. I bless my God I am prepared."

He was conducted on foot between two detachments of military across the park to Whitehall. About two o'clock, the king proceeded through the long gallery, and through an aperture which had been made in the wall at once stepped upon the scaffold. There was in his demeanour that dignified calmness, which had characterised, in the hall of Fotheringhay, his royal grandmother, Mary Stuart. To the few persons standing with

him on the scaffold, he denied in the presence of his God the crimes of which he had been accused.

Being ready, he bent his neck on the block, and after a short pause, stretched out his hands as a signal. At that instant the axe descended; the head rolled from the body; and a deep groan burst from the multitude of the spectators. But they had no leisure to testify their feelings; two troops of horse dispersed them in different directions.

Such was the end of the unfortunate Charles Stuart: an awful lesson to the possessors of royalty, to watch the growth of public opinion, and to moderate their pretensions in conformity with the reasonable desires of their subjects. **Causes of his fate.** Had he lived at a more early period, when the sense of wrong was quickly subdued by the habit of submission, his reign would probably have been marked with fewer violations of the national liberties. It was resistance that made him a tyrant. The spirit of the people refused to yield to the encroachments of authority; and one act of oppression placed him under the necessity of committing another, till he had revived and enforced all those odious prerogatives, which, though usually claimed, were but sparingly exercised by his predecessors. For some years his efforts seemed successful; but the Scottish insurrection revealed the delusion; he had parted with the real authority of a king, when he forfeited the confidence and affection of his subjects.

But while we blame the illegal measures of Charles, we ought not to screen from censure the subsequent conduct of his principal opponents. From the moment that war seemed inevitable, they acted as if they thought themselves absolved from all obligations of honour and honesty. **Unscrupulousity of Charles's adversaries.** They never ceased to inflame the passions of the people by misrepresentation and calumny; they exercised a power far more arbitrary and formidable than had ever been claimed by the king: they punished summarily, on mere suspicion, and without attention to the forms of law; and by their committees they established in every county a knot of petty tyrants, who disposed at will of the liberty and property of the inhabitants. Seldom have right and justice been more wantonly outraged than they were by those who professed to have drawn the sword in the defence of right and justice. Neither should the death of Charles be attributed to the vengeance of the people. They, for the most part, declared themselves satisfied with their victory; they sought not the blood of the captive monarch; they were even willing to replace him on the throne, under those limitations which they

deemed necessary for the preservation of their rights. The men who hurried him to the scaffold were a small faction of bold and ambitious spirits, who had the address to guide the passions and fanaticism of their followers, and were enabled through them to control the real sentiments of the nation. But so it always happens in revolutions: the most violent put themselves forward; their vigilance and activity seem to multiply their number; and the daring of the few wins the ascendancy over the indolence or the pusillanimity of the many.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE COMMONWEALTH. 1649-1660

THE moment the head of the royal victim fell on the scaffold at Whitehall, a proclamation was read at Cheapside, declaring it treason to give to any person the title of king without the authority of parliament; and at the same time was published the vote of the 4th of January, that the supreme authority in the nation resided in the representatives of the people. The peers, though aware of their approaching fate, continued to sit; but, after a pause of a few days, the commons resolved: first, that the house of lords, and, next, that the office of king, ought to be abolished. The next measure was the appointment, by the commons, of a council of state, to consist of forty-one members, with powers limited in duration to twelve months. But at the very outset a schism appeared among the new councillors. The oath required of them by the parliament contained an approval of the king's trial, and of the abolition of monarchy and of the house of lords. By Cromwell and eighteen others, it was taken cheerfully, and without comment; by the remaining twenty-two, with Fairfax at their head, it was firmly but respectfully refused. Cromwell and his friends had the wisdom to yield; the clauses objected to were expunged, and in their place was substituted a general promise of adhesion to the parliament. There was much in the internal state of the country to awaken apprehension in the breasts of Cromwell and his friends. The ancient royalists longed for the opportunity of avenging the blood of the king; the new royalists, the presbyterians who sought to re-establish the throne on certain conditions, bore with impatience the superiority of their rivals. Throughout the kingdom the lower classes loudly complained of the burthen of taxation; in several parts they suffered under the pressure of penury and famine. But that which chiefly created alarm was the progress made among the military by the "levellers," men of consistent principles and uncompromising conduct, under the guidance of

Abolition of
the mon-
archy and the
house of
lords.

Council of
state.

colonel John Lilburne, an officer distinguished by his talents and his eloquence. He and his friends suspected that Cromwell and others sought only their private ends under the mantle of patriotism. They ruled without control : every question was first settled in the council of officers, and being adopted by parliament went forth to the public under the pretended sanction of the house ; they also believed that the council of state exercised powers more absolute and oppressive than had the late king. They maintained that it was intended to pass from the tyranny of a few to the tyranny of one ; and that Oliver Cromwell aspired to be that one. Lilburne wrote against Cromwell and his partisans ; by the parliament one book especially was voted a seditious and traitorous libel, and the author was committed, by order of the council, to close custody in the Tower.

It had been determined to send to Ireland a division of twelve thousand men ; and the regiments to be employed were selected by ballot, apparently in the fairest manner. The men, however, avowed a resolution not to march. It was not, they said, that they refused the service ; but they believed the expedition to be a mere artifice to send the discontented out of the kingdom. There were several other military mutinies which were put down, but they added to the general anxiety.

When the Scottish parliament received the news of the king's execution, the chancellor, attended by the members, proceeded to the cross in Edinburgh, and proclaimed Charles, the son of the deceased prince, king of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland. But to this proclamation was appended a provision, that the young prince, before he could enter on the exercise of the royal authority, should satisfy the parliament of his adhesion both to the national covenant of Scotland, and to the solemn league and covenant between the two kingdoms. Commissioners were appointed to proceed to Holland, where Charles, under the protection of his brother-in-law, the prince of Orange, had resided since the death of his father. His court consisted of a few individuals whom that monarch had placed around him, and whom he now swore of his privy council. It was augmented by arrivals from Scotland. Though all professed to have in view the restoration of the young king, yet all were divided from each other by civil and religious bigotry : and Charles was perplexed by the conflicting opinions of these several advisers.

The royal interest was predominant in Ireland. The fleet under prince Rupert rode triumphant off the coast ; the parliamentary

commanders were also confined within the limits of their respective garrisons; and the great body of the catholics, adhering to the supreme council, had proclaimed the king, and acknowledged the authority of his lieutenant. **Ireland loyal.** To the leaders in London, the danger of losing Ireland became a source of the most perplexing solicitude, and the office of lord lieutenant was conferred on Cromwell. **Cromwell in Ireland.** Out of the standing army of forty-five thousand men, with whose aid England was now governed, he demanded a force of twelve thousand veterans, with a plentiful supply of provisions and military stores, and the round sum of one hundred thousand pounds in ready money. The campaign was opened with the siege of Drogheda. Ormond had thrown **Siege of Drogheda.** into the town a garrison of two thousand five hundred chosen men. On the eighth day a sufficient breach had been effected in the wall: the assailants on the first attempt were driven back with immense loss. They returned a second, perhaps a third time to the assault, and their perseverance was at last crowned with success. Cromwell gave orders that no one belonging to the garrison should be spared; and all, having been previously disarmed, were put to the sword. The conquerors, stimulated by revenge and fanaticism, next directed their fury against the townsmen, and one thousand unresisting victims were immolated together within the walls of the great church, whither they had fled for protection. From Drogheda the conqueror led his men, flushed with slaughter, to the siege of Wexford. The mayor and governor offered to capitulate; but whilst **Siege of Wexford.** their commissioners were treating with Cromwell, an officer perfidiously opened the castle to the enemy; the adjacent wall was immediately scaled; and, after a stubborn but unavailing resistance in the market-place, Wexford was abandoned to the mercy of the assailants. The tragedy so recently acted at Drogheda was renewed. No distinction was made by the swords of these ruthless barbarians between the defenceless inhabitant and the armed soldier.

The garrisons of Cork, Youghal, Bandon, and Kinsale declared for the parliament, and Cromwell seized the opportunity to close the campaign and place his followers in winter quarters. But inactivity suited not his policy or inclination. After seven weeks of repose he again summoned them into the field; and at the head of twenty thousand men, well appointed and disciplined, confidently anticipated the entire conquest of Ireland. The royalists were

Further operations in Ireland.

destitute of money, arms, and ammunition. Cromwell met with little resistance : wherever he came, he held out the promise of life and liberty of conscience ; but the rejection of the offer, though it were afterwards accepted, was punished with the blood of the officers ; and if the place were taken by force, with indiscriminate slaughter. Proceeding on this plan, one day granting quarter, another putting the leaders only to the sword, and on the next immolating whole garrisons, he quickly reduced most of the towns and castles in the three counties of Limerick, Tipperary, and Kilkenny. But this bloody policy at length recoiled upon its author. Men, with no alternative but victory or death, learned to fight with the energy of despair. At the siege of Kilkenny the assailants, though twice repulsed from the breach, were, by the timidity of some of the inhabitants, admitted within the walls ; yet so obstinate was the resistance of the garrison that, to spare his own men, the general consented to grant them honourable terms. From Kilkenny he proceeded to the town of Clonmel. The duration of the siege exhausted his patience ; the breach was stormed a second time ; and, after a conflict of four hours, the English were driven back with considerable loss. The garrison, however, had expended their ammunition ; they took advantage of the confusion of the enemy to depart during the darkness of the night ; and the townsmen the next morning, keeping the secret, obtained from Cromwell a favourable capitulation. This was his last exploit in Ireland. From Clonmel he was recalled to England to undertake a service of greater importance and difficulty, to which the reader must now direct his attention.

The young king at St. Germain's had given to Montrose a commission to raise the royal standard in Scotland. Having collected a force, he landed in the north of Scotland, and called on all true Scotsmen to aid in establishing their king upon the throne. But on April 27, 1650, the force was surprised and defeated, and Montrose, after a few days' wandering in disguise, was betrayed into the hands of his enemies. From them he could expect no mercy, and was executed ; but by his death he won more proselytes to the royal cause than he had ever made by his victories.

Charles, to safeguard his own position, basely disavowed any approval of Montrose's expedition ; and signed a treaty, binding himself to take the Scottish covenant and the solemn league and covenant ; to disavow and declare null the peace with the Irish,

and never to permit the free exercise of the catholic religion in Ireland, or any other part of his dominions; to acknowledge the authority of all parliaments held since the commencement of the late war; and to govern, in civil matters, by advice of the parliament; in religious, by that of the kirk. These preliminaries being settled, he embarked on board a small squadron furnished by the prince of Orange, and, after eluding the pursuit of the parliamentary cruisers, arrived in safety in the Firth of Cromartie, where he was received with the honours due to his dignity.

It was the negotiation between the Scots and their nominal king that called Cromwell away from Ireland. He left the command to Ireton, and, returning to England, appeared in parliament. He was received with acclamations; the palace of St. James's was allotted for his residence, and a valuable grant of lands was voted as a reward for his eminent services. In a few days followed the appointment of Fairfax to the office of commander-in-chief, and of Cromwell to that of lieutenant-general of the army designed to be employed in Scotland. Fairfax objected to the invasion of Scotland and resigned his commission; in consequence of which the chief command of all the forces raised, or to be raised by order of parliament, was conferred on Oliver Cromwell. Thus this adventurer obtained at the same time the praise of moderation (for he had urged Fairfax to continue in command) and the object of his ambition. Immediately he left the capital for Scotland; and Fairfax retired to his estate in Yorkshire, where he lived with the privacy of a country gentleman till he once more drew the sword, not in support of the commonwealth, but in favour of the king.

Cromwell passed the Tweed at the head of sixteen thousand men, most of them veterans, all habituated to military discipline. He found the Scottish troops strongly posted between Edinburgh and Leith. Cromwell employed all his art to provoke an engagement, which Leslie, the Scottish general, during a whole month, avoided.

The caution of Leslie triumphed over the skill and activity of Cromwell, who saw no alternative but victory or retreat: of the first he had no doubt, if he could come in contact with the enemy; the second was a perilous attempt, as the passes before him were occupied, and a numerous force was hanging on his rear. At Musselburg, having sent the sick on board the fleet, he ordered the army to march the next morning to Haddington, and thence

**Cromwell's
increase of
power.**

**Cromwell
enters Scot-
land, July,
1650.**

to Dunbar. Cromwell was not ignorant of the danger of his situation; he had even thought of putting the infantry on board the fleet, and of attempting to escape with the cavalry by the only outlet, the high road to Berwick. On the other side the Scotch council compelled their general to depart from his usual caution, and to make preparation for battle. The next morning the Scottish lancers, aided by their artillery, charged down the hill, drove the brigade of English cavalry from its position, and broke through the infantry, which had advanced to the support of the horse. Cromwell's own regiment of foot moved forward with pikes levelled; the horse rallied; and the enemy's lancers hesitated, broke, and fled. At the rout of their cavalry, a sudden panic instantly spread amongst the Scots; at the approach of the English they threw down their arms and ran. Cromwell's regiment halted to sing a Psalm; but the pursuit was continued for more than eight miles; the dead bodies of three thousand Scots strewed their native soil; and ten thousand prisoners, with the artillery, ammunition, and baggage, became the reward of the conquerors. Cromwell now thought no more of retreat. He marched back to the capital; the hope of resistance was abandoned; Edinburgh and Leith opened their gates, and the whole country to the Forth submitted to the will of the English general.

To the young king, the defeat at Dunbar was a subject of real and ill-dissembled joy. Hitherto he had been a mere puppet in the hands of Argyle and his party; now their power was broken, and it was not impossible for him to gain the ascendancy. On the first day of the new year he rode in procession to the church of Scone, where his ancestors had been accustomed to receive the Scottish crown: there on his knees, with his arm upraised, he swore to observe the two covenants; to establish the presbyterian government in Scotland and in his family; and to give his assent to acts for establishing it in his other dominions. Argyle then placed the crown upon his head, and seated him on the throne, and both nobility and people swore allegiance to him "according to the national covenant, and the solemn league and covenant." In April the king, with Leslie and Middleton as his lieutenants, took the command of the army, which had been raised by new levies to twenty thousand men, and, having fortified the passages of the Forth, awaited on the left bank the motions of the enemy.

Charles
crowned at
Scone,
January 1,
1651.

In the mean while Cromwell had obtained possession of the castle of Edinburgh through the perfidy or the timidity of the governor. He gained such great advantages in a few months, that Charles resolved to abandon the Scottish contest, and to transfer the war to England. So rapid was his advance, that he traversed the lowlands of Scotland, and the northern counties in England, without meeting a single foe. The king pushed forward till he reached Worcester, where he was solemnly proclaimed by the mayor, amidst the loud acclamations of the gentlemen of the county, who, under a suspicion of their loyalty, had been confined in that city by order of the council.

Charles
enters
England.
Proclaimed
king at
Worcester,
August 22,
1651.

At the first news of the royal march, the leaders at Westminster abandoned themselves to despair. They were relieved by the arrival of despatches from Cromwell, and by the indecision of the royalists, who, unprepared for the event, had hitherto made no movement. The occurrences of each day added to the disappointment of Charles and the confidence of his enemies. He had summoned by proclamation all his male subjects between the age of sixteen and sixty to join his standard. A few of the neighbouring gentlemen with their tenants, not two hundred in number, obeyed the call; and it was found that the whole amount of his force did not exceed twelve (or according to Cromwell, sixteen) thousand men, of whom one-sixth part only was composed of Englishmen. But while a few straggling royalists thus stole into his quarters, as if it were to display by their paucity the hopelessness of his cause, the daily arrival of hostile reinforcements swelled the army in the neighbourhood to more than thirty thousand men. At length Cromwell arrived, and was received with enthusiasm. The royalists had broken down an arch of the bridge over the Severn at Upton; but a few soldiers passed on a beam in the night; the breach was repaired, and Lambert crossed with ten thousand men to the right bank. A succession of partial but obstinate actions alternately raised and depressed the hopes of the two parties; the grand attempt was reserved by the lord general for his auspicious day, the 3rd of September, on which twelve months before he had defeated the Scots at Dunbar. On that day the memorable battle of Worcester took place, in which Charles was defeated with great loss, and with difficulty made his escape.

Battle of
Worcester,
September 3,
1651.

Though the parliament offered a reward of one thousand pounds for his person, and denounced the penalties of treason against

those who should afford him shelter ; though parties of horse and foot scoured the adjacent counties in search of so valuable a prize ; though the magistrates received orders to arrest every unknown person, and to keep a strict watch on the seaports in their neighbourhood, yet no trace of his flight, no clue to his retreat, could be discovered. Week after week passed away ; the fate of Charles Stuart remained an impenetrable mystery. At last, when a belief prevailed, both among his friends and foes, that he had met with death from the peasantry, ignorant of his person and quality, the intelligence arrived, that on the 17th of October, forty-four days after the battle, he had landed in safety at Fecamp, on the coast of Normandy.

Charles had been concealed by four brothers of the name of Penderell. He feared that their poverty might make them accessible to the temptation to betray him ; but they were men of tried fidelity, who, born on the domain, and bred in the principles of a loyal catholic family, had long been successfully employed in screening priests and cavaliers from the searches of the civil magistrates and military officers. These, and one Father Hudleston, a Benedictine monk, devised shelters and disguises for him, which enabled him to elude the vigilance of his pursuers. He was one day led into the thickest part of a wood near Boscobel House, and he and his companion passed the day amidst the branches of an old and lofty oak. Invisible themselves, they occasionally caught a glimpse of soldiers passing among the trees, and sometimes saw them looking into the meadow. A plan of escape was now submitted to his approbation. The daughter of colonel Lane, of Bentley, had obtained from the governor of Stafford a pass to visit Mrs. Norton, a relation near Bristol. It took but little time to transform Charles into her domestic servant—the character he had consented to assume. He departed on horseback with his supposed mistress behind him, accompanied by her cousin, Mr. Lassells ; and, after a journey of three days, reached Abbotsleigh, Mr. Norton's house, without interruption or danger. After many other adventures he reached the coast of Sussex, and got across to France, where he was received with a warm welcome.

Cromwell, after his victory, was received in state in London. Grants of lands were settled on him in proof of the national gratitude, and he received the thanks of the parliament. Cromwell, to hide the workings of ambition within his breast, accepted these honours with an air of profound humility, professing to take no merit to himself, but ascribing it to God.

The form of government now established in England was an oligarchy. A few men, under cover of a nominal parliament, ruled with the power of the sword. It cannot be doubted that the real majority lay with the old and the new royalists; but a standing army secured submission to the commonwealth. This army, however, was a cause of constant anxiety to its leaders. Their pay was in arrears, and they exercised, illegally, a claim for free quarters. Many of the soldiers condemned the existing government, and sided with Lilburne, condemning as tyrants those who kept him in prison. If the levellers boldly avowed their sentiments, the royalists worked in the dark; but the council by its vigilance proved a match for both; and as the plans of the royalists were always discovered, they were defeated by the precautions taken, and several executions took place of men charged of conspiring the destruction of the government established by law.

Opposition to the council.

In Ireland, Ireton, to whom Cromwell, with the title of lord deputy, had left the chief command, pursued with little interruption the career of his victorious predecessor. The men of Ulster, after a long and sanguinary action, were defeated at Letterkenny. Waterford, Carlow, and Charlemont accepted honourable conditions, and the garrison of Duncannon, reduced to a handful of men by the ravages of the plague, opened its gates to the enemy. In a short time, the conditions to which Charles had subscribed began to transpire; that he had bound himself by oath, not only not to permit the exercise of the catholic worship, but to root out the catholic religion wherever it existed in any of his dominions. This intelligence caused a general gloom and despondency. Charles's representative, Ormond, felt that it was time for him to leave Ireland; but, before his departure, he called a general assembly, and selected the marquis of Clanricarde, a catholic nobleman, to command as his deputy. Ireton opened the siege of Limerick, on June 11, 1651, as the conditions which he had offered were refused by the inhabitants. Both parties displayed a valour and obstinacy worthy of the prize for which they fought. But in October a reinforcement from England arrived; and a wide breach in the wall admonished the inhabitants to prepare for an assault. In this moment of suspense, with the dreadful example of Drogheda and Wexford before their eyes, they met at the town-hall. Remonstrances and threats were made in vain; Stretch, the mayor, gave the keys to colonel Fanning, who seized St. John's gate, and admitted two

Campaign in Ireland.

The siege of Limerick.

hundred of the besiegers. A treaty was concluded; and, if the garrison and inhabitants preserved their lives and property, it was by abandoning twenty-two individuals to the mercy of the conqueror. Ireton died soon afterwards of disease. His death proved a severe loss to the commonwealth, not only on account of his abilities as an officer and a statesman, but because it removed the principal check to the inordinate ambition of Cromwell.

During the next winter the confederates had leisure to reflect on their forlorn condition. Charles, indeed, a second time an exile, solicited them to persevere; but it was difficult to persuade men to hazard their lives and fortunes without the remotest prospect of benefit to themselves or to the royal cause. Some, in obedience to instructions from Charles, resolved to continue hostilities to the last extremity. Lord Muskerry, indeed, collected five thousand men on the borders of Cork and Kerry, but was obliged to retire before his opponents: his strong fortress of Ross opened its gates; and, after some hesitation, he made his submission. In the north, Clanricarde reduced Ballyshannon and Donegal; but there his career ended; Coote (one of Cromwell's generals) compelled him to accept the usual conditions. The last chieftain of note who braved the arms of the commonwealth was colonel Richard Grace: he, at length, capitulated, and the subjugation of Ireland was completed.

The wives and families of those who had perished by disease and the casualties of war, and of the multitudes who were reduced to a state of utter destitution, were conveyed to the West Indies, where they were sold as slaves. A project was adopted of confining the catholics to Connaught and Clare, beyond the river Shannon, and of dividing the remainder of the island, Leinster, Munster, and Ulster, among protestant colonists. Seldom has any nation been reduced to a state of bondage more galling and oppressive. All catholic priests were ordered to quit Ireland within twenty days, under the penalties of high treason, and all other persons were forbidden to harbour any such clergymen under the pain of death.

In Scotland, the power of the commonwealth was as firmly established as in Ireland. General Monk was left to complete the conquest of that kingdom, when Cromwell hastened in pursuit of the king to Worcester. Monk invested Stirling, which capitulated. Thence he marched to Dundee; a breach was soon made in the wall; and the governor and garrison were massacred. Warned by this awful example, other towns opened their gates; and a chain of

**Fate of the
Irish.**

**The com-
monwealth
in Scotland,
1651-1652.**

military stations drawn across the Highlands served to curb the spirit of the natives. All authority derived from any other source than the parliament of England was abolished by proclamation; a yearly tax of one hundred and thirty thousand pounds was imposed in lieu of free quarters for the support of the army; and English judges, assisted by three or four natives, were appointed to go the circuits, and to supersede the courts of session. The parliament next resolved to incorporate the two countries into one commonwealth, without kingly government or the aristocratical influence of a house of peers. But, before the plan could be adjusted, the parliament itself, with all its projects, was overturned by the successful ambition of Cromwell.

Disputes occurred with Portugal, and in the negotiations which ensued valuable privileges were obtained for English traders. Relations with Spain, though always strained, were never ruptured: those with the United Provinces ended in hostilities. William II. of Orange, who had married a daughter of Charles I., died in 1650, and on the birth of a posthumous son (William, afterwards king of England), the office of Stadtholder was abolished. The English leaders conceived the idea of incorporating the United Provinces with the commonwealth, but exchanged this preposterous plan for an alliance and union. The negotiations failed in 1651; they were resumed, however, after the battle of Worcester; but during the interval the English increased their demands, and as they considered themselves injured by the Dutch, sent out privateers to capture Dutch shipping. The parliament also passed the celebrated Navigation Act in 1651, by which it was enacted that no goods should be brought into

Foreign relations. War with the Dutch.

Navigation Act, 1651.

England from abroad, unless in ships the property of England or of the country whence the goods came. Hitherto the Dutch had been the common carriers of Europe: by this act one great and lucrative branch of their commercial prosperity was lopped off. The Dutch merchants solicited permission to indemnify themselves by reprisals. The States equipped a fleet, announcing that their object was not to make war, but to protect their commerce. The English council of state, receiving this as a menace, ordered the same honours to be exacted in the narrow seas to the flag of the commonwealth as had been formerly paid to that of the king. Some Dutch men-of-war, after a sharp action, were compelled to salute the English flag. A few days later the celebrated Van Tromp appeared in the Downs with a fleet. Admiral Blake met him off Dover (May 19, 1652); an action

ensued, and two Dutch ships were captured. Many more ships, merchantmen and men-of-war, were then captured or burnt. At first the Dutch abstained from reprisals; but at last Van Tromp sailed from the Texel with a large fleet (in July). The Dutch expected him to sweep the English navy off the seas; but disaster attended him; he was forced to resign, and De Ruyter, being appointed his successor, gained some small success. De Witte joined De Ruyter. Blake accepted the challenge (September 28); and as a result the Dutch fled: but returning with a fleet superior in numbers to that under Blake's command, forced him to retire, and then, during November, insulted the British coast. The parliament made every exertion to wipe away the disgrace. On the other hand, the Dutch were intoxicated with their success. Van Tromp went to the Isle de Rhé to take a convoy of merchantmen under his charge. But Blake intercepted him off Cape La Hogue, on February 18, 1653, and the action which lasted three days, and was fought right up the channel, ended in a victory for the English. This was the last naval victory achieved under the auspices of the parliament.

To return to Cromwell. When he resumed his seat in the house, in 1651, he reminded the members of their indifference to two measures earnestly desired by the country, the act of amnesty and the termination of the present parliament. An act of oblivion was obtained, which, with some exceptions, pardoned all offences committed before the battle of Worcester, and relieved the minds of the royalists from the apprehension of additional forfeitures. On the question of the expiration of parliament, after several warm debates, the period was fixed for the 3rd of November, 1654. Cromwell, seeing that the parliament could not be brought to dissolve itself, resolved on a plan to accomplish his purpose, and vest for a time the sovereign authority in a council of forty persons, with himself at their head. Finding he could not succeed without force, he ordered some soldiers to accompany him to the house, on the 20th April, 1653. Leaving the military in the lobby, he entered the house, and composedly seated himself on one of the outer benches. For a while he seemed to listen with interest to the debate; but, when the speaker was going to put the question, he whispered to Harrison, "This is the time: I must do it;" and rising, put off his hat to address the house. He charged the members with self-seeking and profaneness; with the frequent denial of justice, and numerous acts of oppression. Then, stamping on the floor, he added, "You are no parliament. I say you are no parliament: bring them in, bring them in."

Instantly the door opened, and colonel Worseley entered, followed by more than twenty musketeers. Colonel Harrison took the speaker by the hand, and led him from the chair; and the other members, eighty in number, on the approach of the military, rose and moved towards the door. When all were gone, fixing his eye on the mace, "What," said he, "shall we do with this fool's bauble? Here, carry it away." Then, taking the act of dissolution from the clerk, he ordered the doors to be locked, and, accompanied by the military, returned to Whitehall. Thus, by the parricidal hands of its own children, perished the "Long" parliament, which, under a variety of forms, had, for more than twelve years, defended and invaded the liberties of the nation. A council of state was established. With Cromwell, as lord president, were joined four civilians and eight officers of high rank, so that the army still retained its ascendancy, and the council of state became in fact a military council.

The position was a strange one, and Cromwell determined to create a new parliament subservient to his ideas. Accordingly, without any election being allowed, he summoned one hundred and thirty nine representatives for England, six for Wales, six for Ireland, and five for Scotland. To each of them was sent a writ of summons under the signature of Cromwell, requiring his personal attendance at Whitehall on a certain day, to take upon himself the trust, and to serve the office of member for some particular place. On the appointed day, the 4th of July, one hundred and twenty of these "faithful and godly" men attended in the council-chamber at Whitehall. He placed on the table an instrument under his own hand and seal, entrusting to them the supreme authority for the space of fifteen months from that day, then to be transmitted by them to another assembly, the members of which they should previously have chosen. Though not distinguished by their opulence, they were men of independent fortunes; during the late revolutions they had learned to think for themselves on the momentous questions which divided the nation; and their fanaticism, by converting their opinions into matters of conscience, had superadded an obstinacy of character not easily to be subdued. They have been generally described as men in trade, and of no education; and because one of them, Praise-God Barebones, was a leather dealer in Fleet-street, the assembly is generally known by the denomination of Barebones' parliament. To Cromwell himself they always behaved with respect; but they

Cromwell dissolves the "Long" parliament by force.

The "Barebones" parliament.

believed and showed that they were the masters. In their proceedings there was much to which no one could object. They established a system of the most rigid economy; the regulations of the excise were revised; the constitution of the treasury was simplified and improved; unnecessary offices were totally abolished and the salaries of the others considerably reduced; the public accounts were subjected to the most rigorous scrutiny; new facilities were given to the sale of the lands now considered as national property. Provision was made for the future registration of marriages, births, and deaths. But the fanaticism of their language, and the extravagance of their notions, exposed them to ridicule. Some of their proceedings, as, for instance, their condemnation of Cromwell's policy towards Holland, were very displeasing to the lord-general, and, being their maker, he determined to reduce them to their original nothing. After secret consultation with his followers, these friends adjourned to the house, and one rose, reviewed their proceedings, condemned them as injurious to the interests of the state, and moved that the supreme power should be delivered back into the hands of him from whom it was derived. The motion was opposed; but the speaker, in the secret, left the chair; and some military cleared the house.

**Cromwell,
lord pro-
tector.**

In the meanwhile the speaker proceeded to Whitehall, and tendered a resignation of the supreme power to Cromwell. He put on an air of surprise; he was not prepared for such an offer. But his reluctance yielded to remonstrances and entreaties: the instrument of resignation received the signatures of a majority of the members. On December 16, 1653, a new constitution was published, and Cromwell at last obtained the great object of his ambition—the office and authority, though without the title, of king. The title he received was that of lord protector.

Cromwell soon published three ordinances, by which, of his supreme authority, he incorporated Scotland with England, absolved the natives from their allegiance to Charles Stuart, abolished the kingly office and the Scottish parliament, with all tenures and superiorities importing servitude and vassalage, erected courts-baron to supply the place of the jurisdictions which he had taken away, and granted a free pardon to the nation, with the exception of numerous individuals whom he subjected to different degrees of punishment.

By foreign powers the recent elevation of Cromwell was viewed without surprise. They were aware of his ambition, and had anticipated his success. All who had reason to hope from

his friendship, or to fear from his enmity, offered their congratulations, and ambassadors and envoys from most of the princes of Europe crowded to the court of the protector. He received them with all the state of a sovereign. A treaty with the United Provinces was the first which engaged the attention of the protector, and was not concluded (5th of April, 1654) till repeated victories, in one of which Van Tromp was killed, had proved the superiority of the English navy, and a protracted negotiation had exhausted the patience of the States.

A new parliament was called in September, 1654; but though all the power of the government had been employed to influence the returns, Cromwell found himself unable to mould the house to his wishes. The leaders of the opposition were Bradshaw, Hazlerig, and Scot, who contended that the existing government emanated from an incompetent authority, and stood in opposition to the solemn determination of a legitimate parliament. A motion to limit the succession to Cromwell's family was negatived by a large majority; and it was resolved that, on the death of the protector, his successor should be chosen by the parliament if it were sitting, and by the council in the absence of parliament. Cromwell suddenly dissolved the parliament, on January 22, 1655. A rising of royalists took place at this time, but was without much difficulty suppressed, and several of the royalists were executed, many others being sent to be sold for slaves in Barbadoes. Conspiracies were formed against him even by extreme republicans.

The protector framed certain measures of precaution, on his own authority. Clergy of the established church were forbidden to act as tutors or read service even in private: cavaliers and catholics were banished to a distance of twenty miles from London: no news might be printed without permission; many of the nobility and gentry were imprisoned till they could produce bail for good behaviour. He divided the country into military districts, under officers with executive power; and thus the long and sanguinary struggle, which was originally undertaken to recover the liberties of the country, terminated in the establishment of a military despotism. The institutions which had acted as restraints on the power of preceding sovereigns were superseded or abolished; the legislative, as well as the executive authority, fell into the grasp of the same individual; and the best rights of the people were made to depend on the mere pleasure of an adventurer, who, under the mask of dissimulation, had seized, and by the power of the sword retained, the government of three kingdoms.

**Cromwell's
autocracy
and tyranny.**

To engage the minds of the discontented, Cromwell equipped two fleets; one for the purpose of waylaying Spanish treasure galleons from the West Indies: though the main object failed, Blake's ships, after chastisement, forced the Dey of Tripoli to make submission. The other fleet made a raid on the Spanish West Indies, but though failing in its attempt on San Domingo, captured Jamaica. Cromwell's influence on the continent secured immunity from persecution at the hands of the duke of Savoy for his protestant subjects the Vaudois or Waldenses. He also forced France into a treaty of alliance, and sent a strong force to aid the French troops. The equipment of the fleet had exhausted the treasury: the protector dared not impose additional taxes; but as the want

Cromwell of money daily increased, he consented to call a
calls another parliament to meet on September 17th, 1657; but
parliament, the result of the elections revealed to him the
September, alarming secret, that the antipathy to his government
1657.

was more deeply rooted, and more widely spread, than he had previously imagined. The whole nation was in a ferment; and in several counties the court candidates were rejected. Cromwell, however, gave orders to prevent the admission of his opponents into the house. Several members, to show their disapprobation, voluntarily seceded, and those, who had been excluded by force, published in bold and indignant language an appeal to the justice of the people.

Cromwell next revolved in his own mind a secret project of the first importance to himself and the country. To his ambition, it was not sufficient that he actually possessed the supreme authority, and exercised it with more despotic sway than any of his legitimate predecessors; he still sought to mount a step higher, to encircle his brows with a diadem, and to be addressed with the title of majesty. It chanced that a plot against the protector's life was, at this time, discovered and defeated. The circumstance furnished an opportunity favourable to his views; and the re-establishment of "kingship" was mentioned in the house, not as a project originating from him, but as the accidental and spontaneous suggestion of others. The detection of the conspiracy was followed by an address of congratulation to the protector. At the next meeting of parliament the question of kingship was regularly brought before them in a paper entitled "An humble Address and Remonstrance." The house debated each article in succession, and the project was finally adopted, but with the omission of the remonstrance, and under the amended title of the "Humble

**The offer of
 kingship to
 Cromwell.**

Petition and Advice." As long as the question was before parliament, Cromwell bore himself in public as if he were unconcerned in the result ; but his mind was secretly harassed by the reproaches of his friends and by the misgivings of his conscience. He saw, for the first time, marshalled against him the men who had stood by him in his different fortunes. The marked opposition of these men had given energy to the proceedings of the inferior officers, who formed themselves into a permanent council under the very eyes of Cromwell, passed votes in disapprobation of the proposed alteration, and to the number of one hundred waited on him to acquaint him with their sentiments. He replied, that there was a time when they felt no objection to the title of king ; for the army had offered it to him with the original instrument of government. He had rejected it then, and had no greater love for it now. In the mean while the new form of government had received the sanction of the house. Cromwell, when it was laid before him, had recourse to his usual arts, openly refusing that for which he ardently longed. At length it was whispered at court that the protector had resolved to accept the title ; and immediately Lambert, Fleetwood, and Desborough made to him, in their own names and those of several others, the unpleasant declaration, that they must resign their commissions, and sever themselves from his councils and service for ever. This bold step subdued the protector. He abandoned the lofty hopes to which he had so long, so pertinaciously clung, despatched Fleetwood to the house to prevent a debate, and shortly afterwards summoned the members to meet him at Whitehall. Addressing them with more than his usual embarrassment, he said, that neither his own reflections nor the reasoning of the committee had convinced him that he ought to accept the title of king ; and thus ended the mighty farce which for more than two months held in suspense the hopes and fears of three nations. Several changes were, however, now made. The supreme authority was vested in the protector ; but, instead of rendering it hereditary in his family, the most which he could obtain was the power of nominating his immediate successor. The two houses of parliament were restored, and to Cromwell was given the power of nominating the members of the "other house" (he dare not yet term it the house of lords) ; but, in the first instance, the persons so nominated were to be approved by the house of representatives, and afterwards by the "other house" itself.

The year 1658 was distinguished by a brilliant naval action, in which Blake destroyed the Plate fleet from Peru which had

taken refuge in the harbour of Santa Cruz in Teneriffe. He died, however, before reaching home. Louis XIV. also handed over possession of Dunkirk to Cromwell in payment for the aid he had received from English troops in the Netherlands.

In the eyes of the superficial observer, Cromwell might now appear to have reached the zenith of power and greatness. At home he had discovered, defeated and punished several conspiracies against him; abroad, his army had gained laurels in the field; his fleets swept the seas; and his friendship was sought by every power. The real fact, however, was, that his authority in England never rested on a more precarious footing than at that moment; while, on the other hand, the cares and anxieties of government, joined to his apprehensions of assassination, and the pressure of domestic affliction, were rapidly undermining his constitution, and hurrying him from the gay and glittering visions of ambition to the darkness and silence of the tomb.

A tract entitled "Killing no Murder," by one Sexby, caused Cromwell serious alarm, and it is said that he wore defensive Cromwell's armour under his clothes; carried loaded pistols in fear of his pockets; sought to remain in privacy; and, when assassination. he found it necessary to give audience, sternly watched the eyes and gestures of those who addressed him. He had often faced death without flinching in the field; but his spirit broke under the continual fear of unknown and invisible foes. He passed his nights in a state of feverish anxiety; sleep fled from his pillow; and for more than a year before his death, we always find the absence of rest assigned as either the cause which produced, or a circumstance which aggravated, his numerous ailments.

Cromwell was sincerely attached to his daughter Elizabeth Claypole. She died on August 6, 1658. The protector was Cromwell's confined to his bed with the gout, and a slow fever death, Sep- supervened. This fever became a double tertian, tember 3, his strength rapidly wasted away, and he died on the 1658. 3rd of September, 1658. It was his "fortunate day;" on the 3rd of September he overcame the Scots at Dunbar; on that day, he also overcame the royalists at Worcester.

Till Buonaparte arose, the name of Cromwell stood without a parallel in the history of civilised Europe. Men looked with a feeling of awe on the fortunate individual who, without the aid of birth, or wealth, or connections, was Cromwell's able to seize the government of three powerful character. kingdoms, and to impose the yoke of servitude on the necks of

the very men who had fought in his company to emancipate themselves from the less arbitrary sway of their hereditary sovereign. That he who accomplished this was no ordinary personage, all must admit; and yet, on close investigation, we shall discover little that was sublime or dazzling in his character. Cromwell was not the meteor which surprises and astounds by the rapidity and brilliancy of its course. Cool, cautious, calculating, he stole on with slow and measured pace; and, while with secret pleasure he toiled up the ascent to greatness, laboured to persuade the spectators that he was reluctantly borne forward by an exterior and resistless force, by the march of events, the necessities of the state, the will of the army, and even the decree of the Almighty. He seems to have looked upon dissimulation as the perfection of human wisdom, and to have made it the key-stone of the arch on which he built his fortunes.

Cromwell left two sons, Richard and Henry. After the establishment of the commonwealth, Richard married, and devoted himself to the usual pursuits of a country gentleman in Hampshire. Henry accompanied his father in the reduction of Ireland, which country he afterwards governed, first with the rank of major-general, afterwards with that of lord-deputy.

The moment Oliver Cromwell expired, the council assembled, and the result of their deliberation was an order to proclaim Richard Cromwell protector, on the ground that he had been declared by his late highness his successor in that dignity. Not a murmur of opposition was heard; the ceremony was performed in all places after the usual manner of announcing the accession of a new sovereign; and addresses poured in from the army and navy, from cities and counties.

The royalists, who had persuaded themselves that the whole fabric of the protectorial power would fall in pieces on the death of Cromwell, beheld with amazement the general acquiescence in the succession of Richard; and the foreign princes who had deemed it prudent to solicit the friendship of the father, now hastened to offer their congratulations to his son. Yet, fair and tranquil as the prospect appeared, an experienced eye might easily detect the elements of an approaching storm; for many said that to suffer the supreme power to devolve on Richard was to disgrace and to disinherit the men who had suffered so severely, and bled so profusely, in the contest. A few days after Oliver Cromwell's funeral, the new protector summoned a parliament, reverting for the purpose to the ancient system of election; but the members

of the house of commons refused to recognise the new house of lords, and even questioned the status of the protector. The army, who saw their power gone with Cromwell's death, forced the protector to consent to the establishment of a permanent council of general officers. But their opponents saw that it was time to act with energy, and voted that the command of the army was vested in the three estates, to be exercised by the protector. This was an open declaration of war: the military leaders met, and forced on Richard the choice of the alternative to dissolve parliament either by civil authority or by the power of the sword. The parliament was accordingly dissolved on April 22nd, 1659; but by the dissolution, Richard signed his own deposition. The military leaders, unable to agree on any form of government

Revival of among themselves, sought to come to an under-
the "Rump." standing with the republican leaders. These demanded the restoration of the "Long" parliament.

On May 6th, 1659, the officers invited the surviving members of the "Long" parliament to resume their office; and forty-two were collected. The presbyterian members of the "Long" parliament who had been excluded in 1648 by the army had as good a right to sit. Nearly two hundred of them were still alive, and eighty actually living in London; but they were royalists and with their numbers could instantly have outvoted the republicans. They assembled and demanded admittance to the house, but were excluded. The sitting members, again ridiculed as the "Rump," constituting themselves the supreme authority, appointed a council of state. The army offered its adhesion, but began to dictate to the men whom they had made their nominal masters. The intentions, also, of the armies in Scotland and Ireland remained uncertain; and the royalists, both presbyterians and cavaliers, were exerting themselves to improve the general confusion to the advantage of the exiled king. Richard exercised no real authority, though he continued to occupy the state apartments at Whitehall. By repeated messages, he was ordered to retire; and, on his promise to obey, the parliament granted him some privileges, and voted that a yearly income of ten thousand pounds should be settled on him and his heirs, a grant easily made on paper, but never carried into execution. The republicans undertook to remodel the constitution of the army. The office of lord-general was abolished; no intermediate rank between the lieutenant-general and the colonels was admitted; Fleetwood was named lieutenant-general, with the chief command in England and Scotland, but limited in its duration to a short period, revocable at

pleasure, and deprived of several of those powers which had hitherto been annexed to it.

Ever since the death of Oliver Cromwell, the exiled king had watched with intense interest the course of events in England; and each day added a new stimulus to his hopes of a favourable issue. In Cheshire the royal standard was unfurled by sir George Booth, a person of considerable influence in the county, and a recent convert to the cause of the Stuarts. At Chester, the parliamentary garrison retired into the castle, and the royalists took possession of the city. Each day brought to them a new accession of strength; and their apparent success taught them to augur equally well of other expected attempts throughout the kingdom. But a parliamentary force soon caused them to evacuate the city, and dispersed the insurgents. Lambert, the victor, marched to London, and the military again came into collision with the parliament, and as a result forcibly ejected the members, and tried to set up once more government by the army. But these changes were met with general disapprobation. The conduct of Monk now begins to claim a considerable share of our attention. Ever since the march of Cromwell in pursuit of the king, in 1649, to Worcester, he had commanded in Scotland; where, instead of concerning himself with the intrigues and parties in England, he appeared to have no other occupation than to preserve the discipline of his army, and enforce the obedience of the Scots. After the fall of the protector Richard, he became an object of distrust. Lord Fairfax was also become a convert to the cause of monarchy; to him the numerous royalists in Yorkshire looked up as a leader; and he, on the solemn assurance of Monk that he would join him within twelve days or perish in the attempt, undertook to call together his friends, and to surprise the city of York. On the first day of the new year, each performed his promise. The gates of York were thrown open to Fairfax by the cavaliers confined within its walls; and Monk, with his army, crossed the Tweed, disposed of Lambert's troops, and seized London. By his direction, the members excluded in 1648 were summoned to sit, and thus the presbyterian party now ruled without opposition in parliament. They appointed Monk commander-in-chief of the forces in the three kingdoms, and joint commander of the fleet with admiral Montague.

General
George
Monk
marches to
London.

Nineteen years and a half had now elapsed since the "Long" parliament first assembled—years of revolution and bloodshed, during which the nation had made the trial of almost every form

of government, to return at last to that form from which it had previously departed. On the 16th of March, 1660, its existence, which had been illegally prolonged since the death of Charles I., was terminated by its own voluntary act. The reader is already acquainted with its history. For the stand which it made against the encroachments of the crown, it deserves both admiration and gratitude; its subsequent proceedings assumed a more ambiguous character; ultimately they led to anarchy and military despotism.

Monk had now spent more than two months in England, and still his intentions were covered with a veil of mystery which no ingenuity, either of the royalists or of the republicans, could penetrate. He soon sent a message to Charles, who was at Brussels, advising him to promise a general or nearly general pardon, liberty of conscience, the confirmation of the national sales, and the payment of the arrears due to the army, and that he would aid in his restoration. By Charles the messenger was received as an angel from heaven. But when he communicated the glad tidings to Ormond, Hyde, and Nicholas, these counsellors discovered that the advice, suggested by Monk, was derogatory to the interests of the throne and the personal character of the monarch, and composed a royal declaration which

**Declaration
of Breda.**

while it professed to make to the nation the promises recommended by Monk, in reality neutralised their effect, by subjecting them to such limitations as might afterwards be imposed by the wisdom of parliament. Notwithstanding the alterations made at Brussels, Monk professed himself satisfied with the declaration. Though he still declared himself a friend to republican government, he now ventured to assume a bolder tone. The militia of the city, amounting to fourteen thousand men, was already embodied under his command; he had in his pocket a commission from Charles, appointing him lord-general over all the military in the three kingdoms; and he resolved should circumstances compel him suddenly to throw off the mask to proclaim the king, and to summon every faithful subject to

**Convention
parliament.**

repair to the royal standard. A new parliament met on the 25th of April. Charles's letter was delivered to the two houses. Encouraged by the bursts of loyalty with which the king's missive was received, his friends made

**Charles II.
invited to
England.
May, 1660.**

it their great object to procure his return to England before limitations could be put on the prerogative. The two houses voted, that by the ancient and fundamental laws of the realm the government was and ought to be by king, lords, and commons; and they invited

Charles to come and receive the crown to which he was born. Charles was as eager to accept as the houses had been to vote the address of invitation. As soon as the weather permitted, he set sail for Dover, where Monk, at the head of the nobility and gentry from the neighbouring counties, waited to receive the new sovereign. From Dover to the capital the king's progress bore the appearance of a triumphal procession.

That the re-establishment of royalty was a blessing to the country will hardly be denied. It presented the best, perhaps the only, means of restoring public tranquillity. To Monk belongs the merit of having, by his foresight and caution, effected this desirable object without bloodshed or violence; but to his dispraise it must also be recorded, that he effected it without any previous stipulation on the part of the exiled monarch. Never had so fair an opportunity been offered of establishing a compact between the sovereign and the people, of determining, by mutual consent, the legal rights of the crown, and of securing from future encroachment the freedom of the people. By the negligence or perfidy of Monk, a door was left open to the recurrence of dissension between the crown and the people; and that very circumstance, namely, his untrammelled return, which Charles had hailed as the consummation of his good fortune, served only to prepare the way for a second revolution, which ended in the permanent exclusion of his family from the government of these kingdoms.

CHAPTER XXVII

CHARLES II. 1660-1685

THE convention parliament was soon dissolved, and Charles called a new parliament after the ancient and legitimate form.

The cavalier parliament.

The result of the elections showed that the fervid loyalty which blazed forth at his restoration had in the interval suffered but little abatement. This parliament, at the commencement of its long career, passed several laws of the highest importance, both in regard to the pretensions of the crown and the civil and religious liberties of the people. The solemn league and covenant, with the acts for erecting a high court of justice for the trial of Charles Stuart, and others of the same nature, were ordered to be burnt in the midst of Westminster Hall by the hands of the common hangman. A meeting between ministers of the church and presbyterians to arrange a settlement ended in nothing, as, at the "Savoy Conference" of 1661, both parties were obdurate. The parliament then took the matter in hand, and an act of uniformity was passed, whereby the

Charles and the Church.

revised Book of Common Prayer and of ordination of ministers, and none other, should be used. Another clause provided that none should minister who had not received episcopal ordination. Objections were raised, but the measure received the royal assent. The presbyterians met to consult and remonstrate; but their synods were everywhere dispersed by the government. Those who would not conform were expelled from their livings in 1662, to the number of about two thousand. From them are descended most modern nonconformist sects.

The English catholics cherished a hope of profiting by the declaration from Breda; but though Charles was well disposed in their favour, measures of relief were quietly dropped.

In England, the demands of justice were satisfied with the blood of several regicides; the resentment of the royalists was glutted by an outrage against the common feelings of humanity: the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw were removed from

their graves, drawn on hurdles to Tyburn, there hanged, cut down, and decapitated, and the trunks thrown into a pit. To expiate the guilt of Scotland, a more illustrious victim was selected, the marquess of Argyle. Charles seemed inclined to save him, but his enemies were inexorable. He was tried and executed in May, 1661.

In 1660, the king's brother, James duke of York, was married to Anne, the daughter of the chancellor Hyde, afterwards created lord Clarendon. In 1661, Charles married Catherine of Braganza, sister of the king of Portugal. The princess brought a dower of £500,000, the possession of Tangier on the coast of Africa, and of Bombay in the East Indies, and a free trade to Portugal and the Portuguese colonies. Charles's conduct towards her at first was attentive, but he soon forgot his duty to God and his wife, by plunging into a life of licentiousness.

Charles, who wanted money, sold Dunkirk, in 1663, to the king of France, by the advice of Clarendon. This sale of Dunkirk had no small influence on the subsequent fortune of each. The possession of it had flattered the national pride; for it was regarded as a compensation for the loss of Calais. The public discontent began to be openly expressed; Charles saw a formidable party growing up against him; and Clarendon, after a protracted struggle, submitted to his fate, and fled to the continent.

**Sale of
Dunkirk.**

The cause of intolerance was furthered by the cavalier parliament, by the passing, in 1664, of the Conventicle Act, whereby the religious meetings of dissenters was forbidden. All meetings of more than five individuals for any religious purpose not according to the Book of Common Prayer were declared unlawful "conventicles": those attending them were severely punished. This was followed in 1665 by an act forbidding every non-conforming minister to come within five miles of any town. These tyrannous acts were fitting sequels to the "Corporation Act" passed in 1661, enacting that all office holders were bound to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance and receive communion according to the rites of the established church.

**Conventicle
Act, Five-
Mile Act,
and Corpora-
tion Act.**

In 1665, Charles entered on a war with the Dutch, on account of commercial disputes respecting the African trade. The most formidable fleet that England had as yet witnessed sailed under James. The duke, despising the narrow prejudices of party, had called around him the seamen who fought and conquered in the last war, and for more than a month his armament insulted the coast of Holland,

**The second
Dutch War,
1665-1667.**

and rode triumphant in the German Ocean. At length an easterly wind drove the English to their own shores, and the Dutch fleet immediately put to sea under admiral Opdam. Early in the morning of the 3rd June, 1665, the hostile fleets descried each other near Lowestoft. A severe engagement took place, in which James displayed much valour. Opdam was killed, and the Dutch, alarmed at the loss of their commander, fled, leaving the English victors in the most glorious action hitherto fought by the navy of England.

In the depth of the previous winter, two or three isolated cases of plague had occurred in the outskirts of the metropolis; and, about the end of May, 1665, the evil burst forth in **The Plague,** all its terrors. By the end of June so destructive **1665.** were its ravages, that public measures of safety had to be devised. Provision was made for the speedy interment of the dead. During the night, a pest-cart received the latest victims, proceeded to the nearest cemetery, and shot its burden into a common grave. In September the plague began to abate.

The Dutch, in virtue of the defensive alliance concluded between them and France in 1662, now called upon Louis XIV. to join as their ally in the war against Charles. Louis informed Charles that unless peace were speedily concluded, he would join the Dutch; the English king defied the coalition, rather than submit to dictation; and in January, 1666, the French monarch declared war. The French agent at Copenhagen prevailed on the king of Denmark to withdraw from his alliance with England, and to make common cause with the States. Charles, on his side, concluded a treaty with the king of Sweden.

In May, 1666, the English fleet was in the Downs; on June 1st, a numerous Dutch force was descried at anchor off the North Foreland. A fight extending over three days at once **Fighting in** began. It ended in disaster for Monk (now duke of **the Downs,** Albemarle). Though the Dutch justly claimed the **1666.** victory, no disgrace could attach to the English: the disparity of force was too great. The fleets met again before the end of the month: the victory was fiercely and obstinately disputed; but the better fortune, or more desperate valour, of the English prevailed. De Ruyter was driven back to Holland, and the English fleet rode for weeks triumphant along that coast, interrupting the commerce, burning the ships, and insulting the pride of their enemies.

From the war which now raged in the British seas, our attention must for a time be called to the great fire, which at this

period consumed a large portion of London. About two in the morning of Sunday, the 2nd of September, 1666, a fire burst out in Pudding-lane, near Fish-street, one of the most crowded quarters of the metropolis. It originated in a bakehouse; the buildings in the neighbourhood quickly caught the flames; and the stores with which they were filled, consisting of those combustible articles used in the equipment of shipping, nourished the conflagration, which spread with astonishing velocity. The lurid glare of the sky, the oppressive heat of the atmosphere, the crackling of the flames, and the falling of the houses and churches, combined to fill every breast with astonishment and terror. Charles never appeared so deeply affected as at the sight of the conflagration. Wherever the danger appeared the greatest, the king was to be found with his brother James, mixing among the workmen, animating them by his example, and with his own hand rewarding their exertions. With the aid of gunpowder large openings were made, in order thereby to arrest the progress of the flames; Charles attended at the demolition of several houses, and the conflagration, being thus prohibited from extending its ravages, gradually died away, though months elapsed before the immense accumulation of ruins ceased to present appearances of internal heat and combustion. By this deplorable accident two-thirds of the metropolis, the whole space from the Tower to the Temple, had been reduced to ashes. The number of houses consumed amounted to thirteen thousand two hundred, of churches, including old St. Paul's, to eighty-nine. A monument, afterwards erected to commemorate this calamitous event, recorded by inscription that the burning of the city was begun and carried on by the treachery and malice of the catholics. This lying and calumnious statement was erased by order of the city council in 1830. Next to the guilt of him who perpetrates an atrocious crime is the guilt of those who charge it on the innocent.

The fire, although a fearful calamity, furnished its compensations. When rebuilt, London was improved, and the great national architect, Christopher Wren, obtained an opportunity of displaying his talents in the design of new St. Paul's, and many other beautiful churches which still adorn the metropolis.

In May, 1667, the Dutch fleet appeared off the coast of England, but the English government was not taken by surprise. The warnings of the duke of York had awakened them to a sense of the danger; and three months before, orders had been issued to protect the mouth of the Thames. During the night of June

The great
fire of
London,
1666.

11th, however, the Dutch fleet slipped up the Thames and burnt some men-of-war; but the commander, whether he had fully executed his orders, or was intimidated by the warm reception which he experienced from the river forts, soon returned. For six weeks De Ruyter, the Dutch admiral, continued to sweep the English coast. But his attempts to burn the ships at Portsmouth, Plymouth and Torbay were successfully defeated; and, though he twice threatened to remount the Thames, the spirited opposition with which he was received induced him to renounce the design. A treaty soon afterwards concluded between England and Holland, called the peace of Breda, ended the war.

**The peace
of Breda,
1667.**

In 1667, lord chancellor Clarendon having, by haughty and overbearing conduct, created many enemies, was deprived of his office. Charges were laid against him in the house of commons; but his impeachment met with difficulties. Means were adopted to induce him to retire to the continent, where he died in exile, in 1674.

**The fall and
exile of lord
Clarendon.**

By the exile of Clarendon, the ministry which had been established at the restoration was entirely dissolved. The new cabinet, or as

The cabal.

it was called in the language of the time, "the king's cabal," consisted of five noblemen, the initials of whose titles formed the word *cabal*, which at that period meant a secret council. They were Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale, of whom the first and fourth were catholics.

The king, always in want of money, remembered a promise of pecuniary assistance received from France in the beginning of his reign. Events had defeated his previous efforts to cultivate the friendship of Louis: but there was one point on which both monarchs most cordially agreed—their hatred of the Dutch. About the end of 1668, the communications between the two princes became more open and confidential. French money, or the promise of it, was received by the English ministers; and all knowledge as to the real object of their understanding was to be withheld from the States.

**Secret
negotiations
with France.**

At this stage of the proceedings an important event occurred. Hitherto the king's brother, the duke of York, had been an obedient and zealous son of the church of England; but Dr. Heylin's History of the Reformation had shaken his religious credulity, and the result of the enquiry was a conviction that it became his duty to reconcile himself with the church of Rome. He communicated to the king in private that he was determined to embrace the catholic

faith; and Charles, without hesitation, replied that he was of the same mind, and would consult with the duke on the subject in the presence of some peers. The meeting was held in the duke's closet. Charles, with tears in his eyes, lamented the hardship of being compelled to profess a religion which he did not approve, declared his determination to emancipate himself from this restraint, and requested the opinion of those present as to the most eligible means of effecting his purpose with safety and success. They advised him to communicate his intention to Louis, and to solicit the powerful aid of that monarch. Charles was the most accomplished dissembler in his dominions; nor will it be any injustice to his character to suspect, that though he might in his heart prefer the more ancient of the two churches, his real object was to deceive both his brother and the king of France. The secret negotiation, however, proceeded with greater activity; and lord Arundell hastened to the French court, there to solicit from Louis the present of a considerable sum, to enable the king to suppress any insurrection which might be provoked by his intended conversion, and offered to help in the projected invasion of Holland, on the condition of an annual subsidy while the war should last. To this proposal no direct objection was made. James, with all the fervour of a proselyte, urged his brother to publish his conversion without delay; Louis, on the contrary, represented to the English king that a premature declaration might endanger his crown and his person. Thus, time passed away without Charles avowing any change to his subjects.

The duke of York reconciled to the catholic Church, 1668.

At last, in May, 1670, a treaty embodying the proposals set forth was signed, and this shameful document is known as the treaty of Dover. The clause about the king's change of religion was known to the catholic members of the cabal alone.

Treaty of Dover, 1670.

The subject of the succession now began to claim much attention. A boy of the name of Crofts, the reputed son of the king by Lucy Barlow, had been placed for education in Paris. Soon after the restoration he came to England; Charles created him duke of Monmouth, and gave to him in marriage the countess of Buccleugh, the most wealthy heiress in Scotland. Buckingham, observing the unbounded affection of the king for this young man, resolved to set him up as a competitor for the crown in opposition to the duke of York; for he feared James's revenge should he come to the throne, for the part he had played in the downfall of

The question of the succession.

Clarendon. In 1671, the duchess of York died at St. James's, having been the mother of eight children, of whom only two daughters survived her, Mary and Anne, both afterwards queens of England.

The year 1671 was marked by an audacious attempt to steal the royal crown and other regalia from the Tower. The thief, one Blood by name, had almost got away with his prize when he was overtaken and captured, but for some strange reason the king forgave the offence.

The following year, the king published a "Declaration of Indulgence," suspending "all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical." This was meant to ease the catholics, but of course had to include the non-conformists. It aroused intense dissatisfaction and opposition on the part of the ardent friends of orthodoxy.

In 1672, Louis and Charles, as allies, made war on Holland. De Ruyter, with seventy-five men-of-war, and a considerable number of fire-ships, stationed himself between Dover and Calais, to prevent the intended junction of the French and English fleets. The duke of York could muster no more than forty sail. In a few days De Ruyter learned, from the captain of a collier, the situation of the English fleet, and sailed with his whole force for Southwold Bay, on the coast of Suffolk, where James engaged him. Seldom has any battle in our naval annals been more stubbornly contested. The English had to struggle with a bold and experienced enemy, and against the most fearful disparity of force. De Ruyter was the first to shrink from the conflict. He sailed away, and the duke, with five-and-twenty ships, remained to the windward of the enemy, and thus terminated this obstinate engagement. The war soon began to languish, for De Ruyter had the prudence to shun a second engagement; and on land the Dutch in the end stopped the progress of the French arms: they opened their dykes, and the country was deluged with water.

In 1673, the house of commons resolved, that every individual refusing to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England, should be incapable of public employment, military or civil; and a bill was passed into a statute, known as the "Test Act," requiring, not only that the oaths should be taken, and the sacrament received, but also that a declaration against transubstantiation should be subscribed by all persons holding office, under the penalty of a fine of five

**The Declara-
tion of
Indulgence.**

**Battle of
Southwold
Bay, May
28, 1672.**

**The Test
Act.**

hundred pounds, and of being disabled to sue in any court of law or equity, to be guardian to any child, or executor to any person, or to take any legacy or deed of gift, or to bear any public office. James refused to take the test, and soon afterwards voluntarily resigned all the offices which he held under the crown. By the retirement of James, the command of the combined fleet, amounting to ninety sail of the line, had devolved on prince Rupert. With so formidable a force, it was expected that he would sweep the Dutch navy from the face of the ocean; but he performed nothing worthy of his reputation; and, though he fought three actions with De Ruyter, neither received nor inflicted considerable injury. Charles, weary of the war, wished for some expedient to disengage himself without disgrace from his connection with France. Early in 1674 the States made overtures, and a treaty was signed, granting the substance of Charles's demands of the previous year.

The religious antipathies of the people had been excited by the conversion of James to the catholic faith, and they were blown into a flame by the intelligence that, in September, 1673, he had married by proxy the sister to the reigning duke of Modena, Maria d'Este, a catholic princess of the age of fifteen. The princess soon arrived in England.

Ever since the fall of Clarendon the violent opponents of that nobleman feared the resentment of the duke of York, and considered their own safety to be intimately connected with his exclusion from the throne. The duke's adoption of the catholic creed furnished them with an advantage of which they were not slow to avail themselves. The earl of Carlisle moved in 1674, that, to a prince of the blood, the penalty for marrying a catholic should be the forfeiture of his right to the succession. Though this motion was lost, the duke of York had but a cheerless prospect before him. The opponents of James fixed their eyes on the young duke of Monmouth; nor was it unreasonable in them to hope that the king's partiality for his son would serve to reconcile him to the exclusion of his brother. This young man added to his claims in the eyes of his admirers by gaining a fair military reputation a few years later by his defeat of the Scottish covenanters at the battle of Bothwell Bridge, June, 1679, when punishing the murderers of Sharpe, archbishop of St. Andrew's. A second, and in many respects a more formidable, rival was William, prince of Orange, the next in succession to the crown after the duke of York and his children. William was a protestant; his exertions in defence of

his country had exalted him in the eyes of all who dreaded the ambitious designs of the French monarch; and some of the popular leaders in England had not hesitated to pledge themselves to his service and to advocate his interests, even at a time when he was at war with their sovereign. He added to his claims by marrying, in 1678, Mary, the daughter of the duke of York, and at that time, after her father, heiress to the crown of England. This marriage gave universal satisfaction.

In 1675, Spain and Holland endeavoured, during negotiations at Nimeguen, to draw Charles as an ally into the war against France. The bait was the promise of a larger subsidy than he formerly received from France, and an undertaking to place Dunkirk in his hands. But the French ambassador offered him as the price of his neutrality the same subsidy as formerly secured his alliance. For eighteen months Charles resisted the temptation; but when the house of commons refused him money, he consented to throw himself into the arms of a foreign prince; and by a secret treaty written, signed, sealed, and delivered by Charles himself, early in 1676, it was agreed that the king of France should pay a yearly pension to the king of England; that the two sovereigns should bind themselves to enter into no engagements with other powers unless by mutual consent; and that each should lend effectual aid to the other in the event of rebellion within their respective kingdoms. During the long prorogation, and with the aid of his foreign pension, Charles enjoyed a seasonable relief from the cares and agitation in which he had lived for several years.

The reader must now divert his attention to one of the most extraordinary occurrences in our domestic history, the imposture **Titus Oates** generally known by the appellation of Oates's plot. and the "popish plot." Its author and hero was Titus Oates, *alias* Ambrose, first an anabaptist minister and then an orthodox clergyman; but he successively forfeited his preferments in consequence of his misconduct. He feigned himself a convert to the catholic faith, and was placed in an English Jesuit college at Valladolid. From this he was disgracefully expelled. Under pretence of repentance he was admitted to the college at St. Omer, but was later expelled from that institution also. On his return to London, he heard that several Jesuits had held a private meeting in London, in the month of April, 1678. On this foundation, however, frail and slender as it was, Oates contrived to build a huge superstructure of malice and fiction. The meeting was in reality the usual triennial congregation of the order. Oates said that it was a consultation on the most eligible

means of assassinating the king, and of subverting by force the protestant religion. Though the king was convinced of the falsehood of Oates's statements, he allowed him to be examined before the privy council, where by his assurance he imposed on many of his hearers. His narrative was devoid of probability even; and the duke of York denounced it as an impudent imposture; but on the strength of it many innocent victims were arrested. Fortunately for Oates, amongst the papers of one Coleman, a convert to the catholic faith and secretary to the duchess of York, were found copies of his foreign correspondence in the years 1675 and 1676. In one of these loose papers was a proposal made by him that Louis XIV. should furnish Coleman and his friends with the sum of £20,000, to be employed by them for certain purposes equally conducive to the interest of France and of the catholic church. More, it was at once suspected, might lurk under these words. The magistrate, sir Edmundbury Godfrey, before whom Oates made his affidavit, was shortly after found dead on Primrose Hill. The question was whether it was a case of suicide or murder. The circumstances pointed to the first, prejudice determined on the second; and the crime was attributed to the catholics. A perfect frenzy of fear took possession of the nation; and while it was in this temper, parliament met once more. A bill was soon introduced into the house of commons for the exclusion of all catholics, and consequently of the duke of York, both from parliament and from the presence of the sovereign. The bill passed without opposition, when opposition could lead only to the forfeiture of character, perhaps of liberty and life. Encouraged by the state of the public mind, the popular leaders determined to throw off the mask, and to commence a direct attack on the duke of York. An address to exclude him from the presence and the councils of the sovereign was moved by lord Shaftesbury in the house of lords, and by lord Russell in the house of commons. Charles openly expressed his indignation at this motion, but he advised his brother to submit to a compromise. It cost James a violent struggle before he would yield; but he deemed it a duty to obey the will of the sovereign, and announced from his seat in the house of lords that he was no longer a member of the council.

The reader need not be detained with a narrative of the partial trials and judicial murders of the unfortunate men whose names had been inserted by Oates in his pretended discoveries. So violent was the excitement, so general the delusion created by the perjuries of the informer, that the voice of reason and the

claims of justice were equally disregarded. Several innocent persons were executed on the perjured evidence of Oates and an accomplice named Bedloe.

Lord Danby, who had become chief minister to Charles after the peace with Holland in 1674, was driven from office in 1678,

Rise and fall of Danby. when some of the king's secret negotiations with France became known, through the return and enmity of lord Montague, the English ambassador

in Paris, whose real object was the ruin of lord Danby. He placed certain letters before the house bearing the signature of the lord treasurer. Their contents led to the carrying of a vote to impeach Danby on the charge of high treason. The prorogation of parliament suspended the proceedings against him. Charles, indeed, compelled Danby to resign his office, but informed the two houses that whatever Danby had done had been done by his express order: that they were in reality his own acts; and he was therefore bound to shield his minister from punishment on his account. The parliament, however, voted that Danby was responsible for his own acts as minister; and having forced him to surrender, committed him to the Tower. Danby's fall led to a most important change in the administration of the government. The former council of state consisting of fifty members was dissolved; and a new and smaller council took its place, consisting of fifteen officers of state and fifteen popular leaders in the two houses. Lord Shaftesbury was made president of this council; and he at once seized the opportunity of raising a cry of alarm, contending that catholics still entertained designs against the state and the established church; that the life of the king was in danger; and that French troops were ready to make a descent on England under the command of the duke of York. The king tried to moderate the commotion; but it led to a measure called

Bill of exclusion, 1679. the bill of exclusion being brought into parliament, which provided that James should be incapable of inheriting the crowns of England and Ireland; that

on the demise of Charles without heirs of his body, his dominions should devolve, as if the duke of York were also dead, on that person next in succession who had always professed the protestant religion established by law. While the debates on the bill were progressing, Charles, in order to save his brother's rights, prorogued parliament. But before he did so, however, the Habeas Corpus Act was passed. It was a very important safeguard to the liberties of the subject, as it prohibited arbitrary imprisonment without a trial.

In England, the executions on account of the pretended "popish plot" continued. The lord Stafford, who on account of his age and infirmities appeared the least able to make a powerful defence, was selected by the commons for trial, on the charge of being privy to a plot and of compassing the king's death. On the 13th of November, 1680, this venerable nobleman was placed at the bar to plead against the informers, and politicians, and zealots who thirsted for his blood. After a trial of several days he was found guilty of treason, on perjured evidence, and sentenced to death. He suffered with fortitude, a martyr to his religion, on the 20th of December, 1680.

In 1681, the succession bill was revived, but Charles suddenly dissolved the parliament. In the same year was executed Oliver Plunket, the catholic archbishop of Armagh, a prelate whose loyalty had been attested by four successive chief governors of Ireland. He had been thrown into prison on the usual charge of having received orders in the church of Rome, when the promise of reward to informers induced some of the king's witnesses, as they were called, to select him for a principal conspirator in a pretended Irish plot. But they dared not face the man whom they had accused, in their own country; at the trial it appeared that they were gone to England, and Plunket, instead of obtaining his discharge, was compelled to follow them. At his arraignment the chief justice granted him a respite of five weeks to procure evidence from Ireland; but his means of defence did not reach the English coast till the third day after his condemnation. Plunket suffered, and was the last of the victims sacrificed to the imposture of the "popish plot."

In May, 1682, James, who had for some time retired from England, and had been employed in Scotland, returned and settled once more in the palace of St. James's. Some of James's opponents now sought to be reconciled with him, fearing his future resentment, when he should be in power. Lord Sunderland consulted his own interests in this manner. Monmouth was about to follow his example, but the bitter reproaches of Shaftesbury and Russell made him ashamed of his weakness, and he undertook a progress into the north to gain partisans. But the watchfulness of the king did not let him out of sight; some disturbances in Cheshire added to the alarm; and a warrant was issued for his arrest, which was effected at Stafford. Shaftesbury had been accused of treason by the king in 1681, but he was not convicted. Ever since his discharge on that occasion, his temper remained soured; and believing he was marked out to be the first victim

of the court, he was constantly employed in forming plans of insurrection with subordinate agents; and by repeated messages urged Monmouth, Essex, and others to rise in arms. Disappointed in this, and fearing discovery, he fled to Holland, and there died in 1683. The sudden flight and subsequent death of this nobleman made little alteration in the councils of his friends or dependants, and frequent consultations were held, and measures were proposed by the more violent, not only for an insurrection

**Rye House
plot, 1683.**

in the city, but also for the assassination of the royal brothers at Whitehall, or in the theatre, or at a farm belonging to one of the conspirators, called the Rye House, near Hoddesdon, on the road by which the king usually returned from Newmarket to London. An indirect communication had all along been maintained between these men and the more discontented among the whig leaders, the duke of Monmouth, the earl of Essex, the lord Grey, lord William Russell, Algernon Sydney, and Mr. Hampden, who, though they refused to hear any mention of assassination, were willing to employ the services of those among whom the notion originated. Information, however, reached the government, and Russell, Sydney, and others were arrested and committed to the Tower. Lord Russell made but a feeble defence at his trial. He acknowledged that he was present at some of the meetings of the conspirators, but it was by mere accident. The jury returned a verdict of guilty, but posterity has long ago absolved Russell from seeking to dip his hands in the blood of the king. There were, however, other charges against him. He was a party to the design of compelling the king by force to banish and disinherit James, the presumptive heir to the crown, and concurred in the design of raising an insurrection in Scotland to co-operate with another in England for the same purpose. He met his fate with resignation and fortitude. The succeeding trial, that of Algernon Sydney, soon took place before sir George Jeffreys, of infamous memory. Sydney was found guilty, and led to the scaffold.

Monmouth was pardoned. To his father he protested on his knees that he was innocent of any design against the royal life, but confessed and condemned the part which he had taken in the disloyal plans and practices of the conspirators; then turning to his uncle, he acknowledged himself guilty of many offences against him, solicited forgiveness, and promised that, if James should survive the king, he himself would be the first man to draw the sword in defence of his right whenever occasion might require. The discovery of the plot and the subsequent punishment of

the conspirators completed the downfall of the whigs or the "country-party." On the day lord Russell perished a martyr to the doctrine of the lawfulness of resistance, the university of Oxford published a celebrated decree in support of passive obedience, though five years later it failed to practice the doctrine it now taught.

The duty of passive obedience was at this time everywhere inculcated : at the bar, on the bench, from the pulpit. After a long and hazardous struggle, the king found himself invested with almost absolute power by the spontaneous declarations of his subjects, and felt himself strong enough to carry out several arbitrary and unconstitutional measures, such as forfeiting city charters, amongst them that of London itself. To add to the security of his throne, he gratified his people by insisting that James's second daughter Anne should be bred a protestant, and gave her in marriage to a protestant prince, George, the brother of the king of Denmark. By degrees he re-established James in his former pre-eminence, placed the admiralty once more practically under his control, and introduced him into the council in defiance of the Test Act. He enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity during the remainder of his reign.

On Monday, the 2nd of February, 1685, Charles was seized with a stroke of apoplexy, and though he recovered consciousness and the use of speech, it was evident that his dissolution was rapidly approaching. The duke of York, though aware of his brother's secret preference of the catholic worship, had hitherto been silent on the subject of religion. By law, the reconciliation of any individual to the church of Rome was an act of high treason ; no priest could be privately introduced to the king for that purpose, whilst the room was crowded with lords, bishops, and medical attendants ; and to remove them without a plausible reason could only provoke suspicion and enquiry. Having motioned to the company to withdraw to the other end of the apartment, James knelt down by the pillow of the sick monarch, and asked if he might send for a catholic priest. "For God's sake do !" was the king's reply ; and, having despatched a trusty messenger in search of a priest, stated aloud that the king required all present to quit the apartment, with the exception of the earl of Bath, lord of the bed-chamber, and the earl of Feversham, captain of the guard. In a short time, Hudleston, the priest who after the battle of Worcester had helped Charles to escape, was led through the queen's apartments to a private door ; and James introduced him to the king with these words : "Sir, this worthy man once saved

your body ; he now comes to save your soul." The priest threw himself on his knees, and offered to the dying monarch the aid of his ministry, and having received his confession, anointed him, administered the Holy Eucharist, and withdrew. The next day, 6th February, 1685, about noon, Charles calmly expired.

In person Charles was tall and well-proportioned, with a swarthy complexion. He was kind, familiar, communicative.

**Charles's
character and
appearance.**

Parade and ceremony he held in aversion : to act the part of a king was to him a tiresome and odious task ; and he would gladly burst from the trammels of official greatness, that he might escape to the ease and comfort of colloquial familiarity. With talents, said to be of the highest order, he joined an insuperable antipathy to application. Impatient of trouble, and fearful of opposition, he looked upon the practice of dissimulation as the grand secret in the art of reigning. His example exercised the most pernicious influence on the morals of the higher classes of his subjects. His court became a school of vice, in which the restraints of decency were laughed to scorn. Of his pecuniary transactions with the king of France no Englishman can think without feelings of shame, or speak but in the language of reprobation. With respect to his religion, we may perhaps come to the conclusion that for the greater part of his reign he looked on religion as a political question, and cared little to which of the two churches he might belong. In conclusion it may be proper to remark that during his reign the arts improved, trade met with encouragement, and the wealth and comforts of the people increased.

CHAPTER XXVIII

JAMES II. 1685-1688

NEVER did prince succeed more tranquilly to a throne than James II. to that of England. In his speech to the council, held immediately after his brother's death, he promised to preserve the government, both in church and state, as then by law established : words which gave universal satisfaction. A parliament was summoned to meet on the 19th of May, and a royal proclamation issued, which, alleging state necessity as the cause, ordered the usual duties to be levied on merchandise, till parliament should have settled the revenue of the crown.

Of James's attachment to the church of Rome, after the sacrifices which he had made, every man must have been convinced ; and a question now with him was whether, after his accession to the throne, he ought to be content with the clandestine exercise of the catholic worship, or openly to attend a form of religious service still prohibited by law. The latter accorded better with that hatred of dissimulation which was believed to mark his character, and as early as the second Sunday after his brother's death, in opposition to the advice of the council, he ordered the folding-doors of the queen's chapel to be thrown open, that his presence at mass might be noticed by the attendants in the ante-chamber. But he excited in the minds of many considerable uneasiness ; men thought that they discovered in this impatience or imprudence of the king to restore catholic worship, a design to overturn the established church ; and another event served to confirm this impression. He charged the judges to discourage prosecutions for matters of religion, and ordered by proclamation the discharge of all persons confined for the refusal of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. This affected dissenters as well as catholics. It has been a subject of dispute, whether at this period of his reign the king had formed an intention of restoring the catholic religion to its ancient ascendancy, by making it the religion of the state, or merely sought to relieve its professors

from the galling restrictions and barbarous punishments to which they were still subject by law. It seems evident, from the perusal of his confidential letters, that he limited his views to the accomplishment of two objects, which he called liberty of conscience and freedom of worship, and which, had he been successful, would have benefited not the catholics only, but every class of religionists.

On the feast of St. George, 1685, the king and queen were crowned by the hands of archbishop Sancroft in Westminster Abbey. During the short interval between the coronation and the opening of parliament, the public mind was occupied with the trial and punishment of Titus Oates, who had distinguished himself in the last reign, as arch-informer with respect to the pretended popish plot. His guilt was proved beyond the possibility of a doubt, and he was condemned to pay a fine of two thousand marks, to be stripped of his canonical habit, to be twice publicly whipped, and to stand every year of his life five times in the pillory.

The parliament soon met, and James was gratified by the loyalty displayed, and the generosity of the revenue voted to him.

Monmouth, relying on his former popularity, and trusting that all England would follow a protestant who should attempt to overthrow the catholic king, resolved to invade England, even before assuring himself of efficient support from the whig leaders in that country. But he secured the co-operation of the earl of Argyle, the exiled leader of the Scottish covenanters. The earl sailed from Holland to Scotland, where he landed in May, 1685, and published a declaration against James, charging him with usurpation and tyranny. It would exhaust the patience of the reader to detail the subsequent particulars of this ill-concerted and ill-fated expedition. Each day was marked by new disappointments, and new causes of dissension between the earl and his associates. Argyle was soon defeated and taken prisoner. He was executed in Edinburgh, on the 30th of June, 1685.

Monmouth had engaged to follow Argyle in the course of six days; yet three weeks elapsed before he left Amsterdam, with an inconsiderable force, to win the crowns of three kingdoms. He stole unobserved down the Channel, and on the 11th of June appeared in front of the small port of Lyme in Dorsetshire. He landed on the 15th of June, 1685, in order to assert his right to the throne as son of Charles II., by a queen whom he asserted to have been lawfully married. He was immediately attainted, and

a price set upon his head. A proclamation had already ordered the kingdom to be put in a posture of defence against invasion. The mayor and principal inhabitants had fled; but the lower classes were summoned round a blue flag planted in the market-place, where they listened to Monmouth's declaration against James. When Monmouth published this declaration, intemperate in its language, and slanderous in its assertions, he must either have been intoxicated with the assurance of success, or have made up his mind to conquer or die. From the king it is evident that after such wanton and bitter provocation he could expect no mercy. Neither was it calculated to make a favourable impression on the public mind. Not a nobleman, not a gentleman of interest or opulence openly ventured to declare in his favour. But the religious and political prejudices of the populace were excited: they crowded to offer their services; arms were distributed, companies formed, and officers appointed; and on the fourth day, Monmouth marched from Lyme at the head of four regiments, amounting in all to more than three thousand men. From Lyme he hastened to Taunton, a rich and populous town, where he was received with loud acclamations, as the saviour of the country. He soon took on himself by solemn proclamation the title of king James II., and set a price on the head of the "usurper of the crown, James, duke of York."

The king, though cheered by the votes of parliament, was not without strong grounds of inquietude. He dared not trust the decision of the contest to the militia of the counties, whose fidelity was as doubtful as their inexperience was certain; and the regular force in the whole kingdom did not exceed five thousand men. Unable for the moment to arrest the progress of his opponent, he gave the command to lord Feversham, with instructions to secure Bristol; but Monmouth reaped little benefit from the assumption of royalty. He wandered from place to place without any apparent object. No person of quality offered his services, and his friends in the capital and the country remained quiet. When he became acquainted with the fate of Argyle, his last hope was gone. He was soon defeated in the battle of Sedgemoor, and having fled, was in a short time taken and conducted to London. By the act of attainder he was already condemned, and could have no hope of life but from the pity or generosity of the king. But what claim had he on that prince? Twenty months had not elapsed since he had obtained the pardon of James on a solemn promise to be the first to draw the sword in defence of his rights; and yet he had ungratefully

Battle of
Sedgemoor,
July 5, 1685.

levied an army against him, had set the crown on his own head, and publicly declared the king a murderer, a tyrant, and an usurper, and had announced to the world that on account of his crimes he would pursue him to the death. Still, in the face of this provocation, the love of life taught him not to despair, and he wrote to James a supplicatory letter, expressive of the deepest remorse for his ingratitude and rebellion, attributing the blame to the counsels of "false and horrid" companions; and soliciting the favour of a personal interview. The king received him in the presence of Sunderland and Middleton, the two secretaries of state. He threw himself on his knees, and implored forgiveness in the most passionate terms; but James replied, that by usurping the title of king he had rendered himself incapable of pardon. He was beheaded two days later.

While Monmouth, unpitied, thus paid in the capital the forfeit of his ambition, his followers in the country were abandoned to the mercy of Colonel Kirke, a rough soldier from Tangier, till the barbarity of his summary executions was put an end to by the peremptory orders of the king.

**Kirke and
Jeffreys in
the West.**

A commission was soon afterwards appointed, presided over by judge Jeffreys, who three months before had been raised to the peerage, to proceed to the trial of those who had aided Monmouth. On account of the danger to which they might be exposed in the revolted counties, they were accompanied by a strong military escort, the command of which, with the temporary rank of lieutenant-general, was entrusted to Jeffreys; and it was probably this singular union of the military with the judicial character, that induced the wits to give to his progress during the circuit the nickname of "Jeffreys's campaign." A multitude of prisoners awaited their doom from the mouth of their stern and inexorable judge, at Winchester, Salisbury, Dorchester, Exeter, Taunton, Bristol, and Wells. That they had forfeited their lives by the laws of their country cannot be denied; and that many among them were incorrigible enthusiasts, who publicly avowed the righteousness of their cause, and their readiness to renew the attempt, is also true; yet the demands of justice might surely have been satisfied, and a salutary example have been made, without that deluge of blood so unsparingly poured out by Jeffreys and his associates. Many were whipped and imprisoned; above eight hundred transported to the West Indies; and three hundred and thirty executed as felons and traitors. Such results not unjustly gained for

**The "Bloody
Assize."**

Jeffreys's work in the west country the name of the "Bloody Assize."

With the suppression of this rebellion, James seemed established on his throne; and proposed to accomplish three things on which he had set his heart. Experience had shown the inefficiency and unreliability of county militias. **The king's plans.** During Monmouth's rebellion, a regular force of fourteen thousand men had been raised: he purposed to keep this force embodied, with, as he hoped, the approbation of parliament. Among the officers who obtained commands during the late dangers were several catholics, who, by law, were incapable of holding commissions. James determined to retain their services, and to procure the repeal of the Test Act for that purpose. Of many persons who had been committed for their share in the Rye House plot and the late rebellion not a few obtained their discharge through the operation of the Habeas Corpus Act. James therefore declared that some alteration in the law was necessary for the protection of the government. As the time for the meeting of parliament approached, the minds of men became daily more and more agitated. During the rebellion the levy of forces and the appointment of catholic officers created no great alarm—the urgency of the case supplied a sufficient justification—but months had now passed since the battle of Sedgemoor, and the army was still kept up to its former complement. By a strange fatality it chanced that at this moment of suspense and disquietude the king of France revoked **Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.** the Edict of Nantes, and numbers of French protestants sought an asylum in England from the persecution which they suffered in their own country. It was to no purpose that James laboured to allay the ferment; that he openly declared his disapprobation of every species of religious persecution, and that he promoted with all his influence the measures devised for the relief of the refugees. His sincerity was questioned; the members of parliament were called on to rally in defence of the religion and the liberties of the country.

On the appointed day, the king opened the session with a speech from the throne. He said, that he had deemed it necessary for the safety of the nation and the stability of the government to augment the regular army, and he now called on parliament to provide the means of defraying the additional expense, and also to sanction the employment of catholic officers. The opposition being very powerful, James suddenly prorogued the parliament, with the secret resolution of accomplishing by his

dispensing power that object which he was not permitted to effect constitutionally with the consent of the lords and commons.

A decision of the courts established the doctrine that the laws were the king's laws, and that it was part of his inalienable prerogative to dispense from their observance in particular cases. Acting on this decision, James exercised the claim henceforth without restraint; and every repetition served to add to the dissatisfaction and alienation of his subjects, till the despair of obtaining redress urged them to place another prince on the throne.

At the same time the king was careful in his relations with the church of the land. As it seemed incongruous to him that he, a catholic, should by virtue of the supremacy, enquire into ecclesiastical offences committed by members of the established church, he appointed a standing court of delegates to hear and determine ecclesiastical causes.

But he went further. Not only had there been several conversions amongst the nobility and the dependants of the court; but the example of the higher was imitated by the lower classes. Several protestant clergymen also at this time adopted the catholic creed, amongst whom were Obadiah Walker, master of University College, Oxford, and Boyce, Dean, and Bernard, fellows of different colleges. To these James granted dispensations, by which they were empowered to enjoy the benefits of their respective situations without taking the oaths, or attending the established worship. In defence of his conduct he maintained that it was incumbent on him to see that no man should suffer because he had the courage to follow the dictates of his conscience. Though the ancient worship was still proscribed by law under the penalties of imprisonment, forfeiture, and death, the catholics for the last four years had been permitted to practise it in private houses without molestation. But James was not satisfied with mere connivance: he deemed it both his duty and his interest to give protection to the public exercise of his religion. He caused several chapels to be opened in London, and the Jesuits opened a large school frequented by protestants as well as catholics. These novelties begot irritation, and the lower classes committed several breaches of the peace. James prepared an effectual check to the ebullition of popular resentment by the presence of an army of about sixteen thousand men encamped on Hounslow Heath.

The king maintained that it was part of his prerogative to avail himself of the advice of any of his subjects, whatever their

religious opinion: of the catholics, no one had obtained so high a place in his favour and confidence as father Edward Petre, a priest of the Society of Jesus; and he accordingly **Father** named him a privy councillor. The impolicy of **Petre, S. J.,** such an appointment is so glaring as to need no **admitted to** further comment. At the end of 1686, by the **privy council.** influence of father Petre, and to gratify Sunderland, Rochester was removed from the treasurership, the duties of which office were henceforth entrusted to a board of commissioners. The disgrace of Rochester spread alarm amongst the friends of the established church; and the persuasion that pro- **James's** testantism was in danger rapidly diffused itself **actions in** through the nation. In Scotland, James persisted **Scotland** in his design of forwarding the cause of toleration **and Ireland.** for his catholic subjects; and, at the end of 1686, sent letters to the council there, ordering them to extend protection to his catholic as well as his protestant subjects; to admit certain individuals to office in the state; and to authorise the exercise of catholic worship in private houses. After this preparatory step, he ventured, by two successive proclamations issued during 1687, to grant full and free toleration to all, and to suspend the cruel statutes enacted against catholics.

In Ireland, too, where Clarendon had been sent as governor, catholics were raised to the bench, and admitted into the privy council; and James made Richard Talbot, earl of Tyrconnel, a rash and impetuous but devoted adherent of himself, his lieutenant-general, with the task of reforming the army. He executed his orders with vigour and even violence. It had been given in charge of Tyrconnel to raise the Irish to a decided superiority over the English "interest," to the end that Ireland might offer a secure asylum to James and his friends, should the king ever be driven from the English throne.

James now felt himself in a position to proceed further in England; and with this object addressed himself to the privy council. During the four last reigns, he said, law upon law had been passed to enforce uniformity of doctrine. But experience had shown the uselessness of such enactments. Under them dissent had increased; they had led in his father's time to the destruction of the government in church and state; they had perpetuated to the present hour division in the nation, and all those evils which necessarily grew out of civil dissension. It was time to put an end to such a state of things. Conscience could not be forced; persecution was incompatible with the doctrines

of Christianity ; and it was, therefore, his resolve to grant religious liberty to all his subjects. In a few days a royal proclamation appeared. In that issued in Scotland he had disannulled : he here contented himself with suspending the execution of all penal laws, and with forbidding the imposition of religious oaths or tests as qualifications for office. All nonconformists received the boon with gratitude and offered the king addresses of thanks. James thought he had made his subjects a united people : but he had only confirmed the existing estrangement of churchmen.

Though it was obviously to James's interest to abstain from every act which might be interpreted as an encroachment on the rights of the established church, yet he seems to have chosen this very time to indulge in freaks of arbitrary power. Some one suggesting that it would be highly beneficial if catholics were admitted to reside in the universities on the same footing with protestants, he sent an order to the vice-chancellor of Oxford to admit a Benedictine monk to the degree of master of arts. The vice-chancellor demurred and finally refused ; whereupon he was deprived of his office and suspended from the mastership of Magdalen College. Later, on the death of the president of Magdalen College, letters were sent recommending some one to the choice of the fellows. They elected instead a Dr. Hough, who was duly admitted. A mandate was sent for a new election, but was disregarded. The fellows were summoned before an ecclesiastical commission, which annulled Dr. Hough's election. Dr. Hough thereupon appealed to the king, while the commissioners installed another president. As the fellows remained intractable, many of them were deprived.

James next, against the advice of moderate catholics, procured the appointment of a papal nuncio, whom he received in state. He then wished the pope to raise father Petre to the episcopal dignity, or to create him a cardinal ; but no solicitation could prevail on Innocent to concur in either scheme.

Before we proceed to the fourth and last year of this inauspicious reign, it will be proper to call attention to the numerous causes of irritation and estrangement which previously existed between the king and his nephew and son-in-law, the prince of Orange. William's advocacy of the bill of exclusion, and his reception of Monmouth during the life of Charles II. were offences not easily forgotten ; they were added to by the dubiousness of his conduct in relation to Monmouth's rebellion. He caused James annoyance by giving an asylum to British

exiles, who, together with the discontented in England, inflamed William's ambition with the prospect of the English crown, and alarmed him by attributing to James designs against the hereditary rights of William's wife. James persuaded himself that William might be induced to approve of the general abolition of the penal laws on matters of religion now, and to pledge his word that he would maintain that abolition even after he should succeed to the throne. For this purpose James despatched to Holland sir William Penn, the celebrated quaker, that he might read lectures on toleration to the prince and princess. But the address and eloquence of Penn were foiled by the cunning of Gilbert Burnet (the future historian), who suggested as answer that, though hostile to persecution, they would never consent to repeal the Test Act, which was necessary to the preservation of the protestant faith. William's ambassador in England, also, communicated with his master's secret adherents, and took back with him offers of service to William from many noblemen and other individuals of high rank and extensive influence; and William was emboldened to assure his friends in England that if James should attempt to repeal the Test Act and the penal laws, he would join them with an armed force to defend their common religion.

In the meanwhile James pursued with obstinacy his dangerous and desperate career, and it was his fixed resolve to call no parliament till he should be secure of a majority in both houses. The elector of Cologne had appointed for his resident at the English court, an English Benedictine monk; and he and his companions were introduced at court in the habits of their order, by James's command. To provide for the government of the catholic church in England, James procured, early in 1688, that the kingdom should be divided into four districts, each to be placed under the care of a bishop in the capacity of vicar-apostolic. The consecration of two of these prelates was conducted openly in London, and James settled an income upon each of them. The presidentship of Magdalen College, Oxford, again fell vacant at this time, and James by mandatory letters, ordered it to be given to one of the catholic vicars-apostolic. But that which filled up the measure of his offences was the prosecution and trial of the seven bishops. A year had elapsed since his proclamation of liberty of conscience. He now ordered it to be republished, and appended to it an additional declaration, stating his unalterable resolution of securing to his subjects "freedom of

James's
later efforts
on behalf of
catholics.

The "Declara-
tion of indul-
gence": the
trial of the
seven
bishops, 1688.

conscience for ever," and of rendering thenceforth merit and not oaths the qualification for office. An order was sent from the council to the bishops, enjoining that this "Declaration of Indulgence" should be read by the clergy in their respective churches. The archbishop, Sancroft, and six other bishops, including the saintly Ken, laid a petition before the king, respectfully praying to be excused from reading the declaration, not because they were wanting in duty to the sovereign, but because it was founded on the dispensing power which had often been declared illegal in parliament. After much consultation, James, who was extremely annoyed at the original opposition, and whose anger was inflamed by subsequent accessions of other bishops to the remonstrance, determined to call these seven bishops to account before a criminal court for civil misdemeanour. Called before the council, they were committed for trial, and being asked for their personal recognisances to appear, being peers, refused any security but their word. This offer had been made them to avoid imprisonment. As they persisted in their refusal, there was no alternative but to commit them to the Tower on the charge of having written and published a seditious libel. While the public attention was absorbed by the proceedings against the bishops, the king was blessed with what he so ardently wished for, for the queen gave birth to a son, the apparent heir to his crown. The disappointment and vexation of James's opponents were marked. But they quickly rallied; a number of reports and fables were immediately circulated to the effect that the child was not the king's; that it was a changeling foisted on the country to secure a catholic dynasty. By James, this imputation, so injurious to his honour and veracity, was keenly felt; but he scorned to notice it publicly. The king might have seized the occasion to publish a general pardon, and so extricate himself from his dangerous quarrel with the bishops. But his obstinacy was unyielding.

On the appointed day the seven prelates were brought from the Tower to Westminster Hall. The case was adjourned for a fortnight, and the bishops were meanwhile released on their own recognisances. When at last the trial was opened, their advocates contended that the bishops had only exercised their right of petitioning for the redress of grievances as British subjects, and their duty of supporting the Act of Uniformity as its legal guardians. The jury (for it cannot be objected to James that he ever made an attempt to pervert the course of justice) had been fairly chosen. Differing

**Birth of the
prince of
Wales.
"The old
Pretender."**

**Acquittal of
the bishops.**

in opinion among themselves, they left the court, and spent the night in loud and violent debate. In the morning they returned, and pronounced a verdict of not guilty. It was received with deafening shouts of applause; the enthusiasm communicated itself to the crowd without the hall; it was rapidly propagated to the extremities of the metropolis; thence it reached the neighbouring hamlets, and at length penetrated to the camp at Hounslow Heath, where it is said that the king himself, who chanced to be dining with the general, lord Feversham, was surprised and alarmed at the loud acclamations of the soldiers.

The birth of an heir to James II. proved the immediate occasion of his downfall. Thousands had hitherto borne with his misrule, under the persuasion that their grievances could be redressed during the expected reign of his daughter and her husband. But now that there was an heir apparent, who would probably be educated as a catholic, there was danger that the king's schemes and a catholic dynasty would be perpetuated. Instead, however, of ceasing to look forward to the prince of Orange, they fixed their eyes on him with greater earnestness, considering him as the only man whose interference could preserve their liberties and religion.

The prince of Orange, also, never lost sight of the great object of his ambition. A pamphlet was published in Holland, in the May of 1688, to prove that James was a usurper because, being a catholic, he could not inherit the English throne; and that the princess of Orange was the rightful sovereign, and ought to have succeeded on the death of her uncle, Charles II. James saw the danger which threatened him, in all its magnitude and proximity. The impolicy of his past misrule now flashed on his mind; he hastened to repair his former errors, and hoped by retracing his steps to recover the confidence of his subjects. At the same time he made every exertion to augment his naval and military force.

William prepared the way for his attempt on the throne of England by issuing memorials and declarations setting forth that his purpose was solely to protect the civil and religious liberties of the people of England and Scotland; to procure a free parliament, the redress of grievances, and the security of the protestant religion; and that if he came with an armed force, it was only for the protection of his own person. It was incumbent on him, also, to represent his expedition to the princes of Europe as made for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation between the king of England and his subjects, and that he had no intention of offering injury to

James or his heirs, much less of advancing any claim to the throne, or of occupying it himself.

William had originally fixed on the first full moon after the September equinox, 1688, for the sailing of the expedition, but he was much delayed. On the afternoon of the 19th of October, 1688, he sailed from Helvoetsluys, but a storm dispersed the fleet in every direction.

William sailed again from Holland, on the 1st of November, 1688. By friends and foes it was believed that he intended to land

**Landing of
William of
Orange.**

on the coast of Yorkshire : but, having steered to the north, he changed his course, and availing himself of a favourable wind, passed without opposition the royal fleet in the Downs, and in two days reached Torbay, in Devonshire, his real destination. To oppose the prince by land, James resolved to collect his army in the neighbourhood of Salisbury. The prince, though he had been permitted to land without opposition, did not meet with the reception which he had been taught to expect. At his approach to Exeter, the bishop and dean fled from the city ; the clergy and corporation remained passive spectators of his entry ; and though the populace applauded, no addresses of congratulation, nor public demonstrations of joy, were made by the respectable citizens. William was disappointed ; he complained that he had been deceived and betrayed : he threatened to re-embark, and to leave his recreant associates to the vengeance of their sovereign. Still, however, his hopes were kept alive by the successive arrival of a few stragglers from a distance : in a short time they were raised almost to assurance of success by the perfidy of lord Cornbury, son of the earl of Clarendon, who went over to him with part of the army. This defection spread doubt and distrust through the army.

The king's advisers, in despair of success, conjured him to seek an accommodation with his nephew, and to prevent at any price the total subversion of his throne. But James refused to see what was evident to all besides himself, and still believed in the loyalty of the army. A conspiracy to seize the king was on foot, but failed. Amongst those implicated was John Churchill, afterwards famous as the duke of Marlborough. Several officers left James for the Dutchman's camp, and amongst these was prince George of Denmark, the king's son-in-law. The princess Anne privately left London. On the receipt of the intelligence James burst into tears, and exclaimed, "God help me ! my very children have forsaken me !" The queen had hitherto refused to

separate her lot from that of her husband ; but when he had made up his mind to leave the kingdom, and that he solemnly promised to follow her within twenty-four hours, she consented to accompany her child. A yacht with lord and lady Powis, and three Irish officers on board, was ready to receive them at Gravesend ; and thence they pursued their course in safety to Calais. The king soon fled from London, throwing the great seal into the water as he crossed the Thames ; but at Faversham he was recognised and captured. In London the news of his flight created surprise and consternation. About thirty spiritual and temporal peers joined the lord mayor and aldermen at the Guildhall, and after some consultation, forming themselves into a separate council, assumed for a time the supreme authority.

From Faversham the fugitive monarch returned to London, where he was received with loud acclamations. He requested a personal interview with William, but that prince declined under some frivolous pretext.

In the secret councils of William a determination had been taken to consider the reign of James at an end from the moment of his late escape from the capital. Now, however, that he had returned to Whitehall, some other plan had to be suggested. Some proposed that James should be secured a prisoner in some fortress. William deemed it more for his own interest that James should withdraw from the kingdom, and that his escape should bear the appearance of his own voluntary act. Means were taken to arouse his apprehensions, and he found himself a prisoner, removed to Rochester. The news that continued to reach him there strengthened his conviction that his nephew intended to assume the crown : signs were not wanting that his enemies would put no bar to his escaping ; and he resolved to avail himself of the first opportunity to withdraw from the kingdom. He was a prisoner, and must have known the saying of his royal father, that there was but a short distance between the prison of a king and his grave. There was no security for his life in England. After writing a declaration of the motives which induced him to withdraw, he effected his escape on a stormy night, but arrived without molestation at Ambleuse, on the coast of France, on December 25, 1688. Thence he hastened to join his wife and child at the castle of St. Germain, where he was received by Louis with expressions of sympathy and proofs of munificence, which did honour to that monarch,

Flight of the
queen and
the infant
prince.

Flight of
James.

The lords and commons continued to sit at Westminster, and by them an address was voted to the prince of Orange, begging of him to assume and exercise the government of the realm till the meeting of a national convention on the 22nd of January, 1689, and, for the election of the members of that convention, to issue writs similar to those which the king was accustomed to issue for the election of members of parliament. With this request the prince complied.

Hitherto no mention has been made of Scotland. At the announcement of the intended invasion, the council of state proclaimed, in an address to James, their determination to peril their lives and fortunes in support of the throne of their rightful sovereign, but they soon abandoned his cause. Many of the leading men in Scotland proceeded to the English metropolis, eager to pay their court to the prince of Orange, and to secure the good-will of their future sovereign. By his direction they assembled at Whitehall, and after deliberation agreed to follow, in substance though not in form, the precedent which had been set by the two English houses.

The English convention met on the appointed day, January 22, 1689. The lower house was composed chiefly of the men who had distinguished themselves in their respective counties by their opposition to the obnoxious measures of James: from the upper the catholic lords were excluded, not in virtue of any law—for the law knew nothing of conventions—but because care had been taken to direct writs to none but protestant peers. It was contended in the commons, that the voluntary withdrawal of James without any provision for the government of the realm during his absence, was equivalent in law to a demise of the crown; by others that it was in fact an abdication of the sovereignty, and it was resolved that the throne was vacant. In the lords a protracted and angry debate took place, and the friends of James showed that they still possessed considerable influence. When the prince saw the crown sliding from his grasp, he deemed it advisable to break that silence which he had hitherto maintained, and said that if any persons intended to appoint him regent, they might spare themselves the trouble, for the regency was an office which he would never accept, adding in allusion to a plan to make his wife the sole sovereign, that while he was her husband, he would never be her subject. It was then agreed on, in compliance with the alleged wish of the princess, that, though William and Mary were to be equal in rank as king and queen, yet the exercise

of the royal authority should be vested in William exclusively during his life.

An instrument known as the "Declaration of Right," was framed, which, after several conferences and amendments, obtained the approbation of both houses. It stated that, whereas the late king James II. had assumed and exercised a power of dispensing with and suspending laws without consent of parliament; and had committed other arbitrary acts which were set forth, it was necessary to declare such conduct subversive of right. It was next resolved that William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, should be declared king and queen of England, France, and Ireland, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the same during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them; and that the sole and full exercise of the royal power should be only in, and executed by, the prince of Orange in both their names during their joint lives, and that after their decease the said crown should descend to the heirs of the said princess, and for default of such issue, to the princess Anne of Denmark and her heirs, and in default of such issue, to the heirs of the prince of Orange.

The "Declaration of Right."

Mary now came to England. Hers was undoubtedly an extraordinary situation; and curiosity was alive to watch her conduct, when she met the numerous and brilliant court which had assembled to greet her on her arrival. That conduct was not such as to do her honour. There was a levity in her manner which hurt the feelings of many even among her adherents; an affectation of gaiety, which suited not a daughter taking possession of the spoils of an exiled and affectionate father. The next morning, February 13, 1689, the two houses proceeded in state to wait on the prince and princess at Whitehall. William and Mary stood under the canopy of state. The clerk of the house then read the declaration of rights, and the marquess of Halifax made to the prince and princess the tender of the crowns of England, France, and Ireland, in the name of the convention, "the representative of the nation." William replied for himself and his wife, that they thankfully accepted the offer. William and Mary were then proclaimed king and queen; but three months elapsed before they acquired possession of the Scottish crown. In Scotland the estates declared the throne vacant, and drew up an enumeration of the grievances which they had suffered under the late monarch. They then passed the Act of Settlement, by which the crown was vested in William and Mary, and their heirs, in strict conformity with the English act.

The crown offered to William and Mary.

Immediately the proclamation of the two sovereigns took place with the usual solemnities; and a deputation was named to administer the coronation oath to the king and queen. The new sovereigns received the Scotch commissioners, and promised to keep every clause of the oath, and from that moment became entitled to the full exercise of the regal authority in Scotland.

CHAPTER XXIX

WILLIAM III. (OF ORANGE). 1688-1702

WILLIAM OF ORANGE was born in 1650, eight days after his father's death. A nephew of Charles II. and of James, duke of York, he entered into closer relations with the English royal family in 1677, by marrying the latter's daughter, Mary. From this time forward he closely watched the progress of English politics; and on James's accession, his attitude towards his English father-in-law was, if cold, not unfriendly; and he materially helped James in his campaign against the duke of Monmouth, by sending back to England three Scottish regiments, and later three English ones, hitherto in the Dutch service. Old treaties between England and the Netherlands, too, were renewed. Notwithstanding these outward signs of agreement and amity, however, James suspected him of scheming a protestant religious league against him; and William, on his side, completely distrusted James on account of rumours that had reached him relative to a secret Anglo-French alliance. When, in 1687, James issued his first declaration of indulgence, in direct disregard of William's advice, the prince of Orange was implored by many of the clergy and laity to come to the aid of the reformed church in England. Throughout the remainder of 1687, and during the earlier half of 1688, William continued carefully to watch the progress of king James's fatuous course in religious matters; from March onwards, preparations for an expedition were in active progress, and in April William signified his willingness to undertake an armed invasion of England, provided he received a signed invitation from certain responsible persons. Then came the second declaration of indulgence (April 27); the proceedings against the seven bishops, together with their acquittal on June 30: and the next day the required invitation, signed in cypher, was safely conveyed to William. Strengthened by the promise of support he received from various parts of Germany, he pushed on his preparations as secretly as possible till September, when, being free to act by Louis XIV.'s declaration of war against

William's
relations
with
England
before 1688.

the empire, he issued his declaration of September 30, which was translated and abridged by Gilbert Burnet. Then followed the events, as described in the last chapter, which placed William on the throne of England.

William met his first parliament, and confirmed and made permanent the declaration, whose acceptance had gained him the English crown, embodied in an act called the "Bill of Rights."

Bill of Rights.

Though Scotland had formally given in its adhesion to William, James still had a strong party of adherents in the northern kingdom, especially in the Highlands. Viscount Dundee (Graham of Claverhouse) raised an insurrection in his favour, and gained an advantage over William's

Risings in Scotland.

troops in the memorable battle of Killiecrankie, fought in May, 1690. As, however, Dundee was slain in the moment of victory, the Highlanders were unable to follow up their success; and in a short time the clans were induced to yield at all events a nominal

Battle of Killiecrankie, 1690.

obedience to William and Mary. The insurrection, however, continued to smoulder in the remoter portions of the Highlands for a couple of years longer. The Scottish affairs of this period may be related here, although not in the exact order of time.

Massacre of Glencoe, February, 1692.

A cruel deed was perpetrated which has covered William's memory with an indelible stain, although it may reasonably be questioned whether he was aware of the peculiar atrocity of the circumstances accompanying it. In order to induce the Highland chiefs who still held out to yield, William proclaimed an amnesty for all who surrendered before January 1, 1692. All save MacDonald of Glencoe availed themselves of the offer; and he was prevented, solely by the severity of the weather, from complying with the conditions within the prescribed time. He started from home in ample time, under ordinary circumstances, to reach his destination within the fixed limit. Though a day or two late, his explanation was accepted, his oath received, and he returned home. But lord Stair, the secretary of state for Scotland, made it appear to William that the clan was disaffected, and prevailed on the king to make an example of MacDonald and his clan; William accordingly signed an order for their entire destruction. The regiment detailed to carry out this ruthless mandate came amongst the MacDonalds as pretended friends and was courteously received, enjoying the hospitality of the clan for a considerable time, and did not give any indication of the purpose of the visit till February

13, 1692, when the soldiery, in obedience to orders, fell upon their unsuspecting hosts in their sleep, and massacred all that came in their way, including the chief and his wife. Some escaped from the glen; but many of these perished also from cold, hunger, and exposure. No more atrocious cold-blooded outrage stains the page of history; and William's memory has never been cleared of the charge of having signed such an edict of wholesale extermination, and of having failed in any manner to punish or even condemn the conduct of those who so barbarously and treacherously violated the sacred laws of hospitality.

William has been charged with personal ambition for his schemes against James II.; perhaps it may be nearer the truth to say that he expelled James, not for reasons of personal ambition, nor yet for religious motives; but with a view to securing England's adhesion to a great European alliance—the "Grand Alliance," as it afterwards came to be called—against France. This had been his life's object, so as to stem the projects of Louis XIV. against the Netherlands, which the French monarch was determined to incorporate within his own dominions. William's wish was gratified; and on May 7, 1689, England declared war against France: this was inevitable for other reasons, for Louis had not only received James with open arms, but had furnished him with both men and money to aid him in recovering his crown.

**War with
France.**

Meanwhile, William's path was not altogether smooth, even at home. There were many who, while alienated from James by his senseless policy, nevertheless could not but continue to consider him as their rightful sovereign, and held aloof from, even if they did not openly oppose, one whom they conscientiously looked upon as a usurper and adventurer. Amongst these were many of the clergy, and four prelates with archbishop Sancroft at their head, who refused to take an oath of allegiance to William, and were in consequence deprived of their preferments. Laymen, too, gave up their offices. These "non-jurors" as they were called, began to correspond with James, but they made no open resistance. Encouraged by such signs, however, and by the help derived from Louis, James soon made an effort to regain his crown; and in March, 1689, landed at Kinsale in Ireland, which was destined to be the battleground, whereon William and James were to contend for the throne of England. The lord-deputy, Talbot, earl of Tyrconnel, a devoted adherent of James, met him on landing with an army of nearly forty thousand men: some estimates even place nearly

**The non-
jurors.**

one hundred thousand undisciplined levies under his orders. All Ireland declared for James with the exception of Derry and Enniskillen: and the king at once ordered the sieges of these places to be taken in hand. A parliament was summoned to

James lands
in Ireland;
operations
there; battle
of the Boyne,
July 1, 1690.

meet in Dublin, whose first act was a resumption of lands confiscated by Elizabeth, James I., and Cromwell. The catholic faith was declared the established religion, and Ireland made independent of the English parliament. While no exception could be taken to these provisions, a cruel act of attainder passed on some two thousand five hundred protestant peers and others who were favourable to William, made it clear to the besieged towns that they could hope for small mercy, and they accordingly held out desperately till they were at length relieved, both of them in August, 1689, in which month sixteen thousand men landed from England under Schomberg, who kept James in check for some time: but no engagement was fought. William landed in person in June, 1690, at Carrickfergus, with thirty-six thousand men, and at once assuming the command of all his forces, marched towards Drogheda, crossing the Boyne on July 1, on which day a sanguinary engagement took place, in which Schomberg was killed. The soldiers on both sides fought with the most determined courage; but the Irish army was not equal, either in point of numbers or of discipline, to that which William commanded; and the Irish were put to flight, the disciplined French troops, who had accompanied the dethroned monarch, covering their retreat and the escape of James, who, recognising his cause to be hopeless, fled to the south, and embarked for France, where he passed the remainder of his life. James's deserted followers, though defeated at the Boyne, retreated and rallied in the centre of the island. Dublin and the east yielded to William; but a long and gallant resistance was not overcome till the stubborn battle of Aughrim was fought in June, 1691. Limerick, however, held out for three months longer; and William himself had to return to Ireland to superintend the siege and receive its surrender on October 3, 1691, on terms honourable to the bravery of Sarsfield and his men. The Irish who wished to retire to France were permitted to do so, and over eleven thousand persons availed themselves of the opportunity. Those of them who were soldiers, formed themselves into a corps, under Sarsfield's command, to serve Louis XIV. This fine body of men acquired considerable fame under their title of the "Irish Brigade." At the same time, by this treaty, William undertook to

secure for the Irish catholics the free exercise of their religion and the peaceable enjoyment of their estates. These terms were broken in the most faithless manner by the Irish parliament, now entirely in the hands of the victorious protestant majority. By a new penal law, catholics were inhibited from practising as physicians, lawyers, or schoolmasters, standing for parliament, marrying protestants, or bearing arms; and all but certain registered clergy were banished the realm. With a refinement of the persecuting spirit, it was likewise enacted that any member of a family abjuring the catholic faith had a right to succeed to the father's property to the entire exclusion of all the rest of the family who should adhere to catholicism.

While the struggle in Ireland had been in progress, affairs on the continent equally engaged William's attention. The war with France was not productive of definite results; but **The French war; battle of La Hogue, May, 1692.** during 1691, some officers, the chief of whom was John Churchill, afterwards duke of Marlborough, after having betrayed James, acted in the same treacherous way to their new master. Churchill was dismissed. These officers had opened communications with James in his exile, who, relying upon the reports received from such tainted sources, and backed by a powerful fleet lent for the purpose by Louis XIV., still hoped to recover his kingdom. But the defeat and destruction of the French fleet under de Tourville, at La Hogue (19 and 24 May), by admiral Russell, saved England from all danger of a French invasion or of a further rising in favour of James. An army had been collected in Normandy for the invasion of England—a task which was looked upon as an easy one, reliance having been placed on Russell's undertaking to bring over the Channel fleet. Instead of doing this, he capped one piece of treachery by another, for which William rewarded him with a very undeserved peerage. This was the last attempt made by James to reinstate himself on the throne of his ancestors. It was not, however, till 1697, that Louis acknowledged William as king of England, by the terms of the treaty of Ryswick. Meanwhile the armies of Louis XIV. and William were confronting each other in the Netherlands with undecisive results. William commanded there in person and was opposed by marshal Luxembourg; William failed to raise the siege of Namur, and was twice defeated by Luxembourg in the hard-fought battles of Steenkirke (August 3, 1692) and Neerwinden (July 19, 1693), and returned to England at the end of October, 1693, to find the people there wearying of the war, and the political factions of

whigs and tories engaging in treacherous intrigues. In such circumstances it is no small testimony to William's ability as a ruler that he was able to conduct and control the government of the country at all. William had frequent disputes with his parliament on the subject of money; and did not scruple to employ his right of veto on two occasions. It was in this reign, in the year

**Bank of
England
established.**

1693, that some merchants subscribed £1,200,000 to establish the Bank of England, and the bill to further this project received the royal assent in April, 1694. It so happened that the following year the bank was nearly broken. This was brought about by a much-needed reform of the coinage then undertaken, whereby the old clipped coins of the Tudors and Stuarts were to be exchanged for new and good pieces. The rapid demand nearly broke the bank, which was, however, saved by parliamentary interference; and in return the bank took over the management of the national debt, then a comparatively inconsiderable sum.

Queen Mary died of smallpox in December, 1694; and after her death William, who had never felt himself to be other than a political necessity, found that he was more than ever a stranger in England, for he realised that those who had proved false to their rightful sovereign could never be counted on to remain true to himself. Mary's death revived the hopes of the adherents of James; several conspiracies were formed against William, but were

Act of Settlement, 1701.

discovered. William saw the necessity of becoming reconciled to the princess Anne, with whom there had grown up a coldness; and the Act of Settlement limiting the crown to protestants became a necessity about this time and was accordingly passed (1701). Anne's only surviving son, the little duke of Gloucester, died; and having been the sole near relative not a catholic, a fear existed that the crown might lapse back to James II. and his heirs. Parliament accordingly voted that these should be passed over for the next protestant heir, to succeed the princess Anne on her death. This was a granddaughter of James I.; and to her and her heirs the crown was secured, to the prejudice of ten or eleven persons who, though catholics, preceded her in the right line of succession.

The war in the Netherlands languished after the actions already referred to; but after the death of Luxembourg, one great success attended the English arms—the storming and capture of Namur on the 1st of September, 1695, and the consequent surrender of marshal Boufflers. From this period nothing of

importance was attempted on either side ; want of money compelling William to comparative inaction. Both he and Louis were for various reasons inclined to come to terms, and after protracted negotiations peace was sealed by the treaty of Ryswick (September, 1697). So far as England was concerned this peace secured, together with a mutual restoration of territories, a promise by Louis XIV. not to support directly or indirectly the enemies of William, whoever they might be ; thereby acknowledging him as king, and abandoning the cause of James II. ; but it included no clause for the banishment of the exiled monarch from France. James II. died in 1701, after passing several years in religious retirement. His last advice to his son was an injunction to forgive his enemies. On his death, Louis XIV. proclaimed his son king of England : for though he had acknowledged William, events had occurred which caused a renewal of the hostilities between France and England. No reference had been made in the treaty of Ryswick to the question of the Spanish succession then in debate. William favoured the claims of the electoral prince of Bavaria ; Louis pressed the French claims of his own house. Meanwhile William had been disputing with his own parliament for the maintenance of a standing army, which was at last fixed at seven thousand men. Then came news of the death of Joseph, electoral prince of Bavaria (February 6, 1699), whom Charles II. of Spain had acknowledged as his heir ; and Louis refused to abide by the terms of a secret treaty transferring the succession to this prince's father in the event of his death. This was followed soon after by the death of Charles II. himself on November 1, 1700, leaving his dominions by will to Philip, duke of Anjou, younger son of the dauphin of France. These deaths had been preceded by two separate partition treaties, entered into without the knowledge of Spain, between France, England, and Austria for the purpose of keeping peace in Europe. By the terms of this treaty, portions of the Spanish dominions were to be bestowed on three different princes, since Europe viewed with dismay any union of France and Spain. When Charles's death put so great a legacy in the hands of Louis XIV., he could not resist the temptation, notwithstanding the engagements with other countries which he had entered into. Accordingly he allowed his grandson to accept the offer of the Spanish crown, who was proclaimed king as Philip V. This was bound to lead to war, and William formed an alliance with the States of Holland and the

**Treaty of
Ryswick,
1697.**

**Death of
James II.,
1701.**

**The Spanish
succession.**

emperor of Germany, to prevent this union of the monarchies of France and Spain, and to obtain Spain for the emperor. But

Death of William.

the king of England did not live to carry on the war, for while riding in Hampton Court Park, his horse pitched him, breaking his collar-bone. He did not recover the shock, and pleurisy supervening, he died on March 8, 1702. William's reign left two legacies to the nation; a standing army and the national debt. The same period was remarkable for several distinguished literary and scientific men who then flourished; amongst whom Newton, Locke, and Dryden hold the highest rank.

William's life-work had been the opposition he had consistently offered to the encroachments made by France on the Netherlands.

William's policy.

To this end all his efforts were directed and subordinated. Nor did he labour in vain, although he did not live to see the full accomplishment of his plans and wishes. William had a strong sense of dignity, although simple in bearing and averse from all pomp and show. His manner was cold and distant; and he was, except in the hour of

His character and appearance.

battle, phlegmatic. His reserved disposition disinclined him from courting popularity. His application to business was exemplary, though Burnet describes him as hating it. He disliked the pleasures of court even more, and cared nothing for learning or art. His sole diversion was hunting. Although his body was weak and thin, it was impossible to look upon him without being struck by the high spirit and intellectual power perceptible in his countenance, with its aquiline nose, thin compressed lips, and piercing eyes. On Mary's death he showed signs of genuine grief; but during her life he had exhibited no warmth of affection towards her, and it was said, was unfaithful to her; though his morals compared on the whole favourably with those of his immediate predecessors on the throne. He was, by religion, a calvinist, and, therefore, by no means a favourite with the protestant clergy of England. Severe legislation against the catholic subjects of his realm marked his reign, whereby the mitigations of penal law granted by James II. were withdrawn, and greater restrictions were added; the army, the bar, and the practice of medicine being closed to them. William was never popular in England: his name is execrated to this day throughout Ireland, with the exception of portions of Ulster; and it is not to be wondered at, that the massacre of Glencoe made a deep and lasting impression in Scotland. These feelings were still more embittered there by his conduct in regard

to the Darien expedition. This was a project for colonising the Isthmus of Darien, into which the Scottish people entered with enthusiasm, and which at first received the approbation of the king and the sanction of parliament. Commercial jealousies intervened; and William not only withdrew his support from the undertaking, but assisted the Spaniards in their opposition to the colonists who had ventured their lives and properties in making the attempt to carry it into execution. Some of the colonists, after suffering great privations, succeeded in regaining their own country, where their account of all they had endured roused a feeling of resentment against England to which some writers trace the growth of the strong feeling in favour of the Stuarts which so long prevailed in Scotland.

CHAPTER XXX

QUEEN ANNE. 1702-1714

ANNE, the second daughter of James II., and wife of prince George of Denmark, succeeded William on the throne of England, in accordance with the arrangements which had been made at the time of the Revolution. She was at the period of her accession, thirty-eight years of age; and a devout member of the church of England, in which, by Charles II.'s direction, she had been brought up from her youth. She and her husband led a blameless life of domesticity; she bore him several children, who all died in childhood, before their mother's accession to the throne. In character she was good-natured, placid, and eminently domestic in all her traits and likings; but she was not remarkable for any qualities of mind such as brightness or wit, or —though good looking—for great beauty of person. She was easily governed by favourites, and possessed the hereditary obstinacy of her race, but without the least sign of understanding or judgment. One department of affairs she made peculiarly her own. Her interest in the church was unflagging. She was zealous for the efficiency of the clergy and for their welfare, and the Bounty which bears her name attests this to the present day.

Anne's accession. Queen Anne was crowned on St. George's Day, 1702; and in her first address to parliament declared that her foreign policy would be guided by the same principles which had actuated her predecessor, and that she would maintain her place in the "Grand Alliance" —as the combination of England, Germany, and Holland, against Louis XIV., was termed. A large force was despatched to the continent with Churchill, now earl of Marlborough, at its head, and he then entered on that career which has rendered his name so distinguished in the military annals of England. War had been declared in 1702, but it was not till 1703 that important operations began, and then they were carried on in four separate parts of Europe at one and the same

Her character and appearance.

Crowned.

Foreign policy.

time ; in the Netherlands, in South Germany, in North Italy, and in Spain. The allies were led by two generals such as France had never before met, Marlborough, and prince Eugene of Saxony. The campaign of 1703 resulted in some minor successes, which gained a dukedom for Marlborough ; but it was the campaign of the following year that was to exhibit him as the most consummate commander and tactician which England had as yet ever produced. Marlborough was at best but an unscrupulous adventurer who pushed himself to the forefront ; but when there, he showed that he was well qualified for the position into which he had intrigued and thrust himself. His talents as a diplomatist, administrator, and statesman were no less notable than those which distinguished him as a soldier, and he is deserving of all praise for the tact and discretion wherewith he kept together and directed the heterogeneous mass of the allies. In 1704, by a clever piece of manœuvring, he and prince Eugene separated the French and Bavarian forces under marshal Tallard, around Blenheim, and after some furious cavalry charges, drove them headlong to the Danube, where the French had no choice but to surrender. Of the total force of fifty-six thousand, eleven thousand laid down their arms, while fifteen thousand were killed, drowned, or wounded. Marlborough, on his return to England, received the thanks of parliament and an estate on which the queen ordered Blenheim House to be built.

**Battle of
Blenheim,
1704.**

While these events were progressing in Germany, success attended the British arms in Spain. Lord Peterborough, aided by Portugal, gained some important advantages, and even drove Philip from the capital. The fortress of Gibraltar was taken by surprise by admiral Rooke and Cloudesley Shovel, and this practically impregnable stronghold has ever since remained in English hands. It is called the "Key of the Mediterranean," and has proved of enormous value in subsequent wars, for it has enabled England to prevent the coalition of hostile fleets on either side of that fortress.

**Gibraltar
taken, 1704.**

Throughout 1705 Marlborough was on the continent opposed to marshal Villeroy, but with no decisive result ; in the following spring, however, when Marlborough was threatening the stronghold of Namur, Villeroy concentrated the French troops at Ramillies to cover that city. Marlborough, by clever generalship, fell upon Villeroy at a point he little expected, and defeated the French in

**Battle of
Ramillies,
1706.**

a hotly-contested battle, in which both armies displayed considerable valour. The vanquished lost about eight thousand men; while the loss of the allies was three thousand; but the consequences of the action were even more striking—the whole of the Spanish Netherlands fell into Marlborough's hands, and a heavy blow was struck at French influence in the north of Europe, which was also weakened in Italy by prince Eugene's victory at Turin, and the minor successes that crowned our efforts in Spain. Louis, finding that he could not resist the allies, found himself under the necessity for the first time in his life of making overtures for peace. Success, and the desire to humble France, made the war popular and negotiation distasteful to the national mind; and the allies unwisely rejected the terms offered by Louis—the abandonment of Philip's claims on Spain, the Netherlands, and the Indies, but stipulating that he might retain Spain's possessions in Italy. Hostilities were therefore renewed; and in 1707 Louis met with success, but not at the expense of the British, except in Spain, where they were defeated at the battle of Almanza. In 1708, Marlborough met marshal

**Battles of
Oudenarde,
1708; and
Malplaquet,
1709.**

Vendôme at Oudenarde on July 11, and routed him; and later, with the help of prince Eugene, reduced the great fortress of Lille, when marshal Boufflers and fifteen thousand men laid down their arms.

Louis again asked for peace, but the terms were such as he could not entertain; so, although his exchequer was drained, he made a supreme effort to collect another army, which he placed under the leadership of marshal Villars, sending it to oppose Marlborough in Flanders, who in 1709 was engaged in the task of laying siege to Mons. Villars posted himself strongly at Malplaquet, but Marlborough attacked him, and, though at fearful loss, was victorious.

While these events were occurring abroad, one of no less moment politically took place at home. This was the union effected in 1707 between England and Scotland—
**Union of
England and
Scotland,
1707.**

the work of the Godolphin and Sunderland ministry, whereby the crowns and parliaments of the two countries were permanently united. This measure, much desired by William III. and also by queen Anne, principally owed its origin to the course which the Scottish parliament had begun to adopt on the subject of the succession. That body had passed an "Act of Security," by which it was determined that Anne's successor should not, as regarded Scotland, be the same person whom England might accept, unless Scotland obtained

certain commercial privileges till then withheld. An act for arming Scotland was passed at the same time. These steps alarmed the English ministry, as foreshadowing the danger of a separation of the crowns at the queen's death, after a union of more than a century. A commission was accordingly appointed to draw up articles of union; and an act securing it was ultimately, after warm debates, carried through the northern parliament. The two nations were declared thereby to be united under one government and legislature, but each was to retain its own legal forms. The presbyterian church was to be guaranteed to Scotland, and for the future Scotland was to be represented in the united parliament of Great Britain by forty-five members in the house of commons, and sixteen elected peers in the house of lords. The act took effect from May 1, 1707, and the two countries have henceforth been united under the title of Great Britain; the arms of Scotland have been incorporated in the royal escutcheon and standard, and the national flag, the "Union Jack," has since been composed of a combination of the red cross of St. George and the white saltire of St. Andrew.

The discontent which this measure evoked in Scotland had not passed unobserved at St. Germain's, and roused the hopes of the son of James II., who, under the name of James III., resided at the French court, and kept a mock court of his own. He was known also by the title of the Chevalier de St. George, and was by the English termed the Pretender. Louis assisted him with an armament, and in 1708 he sailed for Scotland on the invitation of many of the nobility there. "I hope I shall never see you again," were Louis's ambiguous parting words. He had expected that by giving England some military affairs to attend to in Scotland, he might divert her armies from his own territories. The Stuart squadron was, however, attacked by some English ships of war under admiral Byng, who captured some of the vessels, the others with difficulty regaining a French port. The Chevalier escaped, and made no further attempt during Anne's lifetime.

In 1708, the queen's consort, prince George of Denmark, died. The whigs, who up to now had been in power, fell into disfavour; they alone had kept up the war with France, of which the people were tiring, realising that its continuance was enormously costly, and that the main object with which it had been undertaken had been secured: Louis's readiness to abandon his claims to the domination of Europe. It was hinted that the war was prolonged in the interests of Marlborough, as whippers

were being heard that he was making great personal profits out of it.

About the close of the year 1709, intense popular excitement prevailed in England, in consequence of the impeachment of a clergyman named Sacheverell, who had preached **Sacheverell's** a sermon against the whig party, then in office, in **trial.** language so violent that the ministry resolved to bring him to trial. In order to understand how this prosecution came to create so great a stir at the time, it will be necessary to explain the state of religious feeling in England at that period.

The whig party, which had been in power from the time of the Revolution, began to give place to the tories, as soon as Anne mounted the throne; for towards their policy were all her leanings; and, as the political errors into which James had fallen passed from the recollections of the people, they gradually adopted tory tenets. A strong sentiment in favour of the established church, also, was steadily gaining ground throughout the kingdom, and a proportionately hostile feeling towards dissenters, to whom the whigs were inclined to be tolerant. The people and the queen held one set of opinions; while the ministers (whom the queen was anxious to have some plausible reason for dismissing) professed another.

While these clashing views were tending in no small degree to disturb public tranquillity, the flame of discord was kindled into a glow by Dr. Sacheverell, who preached a sermon in which he plainly intimated that the time was come when the further toleration of dissent would endanger their church, and that the people should take up arms in its defence. For this he was tried and found guilty; but, such was his popularity, that the whigs were afraid to punish him more severely than by a temporary suspension of three years from his benefice, at the expiration of which penalty, the queen conferred a valuable living upon him.

Shortly after the trial of Sacheverell, two tories were, through court influence, introduced into the ministry. They were Harley, afterwards earl of Oxford, and St. John, afterwards lord Bolingbroke. Disputes having arisen between these two statesmen and the prime minister Godolphin, he dismissed them, which proceeding gave such displeasure to the queen, that she soon afterwards recalled them to power, and directed them to form a ministry. At the general election which shortly took place, the whigs found themselves in a considerable minority.

Negotiations for peace were opened by the tory administration, who were by no means so hostile to France as were their whig

predecessors in office. Marlborough, too, about this time was recalled through the influence of court enemies. After some resistance in the house of lords, the peace negotiations received the assent of parliament; and, in 1713, Great Britain and Holland, without the concurrence of Germany, concluded the peace of Utrecht.

**Peace of
Utrecht,
1713.**

The chief article of this treaty stipulated that Philip should be king of Spain, but neither he nor any of his descendants were to become king of France; and that no king of France should ever inherit the crown of Spain. England was to retain Minorca and Gibraltar, and also obtained Newfoundland. Thus, after a lavish waste of life and treasure, a war was brought to an end, by which, although England added to her military fame, she largely increased her national debt, and obtained very inadequate advantages.

No mention has hitherto been made of Sarah Jennings, duchess of Marlborough. She had been in the service of the queen when princess Anne, even before her marriage, and an intimacy sprang up between the two, destined to affect nearly the whole of the queen's life. The duchess of Marlborough was an ambitious, violent woman, who during the period of her ascendancy exercised almost unlimited sway over the gentle temper of the queen: but a time came when even the queen resented the tyranny to which she was subjected; she gradually transferred her friendship to a new favourite, a cousin of the duchess, Mrs. Masham, one of her ladies in waiting; and, finally, in 1710, provoked by some display of anger and jealousy on the part of the duchess of Marlborough, suddenly dismissed her from all her offices and ordered her to leave the court. The duke, too, was recalled in 1711, when the tories came into power, as they were anxious to conclude peace, and knew it could not be secured while he was at the head of the army. On his return the accusations of gross peculation made against him could not be denied, and his character was blasted. The way was henceforth open to enter into negotiations with Louis, which ended in the signing of the peace of Utrecht early in 1713.

**The duchess
of Marl-
borough.**

By this time Anne's health showed signs of failing, and the question of the succession became once more uppermost in men's minds; for a large section of the nation on the tory side viewed with disfavour the accession of a German. It was known, too, that the queen was anxious that her brother (James III.), the Pretender, should succeed her, if only he could be induced to conform to the protestant religion.

**The suc-
cession.**

He was approached with a view to ascertain his willingness in this respect, but was too good a catholic to hesitate an instant between the claims of self-interest and conscience. His honesty cost him this chance of regaining the throne of his ancestors. When his decision became known, a split occurred in the ranks of the tories then in power. Up to that moment Harley was their leader, and he favoured the cause of the Hanoverians; but he was supplanted by the ambition of Henry St. John, viscount Bolingbroke, who thought to become virtual ruler of England, should he succeed in placing James III. on the throne. He brought in a "Schism Act," which prohibited dissenters from keeping or teaching schools, with a view to forcing all nonconformists to receive their education at the hands of the church. Harley opposed such a bigoted measure; but it appealed to the strong protestantism of the queen, so Harley was dismissed, and the bill became law. Bolingbroke took Harley's vacated post as chief minister to the queen, and at once proceeded to fill all posts with those likely to favour a restoration of the Stuarts. But before all his plans could be developed, queen Anne was suddenly taken ill, and died on August 1, 1714, after three or four days of partial unconsciousness, whereby she was unable even to execute her will, ready waiting by her bedside for her signature. The privy council at once proclaimed the elector of Hanover as king of England, under the name of George I.

Queen Anne was hostile to catholics, but her reign is not marked by persecution in England, though the penal laws already in existence weighed heavily on her catholic subjects, especially in Ireland. Nor did her occupancy of the throne benefit the nation in material prosperity. Her reign is, however, distinguished for the military achievements which the British arms accomplished on the continent under Marlborough; the glories of Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet can never fade from memory. Still more did the literary genius which shone in her reign shed a lustre on the period which has been denominated the Augustan age of English literature, during which the talents of Pope, Swift, Addison, Steele, and many other distinguished ornaments of the literary world flourished.

CHAPTER XXXI

HOUSE OF HANOVER

GEORGE I., 1714-1727; GEORGE II., 1727-1760

GEORGE LEWIS, elector of Hanover, had reached his fifty-fourth year when, by the Act of Settlement, he succeeded to the English throne on the death of queen Anne. In 1682 he had married his cousin, Sophia Dorothea of Celle; this princess bore him a son, George, who succeeded him on the throne of England, and a daughter, Sophia Dorothea, afterwards queen of Frederick William I. of Prussia. The relations between George and his wife, never cordial, changed from bad to worse; and after a sentence of divorce had been procured, she was detained a prisoner till her death in 1726. Though by no means possessed of shining mental qualities, George had, nevertheless, displayed a fair amount of ability in the government of the electoral province of Hanover. Accession of George I.
His character.

After he came to England he could never divest himself of his German ideas and prejudices; and his selfish, unlovable nature never allowed him to entertain any affection for the land he had been called upon to govern. He was, to the last, absolutely ignorant of English politics, and, by his inability to converse in English, was constrained to leave much of the conduct of public business to his ministers, with whom he never attempted to interfere. It was thus that the actual ruler of England ceased to be, as hitherto, the sovereign, whose duties in this respect have ever since been discharged by a prime minister and the cabinet. The country derived no benefit from George's presence; he, on his side, valued England only for the money he could get from it, and for the use he could make of it for the furtherance of his continental politics. It must be remembered that Hanover was never united to the British crown; it was merely the personal possession of five successive sovereigns who, during one hundred and twenty-three years, occupied the throne of England.

George I. commenced his reign by showing the tories that he considered them hostile to the Hanoverian succession, and dismissed them ; calling the whigs to office under the **Change of ministry.** earl of Halifax, with whom were associated the earls of Sunderland and Stanhope, and sir Robert Walpole, the youngest and ablest of the party chiefs. The duke of Marlborough was reinstated as commander-in-chief, but he never regained his old influence, and died in 1722.

Lord Bolingbroke made his way to France ; as did also the duke of Ormonde, another staunch supporter of the Stuart claims ; they at once, with Louis XIV.'s connivance, began **The rising of 1715.** to plan an insurrection in favour of that lost cause.

They were aided in Scotland by the earl of Mar, who assembled many of the leading Highland chieftains at Braemar, at what was ostensibly a great hunting party, and here they determined to take up arms for James III. A rising of the Lowlands was also arranged for under the leadership of the earl of Nithsdale ; and the earl of Derwentwater and some other noblemen undertook to secure the co-operation of the northern counties of England. All these relied for success on the advent of a force under the duke of Ormonde, who was to land on the south coast of England. The standard of revolt was raised at Braemar on September 6, 1715, and a formidable host of some six thousand clansmen flocked to it. The Lowlanders joined, as did also the border men of England ; but disappointment was caused by the failure of the promised insurrection in Wales and in the south-west of England. When, therefore, the duke of Ormonde landed in Devonshire and found no support, he re-embarked and returned to France. The Highlanders marched southwards, but the indecision of their leaders resulted in the failure of the enterprise ; and at Preston in Lancashire—for they were not suffered to penetrate further south—the Jacobites, as the adherents of the Stuart cause were called, were defeated (November 12), and obliged to surrender to the government troops. The earls of Derwentwater and Nithsdale, together with other leaders, were sent to London as prisoners. At the same time (November 13) the earl of Mar met the duke of Argyle at Sheriffmuir, but the engagement was indecisive, and Mar withdrew to Perth, looking with an anxious eye to France for the promised support. But Louis XIV. was now dead ; and the regent, the duke of Orleans, wishing to cultivate friendly relations with George I., refused to assist in the attempt to place James Stuart on the English throne. James, or the Chevalier, as

he was called, sailed for Scotland alone in December, 1715; but he failed to inspire enthusiasm, and in a short time it became apparent that his cause could not be maintained, so he returned to France, accompanied by the earl of Mar, whose forces thereupon dispersed. The earl of Derwentwater, and many others of various ranks in society, were executed as traitors for having taken up arms against George I.; many families lost their estates; and several persons of high position were sent from Great Britain as exiles to America. The catholics, who were, or were suspected to be, largely implicated in "the Rising of '15," suffered heavily through fine and confiscation.

Although the attempt in favour of restoring the Stuarts had failed, still popular discontent was so marked at home, that the ministers carried the "Septennial Act" in 1716, thereby securing longer intervals between the tur- **Septennial Act.** moils and unrest accompanying general elections.

In 1719 the king of Spain made an attempt to regain the portion of Italy which had belonged formerly to that country. England interfered to prevent his purpose, by despatching admiral Byng to the Mediterranean, **War with Spain.** and that officer gained a decided victory over the Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro. The next year an alliance was formed between England, France, Germany, and Spain.

It was at this period that the remarkable delusion known as the "South Sea Bubble," began to influence the public mind. A joint-stock company was formed, professing to trade to the South Sea, and offering to shareholders profits **The South Sea Bubble.** much larger than could be expected from ordinary commerce. A large number of persons entered into the speculation, and the shares rose to a very high price. In the wake of the parent scheme other visionary plans appeared; but the shares began to fall, and many who had ventured their entire fortunes were ruined. The public discontent rose to such a height that the government was forced to interfere. A committee was appointed to consider and report upon the various claims; and an arrangement was made, with the help of the Bank of England and the East India Company, whereby the sufferers obtained some redress, though several were heavy losers. Some of the ministers were found to be implicated in the fraud, and the discovery brought about the disruption of the Stanhope-Sunderland cabinet.

Another conspiracy was entered into in 1719 in favour of the Stuarts, in which bishop Atterbury and several other persons of

distinction were implicated. Many arrests took place, and a few persons were executed; but tranquillity was soon restored.

Sir Robert Walpole now became prime minister, and maintained himself in power for twenty years. During the latter part of the reign of George I., public attention was principally occupied with naval and military preparations in order to carry out the king's project of opposing Austria and Spain. But in June, 1727,

Death of George I. while on a visit to his continental possessions, George was seized with paralysis, and died at Osnabruck, on the 11th of July, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign, leaving two children, a son and a daughter, to survive him.

The only man who rose to real prominence in this reign was sir Robert Walpole. A junior member of the cabinet under the

Sir Robert Walpole. earls of Sunderland and Stanhope, he became prime minister on its reconstruction after the bursting of the "South Sea Bubble," when his great knowledge of

finance served him in good stead; but as a politician, more especially in his dealing with foreign affairs, he was lamentably deficient. He knew no modern language but his own; so that he had to discuss public business with his royal master in Latin, a cumbrous roundabout procedure not calculated to advance the conduct of affairs. The position he secured for himself as the leader of politics for twenty successive years can be attributed only to a masterful disposition, for he was not intellectually superior to his contemporaries. But his political methods can hardly escape criticism; for bribery, shameless and open, was the means he employed to secure his own position. It speaks volumes for the moral degradation and corruption of the period, that such methods should have been allowed to go so long unchecked. As a result, unworthy men were promoted to power both in church and state. On George I.'s death, his successor actually dismissed him from office, but was constrained to recall him almost immediately, and to employ him as his minister for about fifteen years.

As soon as intelligence arrived from the continent that George I. was no more, his son, then at Richmond, was proclaimed king, as

Accession of George II. George II. Sir Robert Walpole, then prime minister, waited on his new sovereign, who curtly told him to take his instructions from sir Spencer Compton, thus virtually dismissing the one and appointing the other. Compton, however, declined the post; and the king, by the advice of his queen, continued Walpole in office, together with his colleagues. The king and queen were crowned at Westminster Abbey with

great magnificence, on October 11, 1727. For some years nothing of importance, as affecting English politics, occurred either at home or abroad, although the "war of the Polish succession" (1733-1735) was being waged. Nothing directly touching English interests was at stake; but a union between France and Spain, known as the "Family Compact," effected secretly in 1733, was destined, later, to plunge those two nations into a war with England, in which every effort was to be put forth to wrest from this country her naval and commercial greatness. This treaty was kept carefully concealed; but Spain began to check the trade between England and the Spanish colonies of South America, and to interfere with the commercial rights claimed by England under the terms of the peace of Utrecht. British ships were subjected to the indignity of being searched by the Spaniards on the high seas; these and similar vexatious proceedings so violently incensed the public mind in England, that Walpole, much against his own inclination, was constrained to demand reparation from Spain, and, when this was refused, declared war in 1739. This he did reluctantly, for he knew that Spain would receive the support of France in the ensuing struggle, whilst England was without allies. But the war was a necessary one for the protection of our ever-expanding trade, which was arousing the jealousy of our commercial rivals. It must be noted that the carrying trade of the world had by this date passed largely out of the hands of French, Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese merchants into those of Englishmen. The East India Company, now a century old, had grown so powerful as to oust the trade of France and Portugal. The Spaniards felt that their trade with Southern and Central America and with the West Indies was imperilled; the French in Canada had cause to fear that the growth of our power in North America would be a menace to their prosperity. The importance of the struggle, therefore, from the many and momentous interests involved, above all from the threatened danger to the legitimate expansion of British trade, cannot be over-estimated.

The "Family Compact."

War with Spain.

Two fleets were despatched, one to the coast of Spain, and another to America. The latter, under the command of admiral Vernon, succeeded in capturing Portobello (1739), a town of considerable importance in the West Indies. Carthagená was bombarded, but without success, and a large number of British soldiers perished in the attempt. Another fleet, commanded by admiral Anson, sailed to America to Vernon's assistance; but

he lost several ships, and being unable to render effective aid to his brother admiral, he cruised along the eastern coast of South

Anson's voyage round the world. America, and took several prizes. He even crossed the Pacific to China and refitted his ships at Canton. Returning thence, he fell in with a Spanish galleon which he captured, and found on board treasure

to the amount of £300,000, with which he got back to England, where he was received with welcome, on account of the money he brought to the public treasury. Anson was the first navigator who sailed round the world. But the ill-success of the war, on the whole, so damaged Walpole's popularity, and also diminished his majority

Fall of Walpole. in the house of commons, that he was compelled to resign his post as prime minister in 1742, being created earl of Orford on his retirement. He was

succeeded by lord Carteret, an able diplomatist, who associated with himself in the cabinet the duke of Newcastle, and that nobleman's younger brother, the honourable Henry Pelham. The problem that faced them included more than the struggle with France and Spain; for one of the impelling forces that caused Walpole to resign was his difference of opinion with the king on the advisability of supporting the claims of Maria Theresa to the throne of Hungary. The facts of the rivalry of claims for the

The "War of the Austrian succession." empire of Germany, then raised, are these. When the emperor Charles VI. died, his daughter, Maria Theresa, queen of Hungary, was entitled to his throne by right of inheritance. She was opposed by several princes, one of whom, the elector of Bavaria, was crowned emperor as Charles VII., and received the support of France. George II., considering that the increase of French influence in Germany would endanger his Hanoverian dominions, took part with Maria Theresa, and found the people of England willing to support him in his views.

In 1743, George II. joined the army which was fighting for Maria Theresa, and appeared in person at the battle of Dettingen (July 27, 1743)—the last occasion on which a king

Battle of Dettingen, 1743. of England has entered the field. The British and Hanoverian troops compelled the French to retreat; but the advantage was not followed up. Soon after

this Charles VII. died; but in order to prevent the grand duke of Tuscany, the husband of Maria Theresa, from being elected emperor, the French continued to prosecute the war. Count Saxe, a general of great ability, commanded the French forces, while a son of George II., William, duke of Cumberland, led the British

and Hanoverian troops. Tournay was besieged by Saxe; and in order to save that city, the British advanced to **Battle of Fontenoy**, where, on May 11, 1745, a fierce battle took place, and victory rested with the French, **May 11, 1745.** largely in consequence of the valour of the "Irish Brigade." Notwithstanding this French victory, the grand duke of Tuscany was soon after elected emperor of Germany.

In 1745, another attempt was made by the Stuarts to regain the British crown. The son of James II. had married, in 1719, the princess Clementina Sobieski, granddaughter of the great John Sobieski, king of Poland. They had **The rebellion of '45.** two sons, the elder of whom, Charles Edward (named the young Pretender) resolved in his twenty-fifth year to make an effort for his family. He was encouraged by the ill-success which the arms of George II. had met with on the continent, and by the political feuds which had gained strength in England. In 1744, by a proclamation which his father issued from Rome, where he was then living, he was declared regent of the British Isles, and he immediately took steps to carry into effect the designs he had formed. France saw in the young Pretender's purpose an opportunity of distracting England's attention from her foreign wars, and rightly conjecturing that the English army serving abroad would be recalled to meet the danger within her own borders, furnished prince Charles Edward with a fleet. When it first started, it was driven back by storms, and was so closely watched by the English admiral, who commanded a superior armament, that it was detained in the French port. In June, 1745, Charles Edward sailed for Scotland with a few friends and landed in Inverness, where he was quickly joined by several Highland chieftains at the head of their respective clans. In August he took the field with a considerable force, and, having proclaimed his father king of Great Britain, he marched to Edinburgh, of which he obtained possession without opposition.

George II. had sent orders to sir John Cope, commander of the troops in Scotland, to advance against Charles; and at Preston Pans a battle was fought, on the 21st of September, between him and Charles, in which the **Battle of Preston Pans.** latter gained the victory. He did not, however, follow up his advantage with rapidity, but lost several weeks in the parade of royalty at Holyrood House. Several Highland chieftains who had kept aloof at first now joined the Stuart prince, who entered England in November, crossing the border with five thousand men. He easily took Carlisle, and

marched unchecked through the north of England as far as Derby. Here he learned that George II. was at the head of a large army which was encamped near London, and which was each day increasing in number. The duke of Cumberland came over with six thousand Dutch soldiers, and it became necessary to adopt some decisive course. The young prince proposed to advance on London, which would, he considered, give his friends in the metropolis courage to declare for him. But the general opinion being that by returning to Scotland he could increase his army, and take the field in the following spring with troops refreshed by rest, a retreat to Scotland commenced. Though the duke of Cumberland, with some regiments of cavalry, endeavoured to overtake the Stuart army he did not succeed, and Charles not only returned safely to Scotland, but was soon joined by a large body of new adherents. In January, 1746, he engaged general Hawtrey at Falkirk, and, having defeated him, marched to Inverness, where he rested with his forces.

The duke of Cumberland, having arrived in Scotland, prepared to take the field without delay, and in February marched to Aberdeen, where he received reinforcements and soon moved

Battle of Culloden, April 16, 1746.	against Charles, who drew up his troops at Culloden, near Inverness, and offered battle to the duke. They engaged on the 16th of April, 1746. Charles had eight thousand men; but the duke had the advantage in numbers, and obtained a complete victory over the Stuart forces. The conquerors stained their arms by the indiscriminate and remorseless slaughter of the vanquished, and, contrary to the practice of civilised war, spared not even the wounded who lay disabled on the field. Charles, after wandering for several months in the Highlands, escaped to France, though a large reward (£30,000) was offered for his capture. It is most honourable to the Highlanders, to many of whom he made himself known, that they did not betray him, as he reposed confidence in their fidelity to his cause.
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When the civil war had thus been brought to a close, several noblemen were tried for high treason and executed, amongst whom were lords Kilmarnock, Balmerino, and Lovat. Many also of the humbler classes were put to death in England and Scotland, and for several months the Highlands were subjected to all the cruelties which an unrestrained soldiery could inflict. After some time, however, the government began to conciliate the Highlanders, and the power which the chieftains of clans possessed over their followers was brought by degrees within constitutional limits.

Prince Charles Edward never made any further attempt against the House of Hanover after the "Rising of '45," although for a time he did not despair of striking another blow; and he actually secretly visited England in 1750 to find out if it would be possible to promote another insurrection; but he returned hopeless of success. The old Pretender died in 1765, whereupon his son proclaimed himself king of England as Charles III.; but till his death in 1788, he did not attempt to assert his claim to the inheritance of his family, and passed away dishonoured and childless. His younger brother, Henry Benedict, known as "Cardinal York," the last male representative of the unfortunate House of Stuart, died in Rome in 1807, bequeathing some of his personal effects to George III., from whom he had for some years been in receipt of a pension.

During the events above narrated, the war on the continent continued with unabated vigour. The French obtained numerous victories by land, but the British navy triumphed in many important engagements, especially in a memorable action off Cape Finisterre. The war, which lasted nine years, and resulted in considerable loss to both England and France, was terminated in 1748 by the treaty of **Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle**, 1748. France, was terminated in 1748 by the treaty of **Aix-la-Chapelle**, whereby it was agreed that England, France, and Spain should mutually restore all that each had captured; but the question of commercial rivalry remaining unsettled, the protracted contest was barren of other result than adding thirty millions to the English national debt.

For some years after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, England enjoyed peace abroad and tranquillity at home. As George II. had lived on terms of hatred with his father, so too, bad terms existed between himself and his son, Frederick, prince of Wales. This prince predeceased his father in 1750, leaving a son who afterwards ascended the throne as George III. In 1752 the "New Style" was adopted in England by act of parliament. This was a correction of the Julian calendar to the amount of eleven days, founded on **"New Style."** a calculation made by pope Gregory XIII.; it had long been adopted on the continent (except in Russia, which to this day maintains the "Old Style"), and the discrepancy caused endless confusion. It may be recalled that the dropping of eleven days necessitated by the adoption of the "New Style" created much disturbance amongst the ignorant folk, who complained that their lives had been shortened!

Carteret had been supplanted as prime minister in 1744 by

Henry Pelham, who held the reins of office for ten years till his death, when he was succeeded for another couple of years by his brother the duke of Newcastle; and it was during this period that William Pitt, afterwards the celebrated earl of Chatham, began to take a prominent part in public affairs.

Before the duke of Newcastle was driven from power in 1756, he entangled the country in another war with France, known from its duration, as the "Seven Years' War." After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the nation had begun to devote much attention to colonisation; and principally from this cause sprang the wars which disturbed the closing years of the reign of George II., and the commencement

The "Seven
Years'
War."



of that of his grandson. The "Seven Years' War" broke out in consequence of disputes which took place on the subject of the

western boundary of the North American colonies. The French drew a line of forts, from their possessions in Canada, behind the English colonies, along the country from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, so as to prevent the British colonists from obtaining too extensive a territory in America. This conduct was of course resented by England, and the forts were attacked. The native Indians took part with the French and caused several disasters to the British troops. Some very severe engagements took place, in one of which (the attack on Ticonderago) there was great loss of life. General Braddock, an inexperienced officer, made an attack on the French on the banks of the Ohio; but, falling into an ambuscade, he and seven hundred of his men were killed, and the artillery and baggage fell into the hands of the enemy.

The ill-success of the British arms on the continent and in America aroused such feelings of resentment against the duke of Newcastle, that the king called for his resignation in 1756, entrusting the formation of a new cabinet to William Pitt and the duke of Devonshire. But the opposition against them was so strong that Pitt was driven from office in April, 1757. When it was proposed that the duke of Newcastle should return, the popular outcry was so great that a strange compromise was effected by arranging a coalition between the two, to Newcastle being given the direction of home affairs, while the conduct of the war was to be entrusted to Pitt. This coalition lasted six years; and during that period the success that attended the British arms in three continents added largely to the colonial territories of the crown.

In North America, the English soldiers, becoming better acquainted with the country and the methods of warfare best suited to its wild forests, gradually got possession of several of the forts along the borders, and proceeded to prepare for an attack on Canada. The troops under general Wolfe took Quebec in 1759, but he was killed during the assault. The French were commanded by general Montcalm, an experienced and able officer, and the approaches to Quebec were strongly fortified. Wolfe, leading his men forward, received a bullet in the breast and fell. The battle continued, and after a short time Wolfe heard the words "they run." "Who run?" asked the dying soldier, and learning that it was the enemy he exclaimed "then I die happy," and expired. The town soon capitulated. After some time Montreal was taken; and the conquest of Canada was soon completed.

Capture of
Quebec, 1759.
Conquest of
Canada.

Meanwhile events of importance had occurred in India, where the French possessions were very extensive, particularly in the south. The French, under their energetic leader, Dupleix, had secured possession of Madras and nearly all the other English factories on the coast; but the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle necessitated their restoration. Pending the renewal of hostilities in 1756, Dupleix determined to crush the English; but Robert Clive, a clerk in the service of the East India Company, threw up his post and took service as a captain in the company's troops. He got leave to operate independently with a diminutive force; and in 1751 and during the next two years gained several minor advantages over his French rival, who was finally recalled to France in 1754, in disgrace. In 1756 took place the awful tragedy

**The "Black
Hole of
Calcutta."**

of the suffocation of one hundred and twenty-three persons in the dungeon called the "Black Hole of Calcutta." The native prince of Bengal, Surajah Dowlah, had besieged Calcutta, which was the chief seat of English commerce, and succeeded in taking that important place. Contrary to a promise of kind treatment, one hundred and forty-six prisoners were thrown one evening into a narrow cell, only eighteen feet square, and badly ventilated. The sentinel told the prisoners that he dared not awaken his prince till morning; and during the night they all died of suffocation with the exception of twenty-three persons. This brutal act roused the anger of the

**The battle
of Plassey.**

English; Clive soon retook Calcutta, and, pursuing the native forces, gained over them and the French the memorable victory of Plassey to which we have above referred. Surajah Dowlah, who had been guilty of such inhuman cruelty to the English prisoners, was overtaken in flight, and put to death. While Clive was subduing Bengal, the Carnatic was being rid of the remainder of the French forces; and with the occupation of Pondicherry by sir Eyre Coote in 1760, the French power in India came to an end.

While the British colonies in each hemisphere were thus the scenes of most important contests, England was also engaged in war upon the European continent. She formed an alliance with Frederick the Great, king of Prussia, against the combined forces of France, Russia, Austria, and Poland, with a view to protect Hanover. The duke of Cumberland was appointed commander of the British troops on the continent, but met with many reverses, and for a time the French obtained possession of the Hanoverian territories. Frederick of Prussia, however, soon won back the electorate for England, and in return for his services he received

considerable sums of money from the British treasury. These subsidies largely increased the national debt, as the taxes were insufficient for the numerous demands on the public revenue. The details of the war on the continent possess very little interest in connexion with English history, it being principally as elector of Hanover, that George II. took part in the contest. But the battle of Minden is glorious in the annals of the British army, because seven English regiments serving under prince Ferdinand of Brunswick largely aided in securing the victory over the French by the steady and impenetrable front which they offered to the repeated charges of the whole of the French cavalry. At sea, Great Britain at this period maintained her high character in consequence of the numerous victories gained by Hawke, Rodney, and other distinguished admirals. So jealous were the English people of their maritime fame, that, in 1757, admiral John Byng was shot for not having (in the language of the charge) "done his utmost" against the enemy in a naval engagement near Minorca. As Byng was acquitted of cowardice, he was recommended to mercy; but the feeling against him was so strong that the sentence was carried into execution at Portsmouth, though great efforts were made to save him. His death served, as Voltaire cynically remarked, "pour encourager les autres;" certain it is that since that date British naval officers have ever shown a readiness to engage even superior numbers.

In the midst of these triumphs, George II. died suddenly on October 25, 1760. His reign, though not marked by the same literary glory which has rendered the two preceding reigns so conspicuous in letters, could boast of many learned men and able writers. Fielding, Smollett, and Richardson attained to prominence in works of fiction: Thomson, Akenside, Collins, Young, and Gray, acquired celebrity as poets; Johnson commenced his great literary career. Handel is notable as a musician. Periodical literature, as we know it at the present day, took its rise in 1731 when the *Gentleman's Magazine* commenced its long career; and it was during the reign of George II. that newspapers began to exercise a real power and influence by entering distinctly on the discussion of public affairs.

Henry Pelham made a great saving by reducing the rate of interest payable on the public loans; he also simplified business by "consolidating" all the old loans into one. Hence the name "consols." This celebrated measure was effected in 1750.

Death of
George II.

Creation of
"consols,"
1750.

It was at this period that Wesley and Whitfield founded the

sect since known as methodists. The church of England was spiritually at its lowest ebb of stagnation ; and Wesley's movement was originally never meant to create a secession from the establishment, but to effect a rousing of fervour and a restoration of spirituality from within. Wesley and Whitfield. But his enthusiasm was looked upon, by easy-going prelates and clergy alike, with suspicion and distrust ; and though he started his career as an ardent churchman, he found himself gradually driven outside its borders into schism, and thus came to found a new nonconformist sect. He even went so far as to ordain ministers with supposed powers of administering sacraments. He at least succeeded in awaking an almost free-thinking and careless clergy to a sense of their obligations.

CHAPTER XXXII

GEORGE III. 1760-1820

GEORGE III. ascended the throne at an age and under conditions that promised a long and prosperous reign. He was the first king of the House of Hanover who had been born in England, and in his first speech to parliament he made a good impression by laying stress on the fact, assuring his hearers that "he gloried in the name of Briton," and at the same time undertook "that he would make it his constant study to guard the welfare of the people over whom he was called upon to reign." Before his accession George III. had been carefully schooled by his mother in high ideas of kingship and its prerogatives; and so, although only twenty-two years of age when he came to the throne, he had quite made up his mind not to be a mere nonentity in the hands of his ministers. He honestly meant to govern constitutionally, but he meant nevertheless to be really master, and to take a principal share in the government of his realm. He had no brilliant talents, but he was eminently painstaking and hard-working, simple in his habits, sincerely pious, and, in private life, a good husband, father, and friend. One fault, however, must be laid to his charge, and in a measure it was a grave one, for it was responsible for the loss of our American colonies, and for the retardation of catholic emancipation and other measures. He was exceedingly obstinate: a fault due, no doubt, to his strict conscientiousness. He never adopted a course of action unless convinced that it was right; but, once having made up his mind, no argument, apparently, could make him see things in a different light or alter his first determination in the slightest particular. No further light or information was of any avail to shake the first decision at which he had arrived. This obstinacy or tenacity of opinion led to a further source of trouble: he could not brook opposition to his own views, and resented the expression of such differences as a studied insult to his own person.

Accession of
George III.

His cha-
racter and
ideals.

On September 8, 1761, George married princess Charlotte Sophia of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, who bore him a numerous family; he and his queen were crowned at Westminster on the 22nd of the same month.

**Marriage
and corona-
tion.**

George III. commenced his reign with the full determination to break the power of the great whig families which had ruled the country during the two previous reigns, and thus hoped to recover for the crown the power it had gradually ceded

**Whigs give
place to
tories.**

to its ministers since the Revolution of 1688; hence, he surrounded himself from amongst the tories with those who would not be likely to oppose his views.

Lord Bute had formerly been one of his tutors and his groom of the stole. Though this nobleman had had no experience of political life, the king insisted on his inclusion in Pitt's cabinet, conferring on him one of the secretaryships of state. At once lord Bute set himself to criticise the acts of his colleagues, more especially in the matter of the war with France, with which country he desired to conclude peace. Pitt, on the other hand, with better information as to the actual state of affairs, was not only in favour of continuing the war with France, but advised in addition the

**Resignation
of Pitt.**

**Bute prime
minister.**

declaration of war against Spain as well. The king siding with lord Bute, Pitt resigned at the close of 1761, and was shortly followed by the duke of Newcastle, thus leaving lord Bute as the chief minister of the realm in May, 1762. Negotiations for peace were set on foot, but ended unsuccessfully, and England found herself not only opposed to France but to Spain also, that country having espoused France's quarrel as Pitt had foretold that it would. But the martial spirit was so strong in England at that time, that her

**Captures
from Spain
and France.**

forces, military and naval, were quite a match for the formidable new combination. Spain quickly lost to us Havannah in the West Indies, and Manila the capital of the Philippine Islands; and admiral Rodney captured Martinique, St. Lucia, and the remainder of the French possessions in the West Indies. Spain had invaded Portugal, but English troops sent to that country drove back the Spanish armies. France, stripped of her colonies, defeated at home, and without resources, found herself obliged to sue for peace, and Spain was constrained to follow her example. The English cabinet found it also a matter of such extreme difficulty to provide the supplies needful for so many armaments, that when negotiations were again opened, a more reasonable spirit prevailed, and peace was concluded by the treaty of Paris early in 1763.

By the terms of this treaty England ceded many of the conquests made in the course of the war, such as Guadeloupe, Martinique, St. Lucia, Havannah, Manila, and other important acquisitions; but Canada, and all the French possessions east of the Mississippi were retained, only some fishing rights on the coast of Newfoundland, which have been a fruitful source of friction to the present day, being allowed to France. Grenada, Dominica, St. Vincent's and Tobago in the West Indies remained to England as well as the French settlements on the Coromandel coast of India, and Senegal. France had also to give us back Minorca. Spain ceded Florida. It will be seen, then, that the "Seven Years' War" resulted in the one solid gain of Canada, and in the retirement of France from the Far East; but it also added £60,000,000 to the national debt, which thus stood at about £140,000,000.

**Treaty of
Paris, 1763.**

Lord Bute was very unpopular with the nation, which considered that he had made too easy terms, thereby abandoning most of the fruits of the war. The treaty of Paris, in consequence, was not approved of at home, for it was felt that Pitt would have secured better terms.

Lord Bute, unable to face the outcry raised against him, resigned office; and the king made choice of George Grenville to succeed him, who allied with himself the duke of Bedford, a whig, to the king's disgust. This ministry was

**Change of
ministry.
Grenville
prime
minister.**

not of long duration (1763-1765), but it was notable for the prosecution of John Wilkes, member of parliament for Aylesbury, and editor of a paper called the *North Briton*. Wilkes was personally a man of bad moral

**Prosecution
of John
Wilkes.**

repute, and a scurrilous and immoral writer; and at this time he, together with other political journalists, discussed the national affairs in the newspapers and other periodical publications in terms which gave great offence to the government. Wilkes had not only libelled lord Bute in the *North Briton*, but in No. 45 of that journal he even went so far as to call in question the king's veracity. Grenville issued a "general warrant" against the editor, printers, and publishers of the *North Briton*, and on the strength of this Wilkes was arrested, but acquitted on the plea that that arrest was illegal, a "general warrant" being held by chief justice lord Mansfield to be no warrant. But the paper of which complaint was made was burnt by the common hangman, on which occasion a riot took place, as Wilkes was popular with the mob, who accounted him a champion of the people's rights. Wilkes was soon after expelled from the house of commons, as, fearing

to answer an indictment issued against him by Grenville for publishing obscene and blasphemous literature, he absconded to France, and thus became an outlaw. Though not in the sequence of events, yet to complete the subject, the remainder of the incidents connected with Wilkes's career may be here stated. Wilkes returned to England in 1768, surrendered himself, stood his trial, and was fined and imprisoned. His popularity was so great that he was then returned to the house of commons as member for Middlesex; but was expelled from its precincts, as being disqualified. He was returned again and again, but with the same result. This led to violent outbreaks on the part of the London mob, whose idol he had become. He was elected an alderman of the City of London, and even lord mayor. He was finally admitted to the house of commons in 1776, and the entries against him in the journals of parliament were erased by a vote of the house. Wilkes's determination at least served to uphold some important principles of civil liberty.

Grenville's action with regard to Wilkes was a mistake from the very commencement; but it pales before another of his measures, fraught with consequences not only disastrous to England, but momentous to the whole world. The long war recently concluded had left the usual legacy of debt, and created the usual craving amongst the ministry to discover new sources of taxation whereby to add to the revenue. It occurred to Grenville to include the colonies in his scheme of taxation, and in pursuance of this plan, he introduced a bill in 1764, imposing a tax on the North American colonies, in the shape of stamp duties on legal documents. The bill became law in 1765, and gave intense dissatisfaction in America. Grenville appealed to the principle that the colonists ought to pay their share of the addition to the national debt, mainly incurred in their defence. The colonists, however, contended, that as there should be no taxation without representation, they should not be called upon to contribute to the revenue, since they were not represented in the British parliament, and had had no share in voting supplies. They also determined to resist the act, protesting against England's claim to the right of taxing them. In 1765 Grenville retired from the ministry and was replaced by lord Rockingham, who took the wise step of repealing the obnoxious measure, but the resentment it had created still remained. Lord Rockingham retained power for one year only, and was succeeded by the duke

**Disputes
with North
American
Colonies.
The "Stamp
Act."**

**Lord Rock-
ingham
repeals
Stamp Act.**

of Grafton as prime minister, aided by Pitt (now created earl of Chatham) as lord privy seal. During this administration, Townsend, the chancellor of the exchequer, raised the discontent in America to fever heat by proposing on the lines of the stamp tax (and virtually reasserting the principle then claimed) a further tax on tea, glass, and other commodities imported into America from Great Britain. Rioting took place in America in 1768, and the feeling aroused again in 1769 led to a repeal of all the taxes except the one on tea. In 1770 the Grafton ministry collapsed, and lord North became prime minister; but nothing was done to remedy the grievances of the North American colonists. In that year a mob stoned a party of soldiers in Boston, Massachusetts; at last the soldiers fired on the rioters, killing some of them. This "massacre," as it was termed by the colonists, added fuel to the flame, and during the next three years the anti-British feeling grew apace, and at last came to a head in 1773. Some ships laden with tea arrived in Boston harbour, but a mob disguised as Indians boarded the merchantmen and threw their cargoes into the water. The local authorities could not, or would not, discover the perpetrators of this act of defiance. Lord North resolved, therefore, to punish the city of Boston, and accordingly, an act was passed closing the harbour to commerce, and another act deprived the state of Massachusetts of its legislative assembly. Both these extreme measures became law in the spring of 1774. This alienated the remaining shreds of sympathy with England, and in the autumn a "General Congress" was summoned to assemble at Philadelphia, which proceeded to issue a "Declaration of Rights," condemned the course adopted by the English government, and as a retaliatory measure, forbade Americans to purchase goods imported from England. A wise man at the head of the government might still have conciliated the exasperated colonists, and many, particularly Edmund Burke, advocated conciliation; but lord North and his colleagues would show no sign of yielding. As the colonists were equally resolved not to give way, there was no alternative but the employment of force; and, accordingly, hostilities commenced early in 1775. The first collision between the English troops under general Gage, the governor of Boston, and the Americans took place at Lexington, and the regulars were driven back to Boston with considerable loss (April 19, 1775). This initial

**Lord North
prime
minister.**

Boston riots.

**Tea duties
opposed.**

**Congress at
Philadelphia.**

**Outbreak of
the War of
Independence. Fight
at Lexington.**

success fired the colonists with hope, and all the states embodied their regiments of militia, appointing George Washington to command the united forces; but before he could head his troops, another

**Battle of
Bunker's
Hill, 1775.**

stiff fight had taken place at Bunker's Hill (June 17, 1775). In this the victory lay with Gage, the British general, but he was unable to follow it up. Congress made a final attempt to reach a peaceful settlement, sending a numerously signed "Olive Branch Petition" to London, but lord North disregarded it, and the struggle had to continue to the bitter end. Washington forced Gage to evacuate

**America
declared in-
dependent,
July 4, 1776.**

Boston in March, 1776, and in July the colonists took the decisive step of repudiating their allegiance to England, and publishing the "Declaration of Independence" on July 4, 1776, thereby constituted the thirteen colonies into a federal republic. From this time forth historians term the colonists republicans.

Fresh troops now began to arrive from England, and the British generals gained some important advantages, such as Howe's defeat of Washington at Brooklyn (August, 1776); but these were counter-balanced by several reverses, the most serious

**Surrender of
general
Burgoyne
at Saratoga,
1777.**

of which was general Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga with his whole force of five thousand men (October 17, 1777). When the news of this disaster reached Europe, it put heart into the enemies of England. France and Spain, taking advantage of England's difficulties, hoped to regain the possessions they had lost to us, and declared war: they were joined by Holland in 1780.

**France and
Spain de-
clare war.
Death of the
earl of
Chatham.**

The aged earl of Chatham advocated a reconciliation with America at this juncture, in a speech of great force. At its conclusion he fainted in the house, and died shortly after. King George, however, remained obdurate. France was visited by Benjamin Franklin, the American philosopher, and was induced by him to acknowledge American independence. The French sent aid to the republicans, under the leadership of a chivalrous young soldier, the marquis de La Fayette. The American cause continued to prosper. In 1778, the ministry were constrained to send commissioners to treat for peace, but the republicans now refused to listen to any proposals unless their independence was acknowledged, and their country evacuated by the English army, but such proposals could not then be entertained by England. However, in 1781 Washington defeated lord Cornwallis at Yorktown in Virginia. This victory for the American arms

had been facilitated by the co-operation of a French fleet under de Grasse; and the surrender of the British general put an end to all hopes of saving the North American colonies, and terminated hostilities. Early in 1782, a motion for peace was carried in the house of commons. Lord North thereupon resigned, and lord Cornwallis defeated at Yorktown, 1781.

Rockingham, aided by Fox, began to push on the preliminaries of peace. But in April of that year, when England's fate seemed at its worst, lord Rodney gained a great victory over de Grasse off St. Lucia, capturing the French admiral. Another triumph attended our arms nearer home. The French and Spanish had blockaded Gibraltar since 1779; but general Elliott, its governor, repelled all attacks, and was at last relieved by lord Howe. These actions enabled the ministry to conclude peace on terms

somewhat more favourable to the national honour. England ceded Minorca and Florida to Spain, and gave back St. Lucia, Tobago, Senegal, and portions of her former Indian possessions to France; and by this "Treaty of Versailles," as it is known (September, 1783), England also recognised the independence of her former American colonies, henceforth known as the United States of America, and ranking as one of the independent powers of the world. One event of the war may be mentioned which caused a deep feeling of resentment in England. A certain major André, a young British officer, was taken prisoner within the American lines. Not being at the time in uniform, he was treated as a spy, tried and condemned on that charge, and hanged.

Though peace had been secured on better terms than might have been expected, nevertheless, England's political outlook at that particular period was the worst that had been known for over two centuries. Even a few victories could not counteract the effect of constant defeat on land and sea, whereby her prestige had been seriously impaired. Her finances, too, were crippled, and the already heavy burthen of her national debt had been added to enormously. The net result of the war had been the loss of the North American colonies and many minor dependencies in various parts of the world. Discontent was, consequently, rife at home. Lord North's administration had been discredited and driven from power: the king's obstinacy throughout the protracted negotiations with the American colonies had met with deserved defeat; and in spite of his inclinations he had been forced to turn to the whigs in order to extricate himself from the difficulties in which he was involved.

Peace of
Versailles,
1783. Inde-
pendence of
America
recognised.

The political
outlook.

While these affairs abroad engaged the attention of the nation, questions arose at home which occasioned considerable trouble.

Catholic Relief Bill. Up to this period, no penal law hitherto enacted against catholics had ever been repealed; and the

The Gordon riots. disabilities under which catholics in consequence lay,

prevented them from taking their share in the public life of the country, either by filling government offices, serving in the army or navy, or engaging, except in limited degree, in professional pursuits. But while the letter of the law still stood as a barrier against them, a broader mindedness and a kindlier spirit of toleration had been at work amongst educated men. Whether this was due, as some think, merely to the indifferentism and latitudinarianism which was then so rife; or, as others consider, to a feeling of contemptuous pity for the hopeless weakness of the dwindling catholic body, is not of great consequence. But whatever the reason, men thought it time to mitigate some of the severity of the laws against catholics in England; and in 1778 a slight amelioration of their lot was secured; but this relaxation did not extend north of the Tweed, as the sentiment of the Scottish people was too adverse to catholicity, and riots occurred in Edinburgh in consequence of a rumour that it was proposed to lighten the burthens the catholics had to bear. It must not be supposed, however, that measures of mitigation found universal favour in England. Thus, a society, styling itself the "Protestant Association," was formed with the object of securing the repeal of the recent Act in favour of the catholics. The leader of this opposition to toleration was lord George Gordon, a fanatical and half-crazed son of the duke of Gordon, and a member of the lower house, who stirred up an agitation against some bills for the relief of catholics which were under consideration. A large mob accompanied him in June, 1780, to the house with a petition for a repeal of statutes granting toleration, and he and they received a merited rebuke for their bigotry. Lord George Gordon and the rabble at his heels forthwith proceeded to destroy the catholic chapels, as also the residences of catholics and of those known to be friendly to toleration, such as lord Mansfield, whose house was sacked and a valuable library destroyed. The mob, maddened by drink, even attacked Newgate and other prisons. The magistracy, either unable or unwilling to cope with this outburst of anarchy, left London at the mercy of the mob for several days, until king George himself ordered out the military, and in the fighting which ensued several of the rioters were killed. Many were tried for their share in this disgraceful

outbreak and executed. Lord George Gordon was put on his trial for high treason, but was acquitted on the ground of insanity.

In Ireland, too, events of dangerous import had been taking place. The protestants there had been permitted to form amongst themselves corps of volunteers under the command of the duke of Leinster, for the purpose of being in readiness to defend the island from a threatened invasion by the French. The volunteers had been

Disturbances in Ireland.

enrolled on account of the absence of regular troops; and being thus the only military body in the country, were led astray by those who thought it a golden opportunity to emulate the American colonies, and make a bid for independence. In 1779, by the exertions of Grattan and other popular leaders, certain commercial restrictions which had interfered with the trade of Ireland had been removed. But the volunteers were not content with free-trade only: they aimed at complete separation, and would possibly have attained it even at the cost of bloodshed but for their fear of their catholic countrymen. The consequences of such a rising with not a soldier to spare to put it

An Irish parliament.

down induced the English government to concede parliamentary independence to Ireland in 1782, and this separation of the legislature of the two islands continued in force till 1800.

Lord Rockingham had died (July, 1782) before the treaties of peace with France and Spain were signed, and was succeeded by lord Shelburne. His chief parliamentary opponents were Charles James Fox and Edmund Burke. In the ranks of his followers was William Pitt the

Shelburne ministry.

younger, the second son of the great earl of Chatham, who from his first entry into parliament had carried all before him. Notwithstanding his youth and inexperience (he was but twenty-two years of age), lord Shelburne bestowed upon him the post of chancellor of the exchequer. This ministry was, however, of short duration. Shelburne was unpopular, as the country considered he had made needlessly unfavourable terms with France and Spain, and he resigned. The new ministry was led by a coalition of lord North and Fox, till then bitter opponents, under the nominal headship of the duke of Portland. It was, perhaps, fortunate that its duration was very short. In the November of 1783, Fox introduced a bill to place the government of India in the hands of a board of seven persons to be chosen by the house of commons. The purport of this bill was good, for it aimed at replacing the inadequate administration of the East India Company

by a government directed from home, the Company for the future to confine its activity to its original purpose,—trade. But the king disliked the measure, and used his personal influence against it, as was but too frequently his custom. The bill, notwithstanding, passed the lower house, but was rejected by the house of lords. The whig ministry resigned, and the king immediately appointed Pitt prime minister. Pitt commenced his administration under the disadvantage of being opposed in parliament by a considerable majority, who, under the leadership of North and Fox, steadily set themselves to throw out all the bills he brought before the house. But as he possessed the king's favour, and knew that his name was popular with the nation at large, instead of resigning, he took the bold step of advising a dissolution of parliament. The king assented to this course, and Pitt faced a general election with triumphant success, returning to parliament with a party at his back which gave him at least a working majority.

Pitt's tenure of office being a remarkable one, and lasting for eighteen years, requires a review of the condition of things as they stood in 1784. Pitt's personal integrity was above suspicion, and he possessed the entire confidence of the nation, as well as that of the king: hence his power was enormous, but not too great for the difficulties he had to grapple with, both in his dealings with the king and in his conduct of public affairs. The country was still smarting under the humiliation of the American defection, and the late wars had brought up the national debt to the colossal sum of £200,000,000. On the other hand, the sources of wealth were being developed at home; and wealth, to counteract the losses caused by war, was being rapidly created. Canals began to intersect the country, increasing the means and lessening the cost of carriage of merchandise. The northern coal-fields were being developed, and the working of iron consequently revolutionised. Manufactures, too, began to arouse the attention of the nation. James Watt, a Scotchman, made such improvements in the application of steam to mechanical appliances, as almost to entitle him to the honour of being considered the discoverer of this powerful aid to man's exertions. The spinning-jenny was invented by James Hargreaves, and later, the spinning-frame by Arkwright. The cost of production of woven goods was thus enormously lowered, and English manufactures ruled the world's markets. Agriculture also benefited largely under improved methods of cultivation. Thus it will be seen that in 1784, when Pitt took office, the

prosperity of the country was unprecedented, notwithstanding recent reverses; and the peace that lasted till 1792 enabled the great minister to employ his talents as a financier in furthering the commercial interests of the country.

In 1785 he introduced a bill for the reformation of parliament, but was defeated; he was also defeated in an attempt to abolish all trade restrictions between England and Ireland, but the failure was due to the Irish parliament. Notwithstanding the repugnance repeatedly expressed by the king, he succeeded in passing a bill for the relief of the catholics, removing many of their disabilities, but for fear of over-exciting the king, whose intellect had repeatedly given way for short periods, he promised not to move for catholic emancipation during George III.'s lifetime, though he was a convinced supporter of such a measure. During this period the prince of Wales (afterwards George IV.) was a source of much trouble to his royal father, being of dissolute habits, disrespectful to his parents, and taking sides in politics, openly espousing the cause of Fox and the opposition: all this was a scandal to the nation, and made him very unpopular. He secretly married a catholic lady, a Mrs. Fitzherbert; but afterwards denied the marriage. There is now no doubt that it really did take place.

In 1786, Warren Hastings, the first governor-general of India, was impeached by the house of commons for "high crimes and misdemeanours" alleged to have been committed by him when holding his high office in India. His chief enemy in the east had been sir Philip Francis, the reputed author of the famous letters of "Junius," which appeared in 1769, and have ever since ranked as amongst the finest compositions in our language. They were denunciations of the ministers of the day, and created a great stir. This man had been Warren Hastings' critic in India, returned to England before the governor-general's retirement in 1785, and made out such a story of maladministration to Edmund Burke, Fox, Sheridan, and other leading members of the opposition, that they called for a public prosecution. Even Pitt was at length forced to join in the impeachment. The trial was conducted in Westminster Hall before the peers; but the proceedings, which dragged on for nearly seven years, at length terminated in the acquittal of Warren Hastings on every point of the original indictment.

Shortly before Warren Hastings quitted India, Pitt passed a

bill for India on the lines of that rejected a few years previously when introduced by Fox. By it the crown obtained supreme power over the East India Company, and both the governor general and the Board of Control in London were henceforth crown appointments; to the company was left the entire control of trade, and all other appointments; and in certain ways it could exercise pressure on the governor general.

In 1787 the first attempt was made (in which party differences were sunk), to mitigate the horrors of the slave trade. Regulation of the slave trade. It was not finally abolished for many years; but in a trial held at this time in which a negro was claimed as property, the claim was disallowed.

From early in his reign, George III. had at times exhibited signs of a tendency to mental derangement, but they had in every case passed off without grave symptoms. In 1788, however, as the result of various troubles, domestic and political, his mind gave way completely, and a regency, to be vested in the prince of Wales, was suggested. Pitt was opposed to such a course, in view of the prince's recent bad conduct; violent debates took place in parliament; but before a settlement was arrived at, the king suddenly recovered, and the subject was set at rest for another two-and-twenty years.

The French revolution commenced in 1789; but though the English nation watched its progress with pain and indignation, it was not itself involved till 1792. On the outbreak of disorder, statesmen could be found in England who thought that nothing but good would come out of what seemed a mere rising of the masses against the obsolete prerogatives of a corrupt court and administration. But when anarchy, pillage, and wholesale butchery culminated in the execution of the weak and unfortunate Louis XVI., early in 1793, Pitt thought it time to give a helping hand in restraining France in her revolutionary career, in the general interests not only of England but of Europe; and France having declared war against England in February, 1793, Pitt announced that England had formed alliances with Spain, Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, and Holland for the purpose of crushing the revolution.

In India war had been prosecuted during several years against Tippoo Sahib, the son of Hyder Ali, one of the most important

native chiefs, who also had given the English much trouble. But in 1791, lord Cornwallis (the general defeated at Yorktown), who had succeeded Warren Hastings as governor general of India, invested Seringapatam, Tippoo's capital, whereupon Tippoo sued for peace; and a treaty then signed left the energies of England free to grapple with its formidable neighbour across the channel.

**War in
India.
Tippoo
Sahib, 1791.**

The war opened in Holland, where the duke of York, second son of the king, was in command. He was an incompetent and lethargic general, who after securing a few unimportant advantages, was driven headlong from the country. Another reverse was suffered that year at Toulon, which the royalist inhabitants had invited the British to take over, together with its arsenal and the fleet. It was besieged by the republicans, and soon fell into their hands, but before the British evacuated the place they destroyed the arsenal and fleet. The person mainly instrumental in bringing about the surrender of Toulon was a young Corsican artillery officer serving with the republicans, named Napoleon Bonaparte.

**The struggle
with France.**

**British
reverse at
Toulon.**

The main object on the part of England was to utilise her naval force, which was far superior to that of France; whereas on land her small army could hardly expect even to hold its own, much less secure any advantage against the huge forces equipped by the republic. The moment, therefore, that war was declared, the English fleets blockaded the naval arsenals of France at Brest, Rochefort, and Toulon. The French fleets dared not move; and when at last, in 1794, a squadron sailed out of Brest to convoy a fleet of merchantmen, lord Howe swooped down upon them, and completely defeated them in the famous action of "the glorious First of June." In 1795, Spain and Holland were compelled to secede from their former alliance, and Holland joined with France. Negotiations for peace were actually opened in 1795 between Great Britain and France, but they came to nothing, as France insisted on retaining Belgium. It was during this time that general Napoleon Bonaparte (he had by that time rapidly risen to such exalted military rank) became conspicuous, defeating the Austrians and compelling them to withdraw from the alliance with Great Britain (1796). Matters then began to look very desperate for England, and 1797 opened gloomily, for Spain had thrown in her lot with France and declared war against her former ally.

**Lord Howe's
naval
victory.
"The
glorious First
of June,"
1794.**

It now became of paramount importance for England to prevent the fleets of France, Spain, and Holland from uniting; for if they should succeed in doing so, they would together be more than a match for that of Great Britain, and the rumour was gaining ground that the French contemplated an invasion of England. Should our navy suffer a defeat, the way would be open for the French to carry out such a project. The fear this caused created a scare in the city, and a run on the Bank of England took place. A financial crash must have been the inevitable result had not Pitt hastily passed a measure through both houses suspending cash payments; nor were they resumed for twenty-two years. At such a moment the seamen of the channel fleet mutinied at Spithead (April, 1797). Pitt wisely granted the demands of the men. Then the men of the fleet at the Nore also asked for increase of pay, improvement of food, and the removal of obnoxious officers. Their demands were deemed unreasonable and refused, whereupon they mutinied at the Nore. The government took strong measures, and the mutineers submitted; but Parker, the seaman who had started the trouble, and several other ringleaders were executed. Had our enemies availed themselves of such an opportunity, as well they might, the danger would have been extreme: as it was, the chance was let slip, and the men expiated their previous folly by handsomely beating the Dutch at Camperdown (October, 1797) under the orders of admiral Duncan, while admiral Jervis, together with Nelson, had previously smashed up the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent. Both admirals captured many ships in these two desperate actions. The French "Directory," as the government was called, finding they could not wrest our naval supremacy from us, now projected an attack on our power in the East Indies. For this purpose Napoleon was sent at the head of an expedition to Egypt, and on his way there he took Malta from the knights of St. John. But admiral Nelson followed on his heels, and though too late to prevent his disembarking at Alexandria, he attacked the French fleet in Aboukir Bay, at the mouth of the Nile, on August 1, 1798, and gained one of the most complete naval victories on record, sinking or capturing eleven out of thirteen French ships. This brilliant achievement shut up Napoleon in Egypt, and he was forced to try and march

**Bonaparte
contemplates
an invasion
of England.
Financial
panic in
London.**

**Mutinies at
Spithead,
and at the
Nore.**

**Battles of
Camper-
down and
Cape St.
Vincent,
1797**

**French
expedition
to Egypt.**

**Battle of the
Nile, 1798.**

homewards through Syria. But sir Sidney Smith forced the French to retreat to Egypt from St. Jean d'Acre. Napoleon then left his army and returned alone to France in 1799, purposing to overthrow the Directory. He soon got himself placed at the head of the government with the title of First Consul. He proposed making peace with England, but the negotiations were abandoned, as England insisted on the restoration of the monarchy. He won several victories over the continental powers, so that in 1800 he was opposed by England alone. During 1799 the incapable duke of York again headed an expedition sent to Holland, but with renewed ill-success. General Abercrombie landed in Egypt with a British force and twice defeated the republican troops in 1801 before Alexandria, but was killed during the second engagement; his successor entered into a treaty with the French, whereby they were allowed to return to France. Malta was taken from the French in 1800.

**Siege of
Acre.**

**Napoleon
becomes
First Consul.**

**Battle of
Alexandria.
Capture of
Malta.**

While the French occupied Egypt, Napoleon intrigued with Tippoo Sahib in India, thus preparing the way for his own meditated attack on the English in that quarter. But Seringapatam was besieged and taken by storm, Tippoo slain, and his vast horde of treasure fell into the hands of the British. Lord Mornington was at this time governor general of India, and Arthur Wellesley, his younger brother (the great duke of Wellington of a few years later), fought at the siege of Seringapatam, there first distinguishing himself (1799). Half Mysore was annexed.

**War with
Tippoo
Sahib.**

Napoleon bitterly resented the unswerving opposition he everywhere met with from England, whereas the pre-eminence he had attained as a master of the art of war had wrested victory for France from so many other nations. His genius perceived that England was most vulnerable through her commerce. He therefore determined to destroy our trade, and "decreed" the boycotting of all English-borne merchandise from continental ports; and, at his prompting, the czar Paul prevailed on Denmark and Sweden to join with him in excluding English trade from the Baltic. These measures were considered at home as so formidable that it was soon decided to take steps to protect English commerce. A fleet under sir Hyde Parker and Nelson was sent to attack Denmark, and a severe engagement was fought at Copenhagen (April, 1801), in which the entire credit

**Napoleon's
plan of a
mercantile
boycott of
England.**

for the victory which crowned our arms was due to Nelson. Nearly the whole of the Danish fleet was sunk or taken, and when the English thereupon prepared to bombard the city, an armistice was agreed upon at Denmark's solicitation. The way was now open for an attack on Russian ports; but the czar Paul fell a victim to assassination in 1801, and his son, Alexander I., quickly abandoned his alliance with France and came to terms with England.

**Battle of
Copenhagen,
1801.**

Napoleon set about making great preparations at Boulogne for an invasion of England, to repel which men enrolled themselves by thousands into volunteer corps, but the need for their services never arose, as Napoleon's project never came to a head. Both countries were now thoroughly tired of the war which had lasted nine years, and earnest preparations for peace were commenced, but Pitt at this moment resigned office. The cause alleged for his resignation was the king's reiterated refusal to listen to any proposal for granting the catholics emancipation, and Pitt had virtually promised it to the Irish catholics. The real reason, however, is to be sought in his aversion to being any party to making peace with France. He was succeeded as prime minister by Mr. Addington, in 1801. Peace terms, recognising Napoleon as First Consul were discussed, and a treaty was signed at Amiens in March, 1802. By this treaty England acquired Ceylon from the Dutch, Trinidad from the Spanish, and retained Malta, but gave back to France all her colonial possessions that had fallen into our hands in the course of the struggle.

**Napoleon
plans an
invasion of
England.
The volun-
teer move-
ment.**

**Pitt's
resignation.**

**Treaty of
Amiens,
1802.**

It will now be necessary to retrace our steps in order to follow the events that had meanwhile occurred at home.

The grant in 1782 of a parliament to Ireland had not pacified the rebellious spirits in that country, for the government still remained in the hands of a small protestant minority whose use of power was harsh and arbitrary.

In 1792 the catholics were, it is true, granted freedom of worship, but they were still excluded from election to the parliament, though allowed to vote for members. The French revolution aroused hopes of changes in political arrangements and a speedy adjustment of grievances. Hence the discontented, whether protestant or catholic—more especially the former, be it noted—were not long in putting themselves into communication with the

continental revolutionaries. In 1791 a society was founded calling itself "The United Irishmen," whose object was to endeavour to secure reforms in the legislature. Its members were under the orders of such radical leaders as lord Edward Fitzgerald and Wolfe Tone. In 1794 an active correspondence was kept up between the United Irishmen and the French government. When this became known in England, much alarm was created, and lord Fitz-William was sent as viceroy, with general instructions to make further concessions to the catholics. But the Irish protestants procured his recall; and his successor, lord Camden, took a different line, and the peasantry were exasperated by searches for weapons, conducted with great cruelty and barbarity. An abortive attempt at an invasion of Ireland under the French generals Hoche and Grouchy towards the end of 1796 still further strained the tension; and at last the crisis came in the spring of 1798, when an informer betrayed the central committee of the United Irishmen to the government. The majority of the leaders were caught and put in prison, but lord Edward Fitzgerald was killed while resisting arrest. Several were executed. The loss of their leaders, instead of dispersing the rank and file of the United Irishmen, drove them into open rebellion in various parts of the country, and in some places they met with considerable success for a while, particularly in Wexford. This roused the "Orangemen" of Ulster to vigorous action, and a decisive battle was fought at Vinegar Hill, where the insurrectionists were defeated (June 20), and the rising was soon at an end. Shortly after, a French force under general Humbert succeeded in effecting a landing at Killala, in Connaught, and gained a minor advantage over general Lake at Castlebar. But at Ballinamuck they were met by lord Cornwallis with a large force, and compelled to surrender. The whole episode of the rebellion arose from misgovernment: and it was disfigured by atrocious cruelties, for the perpetration of which neither party can be freed from blame. It directly led to the legislative union of England and Ireland, which was proposed in the English parliament in 1799, but the feeling against such a measure was so strong in Ireland, opposed as it was by Grattan and Plunket there, and in England by Fox, Sheridan, and other leading men, that it was not passed till 1800. On 1st January, 1801, the act came into operation, and thereby the independent Irish parliament ceased to exist, and the two islands have since

The "United Irishmen."

The "Rebellion of '98."

The Union of Ireland with England, 1800.

been known as "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

The peace concluded at Amiens was of short duration. It is clear that Napoleon thought he could cheaply squeeze out of an England intent only on peace, concessions which an appeal to arms might effect only at great cost. Accordingly he threateningly demanded amongst other things, our evacuation of Malta, which England had not as yet given back to the knights of St. John, as they were not at the moment prepared to resume their sway in that island. England, on her side, objected to carry out this portion of the recent treaty till France had complied with certain formalities. Napoleon behaved insultingly to the British ambassador in public; and there was nothing for it but to ask

**War with
France
renewed,
1803.**

parliament for money for the army and navy; to recall our ambassador; and to declare war in May, 1803. It must be borne in mind that for the next eleven years while England was at war, it was not a struggle with France, but purely a struggle against the unsatiable and unscrupulous ambition of one man. England was fighting, not a country, but Napoleon; and in so doing was championing the cause of liberty throughout Europe. Napoleon crushed all the countries of the continent one after another; but he never could subdue England, though he bent all the energies of his mighty genius to this one end. And England thwarted him in many ways. Commercial prosperity gave England the command of wealth such as she had never known before, and such as no other country had then attained to. This wealth was freely poured out to subsidise every continental power in arms against the French tyrant.

Thus, in the long struggle that ensued, Napoleon was practically fighting England amid the snows of Russia, the

**Lord Wel-
lesley in
India.**

**Battles of
Assaye and
Argaum.**

**Annexation
of North
West pro-
vinces, 1804.**

mountains of Spain, and the torrid plains of India. He knew this and hated England accordingly; but in the end, the long struggle found him vanquished. Nor was Napoleon slow to grasp that he could strike at England perhaps better indirectly than directly. Thus in 1803 he encouraged a young enthusiast named Robert Emmett in an attempt to effect a rising in Ireland, which was at once put down, and Emmett paid for his share in it with his life. In India the First Consul endeavoured to make use of the ambitions of the Nizam and the Mahratta chiefs; but the governor-general, lord Wellesley, acted with vigour; and his

brother, Arthur Wellesley, routed Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, and placed to his credit the battles of Assaye and Argaum, in which he shattered the Mahratta forces, and brought about the annexation of the territory now known as the North West Provinces.

Meanwhile for fifteen months Napoleon kept scores of thousands of troops along the shore from Dunkirk to Boulogne waiting for a favourable opportunity to launch them on flat-bottomed boats to invade England. But the fleet under Nelson guarded the Channel, and the favourable opportunity never seemed to present itself. The danger was met in England by an extraordinary enthusiasm, over half a million of men being enrolled in the regulars, the militia, or the volunteers, to repel the invaders should they venture on the attempt. Pitt, at this juncture, was recalled to office and remained as **Pitt in office.**

prime minister till his death in 1806. His name was a synonym for the vigorous prosecution of war, and the nation would trust its fate to no other man. Meanwhile Napoleon made a bold bid for supreme authority at home, and a subservient senate offered him royal power with the title and prerogative of emperor, which he deigned to accept, and was crowned by the pope in May, 1804. **Napoleon crowned emperor, 1804.**

The emperor Napoleon forced Spain to take sides with him against England. Napoleon's object was to make use of Spain's large fleet to aid him in his scheme of invading England. But English fleets blockaded all the ports and prevented any coalition of the allied naval forces. Pitt fought Napoleon, as we have seen, by opening England's inexhaustible purse to the continental powers that had large armies. Except for this aid the progress of war in Europe would not concern England, and the details may well be omitted. Napoleon's genius, however, triumphed over the Austrians at Ulm, the Prussians at Jena, and the allied armies of Austria and Russia at Austerlitz. It was only at sea that Napoleon at this period of the war was able directly to meet England, and there met with some severe reverses in consequence.

On Oct. 21, 1805, Nelson engaged the combined fleets of France and Spain, and fought the celebrated battle of Trafalgar, but in the hour of victory a musket ball mortally wounded him. He lived long enough to learn that he had completely shattered the fleets opposed to him, and died contented. Before the battle, he signalled to his fleet the memorable words, "England expects that every man will do his duty." His remains were brought back to **Battle of Trafalgar, October 21, 1805.**

England and accorded a public funeral. Baffled at sea, and unable to touch England on land, Napoleon fell back on the old policy of waging a commercial war. Thus, in 1807, he concluded a treaty with Russia at Tilsit, whereby that power agreed to become his ally and to act on certain proclamations which Napoleon issued when at Berlin, and which hence came to be known as the "Berlin Decrees." Their object was to exclude all British merchandise from the ports of Europe. But Pitt had died in January, 1806, and his place at the helm had been taken by lord Grenville, who included Fox and Sheridan and other eminent men of different shades of political opinion in his cabinet, which hence came to be known as the ministry of "all the Talents." They abolished the slave trade during their year's tenure of power, but collapsed on the question of catholic emancipation, to which the king would give no ear. The duke of Portland then headed a tory ministry with Spencer Perceval as his chancellor of the exchequer. The only merit of this ministry was that it did its best to pursue Pitt's war policy. It soon lost the services of Fox, who, like his distinguished rival Pitt, sank under the load of responsibility, dying in the autumn of 1807. The "Berlin Decrees" were met by the English Cabinet with their "Orders in Council" declaring all the ports of France and her allies in a state of blockade. The net result of these manœuvres was that British goods still got into continental countries, but by a system of smuggling, the risk and dangers attending which enormously enhanced the prices of the goods; but Napoleon was unable to destroy Great Britain's carrying trade. Portugal never lent itself to this commercial boycott of England, so Napoleon determined to coerce the little kingdom into acquiescence with his general plans. He therefore deposed the prince-regent, and marshal Junot overran the country with a French army. The English at once sent troops to the assistance of its small southern ally, and thus, in 1808, the Peninsular war began which contributed so materially to Napoleon's eventual downfall. In his ambition he compelled the royal family of Spain to abdicate, and placed his own brother Joseph on that tottering throne. But the Spaniards were justly incensed at this measure, and drove the pinchbeck king from their ancient throne. This was England's opportunity: a treaty was entered into with Spain and Portugal: and as a consequence, an army was sent to the Peninsula under the leadership of sir Arthur Wellesley, who by this time had returned

in triumph from India. When the English began to land in Portugal, Junot attacked them with the object of driving them back into the sea. Wellesley, however, not only stood his ground at Vimiera (Aug. 21, 1808) but badly defeated the French. Wellesley wanted to follow up his success with vigour, but sir Hew Dalrymple arrived from England, and being senior, took over the command,

Battle of
Vimiera,
August, 1808.



and refused to sanction Wellesley's plans. Instead, he opened negotiations with the French, and in the "Convention of Cintra" arranged that the French were to abandon Portugal and be permitted to sail for France in British ships. This treaty was met with a storm of complaint in England, where it was rightly considered that the initial victory at Vimiera should have been turned to better account, and the two

"Convention
of Cintra."

commanders were recalled to stand their trial for their failure. Dalrymple was deprived of his command, but Wellesley was under the circumstances rightly exonerated, and returned to the field.

Meanwhile Napoleon hastened from Paris without delay to take command in person, for he was infuriated at the check his arms had received. He scattered the Spanish who attempted to oppose him, and entered Madrid. Meanwhile sir John Moore, who was in command of the English army in Spain, conceived he could do more damage by harassing the emperor's communications than

**Sir John
Moore in
Spain.**

trusting to a pitched battle, and commenced by throwing his troops on the rear of the main imperial forces, and menacing the emperor's communication with France. The emperor turned savagely back to crush his daring assailant, thus playing entirely into sir John Moore's hands, whose plan was to draw Napoleon into a corner of northern Spain, and so save the southern portion of the Peninsula from the ravages of the invader. Moore executed his retreat in a most skilful manner, always appearing on the point of offering battle yet always retiring. Napoleon had to hurry back to Paris,

**Battle of
Corunna,
January,
1809.
Death of
sir John
Moore.**

and left marshal Soult to keep up the pursuit of Moore, who was making for Corunna on the north-west coast. But Moore here turned at bay with his rear guard after securing the safe embarkation of his main body. He drove back the French marshal, but was himself killed (January 16, 1809) and buried on the field. This well-devised check to Napoleon's plans has made sir John Moore one of the heroes of British military history. Sir Arthur Wellesley now took over the command in the Peninsula, with the task of facing ten times his own numbers.

**Battle of
Talavera,
July, 1809.**

He drove Soult out of Portugal, and at Talavera, defeated the French marshal Victor and king Joseph (July 28, 1809), but the reinforcements received by the marshal made it necessary for Wellesley to retire on Portugal. He was unable to obtain reinforcements, as every available man in England had been shipped to take part in an ill-judged expedition to Walcheren, which was attended with disaster: the troops perished by hundreds from disease, and the remainder returned to England without attaining the object of the expedition, which had been to secure the navigation of the river Scheldt.

The year 1810 was marked by the total and permanent insanity which came upon the old king George III. The dissolute prince

of Wales was appointed regent, but owing to the distrust entertained towards him his powers were restricted. These limitations, however, were to be removed should the king not recover the use of his reason by 1812. At that date therefore the prince regent was invested with full sovereign power. Though George III. did not die till 1820, yet his personal responsibility as sovereign ceased in 1810, and his reign practically terminated in that year

CHAPTER XXXIII

GEORGE IV. REGENT 1810-1820. KING 1820-1830.
WILLIAM IV. 1830-1837

GEORGE IV. may be said to have commenced his reign in 1810, but was not king of England in name till his unfortunate father's death ten years later. There have been more wicked kings in English history, but none so unredeemed by any signal greatness or virtue. It is said of him that he was a dissolute and drunken fop, a spendthrift and a gamester, "a bad son, a bad husband, a bad father, a bad subject, a bad monarch, and a bad friend." His word was worthless. It is also said that his courage was doubtful; and his unpopularity, due to his notorious ill-conduct, caused the personal power of the monarch, which was almost at its highest when he became regent, to dwindle almost to a shadow long before he died. He was not, however, without talents, and the grace and amiability he could display when it suited him gained him one of his sobriquets of the "first gentleman in Europe."

The war in the Peninsula was conducted with cautious vigour by Wellington, the title by which henceforth sir Arthur Wellesley was to be known since his elevation to the peerage as a viscount, in reward for his victory at Talavera. When he retired on Portugal after that engagement, he constructed a series of fortifications covering Lisbon, which are famous in military history as the "Lines of Torres Vedras." He carried out his plan of making all the inhabitants retire within these lines, devastating the country they relinquished. Within these formidable lines he entrenched himself and defied the French under marshal Massena (whom he repulsed on the heights of Busaco, September 29, 1810) throughout the following winter months. In 1811, the French finding it impossible to support themselves any longer in a depopulated and devastated country, began to fall back. Instantly Wellington

George's
regency.

His cha-
racter.

The Penin-
sular war.

The "Lines
of Torres
Vedras."

Battle of
Busaco,
September,
1810.

issued from his lines and inflicted two heavy blows upon them in quick succession, himself at Fuentes d'Onoro (May 5), and at Albuera (May 16), through his second in command lord Beresford. Wellington tried to take Badajos, but failed ; next year, however, he took it by storm, though at fearful loss, as also Ciudad Rodrigo. During 1812, Napoleon received a severe check in the far north. In the June of that year he led a vast army of over half a million of men into Russia and occupied Moscow. But the town was burnt over his head, and he had to retreat through the snows of an unprecedentedly hard winter. His troops suffered untold privations, dying by thousands during the retreat ; the Russians too, hung on the flanks of the disorganised masses, cutting off every straggler. Not a tenth of the invading force ever got home. This was the turning point in Napoleon's meteoric career, and the awful disaster in Russia was soon followed by his downfall. In 1813, Wellington continued his victorious career in Spain, slowly but surely forcing the French marshals back upon their own country. A decisive battle was fought at Salamanca, wherein Wellington defeated marshal Marmont with the main army, and retook Madrid. The retreating French concentrated at Vittoria, but Wellington gained there an important victory over marshal Jourdan on June 27, 1813, and after a few months more of hard fighting, during which he subdued St. Sebastian and Pamplona, and repulsed two attempts by marshal Soult to arrest his victorious progress, at the "battle of the Pyrenees," he was in a position to invade French territory in the spring of 1814, when he took the great city of Bordeaux, and inflicted defeats on the French on their own soil at Nivelles, Orthès, and Toulouse. Meanwhile Europe was in arms against "the Corsican Ogre," Russia and Prussia threatening to invade France, and when these powers were joined by Austria, their forces so far outnumbered the troops at Napoleon's disposal, that they were able to inflict a severe defeat upon him at Leipsic (October 18, 1813), after which the allied forces invaded France in January 1814, and soon entered Paris. Thereupon Napoleon was forced to abdicate, and he, at whose feet all the countries of Europe except England had lain prostrate, was fain to content himself with the sovereignty of the tiny island of Elba. The old French monarchy was restored in the person of Louis XVIII., a brother of the ill-fated Louis XVI.

Battles of
Fuentes
d'Onoro and
Albuera,
1811.

Capture of
Badajos and
Ciudad
Rodrigo,
1812.

Battles of
Salamanca,
1813,

And Vittoria.

And other
victories.

Abdication
of Napoleon,
1814.

While Europe was disarming after the titanic struggles which ended with Napoleon's abdication, England had another war on her hands in the New World. The United States of America had a grievance against England, arising from a claim on the part of the latter to search American ships with a view to finding English sailors; the "Orders in Council," too, which were mainly directed against Napoleon's "Berlin Decrees," were considered to have injured American trade. Though these orders had been revoked, the Americans hugged their grievance, and after some years of diplomatic bickering they declared war against England. On land, attempts to invade Canada were repulsed, and two American forces were compelled to surrender; but at sea in duels between single vessels, the republicans scored several small successes. When England was freed from the Peninsular war, her attention was turned to America in earnest, and the Americans suffered defeat at Bladensburg at general Ross's hands, who also burnt Washington, the capital (1814). But at New Orleans the Americans secured a complete victory. It was during this war that the celebrated sea duel took place off Boston, in which the American vessel *Chesapeake* was beaten and captured by an English frigate, the *Shannon*, in the sight of crowds of onlookers on shore. At the end of 1814 a peace was concluded between the two powers, which has remained unbroken till the present day, although on several occasions relations have been very strained. The community of interests of the two peoples, the blood relationship, and the influence of common sense and mutual help and international courtesies in critical moments may be relied upon to preserve the real friendship that now exists between the mother country of England, and her free offspring the United States of America.

While these events were being enacted abroad, at home discontent was rife, because of the depression in trade caused by the inevitable restrictions on commerce entailed by a lengthy war. In May, 1812, Mr. Spenser Percival the prime minister was shot in the lobby of the house of commons, and was succeeded by lord Liverpool. The abuses of the system of representation, as also the existence of pocket boroughs, now engaged public attention, and some measure of reform was loudly demanded. The regent also grew daily more and more unpopular; and his conduct in trying to fasten a charge of immorality on the princess of Wales from whom he had long been separated was gravely disapproved of by the nation. Ministers, too, were

becoming more and more convinced of the necessity of granting relief to the catholics of the United Kingdom; and in Ireland, in particular, the catholics busily organised committees whose object was to enforce their claim to this measure of justice. But the prince regent appeared to vacillate in his opinions from day to day—in the main being decidedly against granting relief to his catholic subjects.

But while England and Europe were at peace and engaged in internal affairs, Napoleon landed once more in France in March, 1815; his old battalions flocked to his standard, and he boldly marched on Paris, whereupon Louis XVIII. fled to Flanders. The powers were at the time met together in the congress of Vienna for the purpose of arranging several international questions; their work was thrown into confusion by the reappearance of Napoleon in the political arena. It became imperative, once for all, to crush Napoleon, who had had himself proclaimed emperor once more, and in a short month's time had organised an army of over half a million of men. No time, therefore, was lost by England and her continental allies in taking steps to oppose the French emperor. Wellington (now a duke), the commander of the British levies, mostly militia; Blucher commanding the Prussians, together with Russian and Austrian forces, hurriedly assembled about a million men in Belgium and on the upper Rhine, and war was proclaimed against Napoleon. Thus forced to fight, he invaded Belgium with amazing celerity, resolving to strike before the allies could concentrate their scattered thousands. This campaign, known from its duration as that of the "Hundred Days," brought Napoleon and Wellington face to face for the first time. On June 16, 1815, the French emperor attacked the Prussians under Blucher at Ligny and compelled them to retire before him. He thought by thrusting his forces between those of Blucher and Wellington to be able to defeat both separately in detail. But Grouchy lost his way in pursuit of Blucher, who was thus able to effect a junction with the English in time to render material aid at the approaching battle of Waterloo. On the same day marshal Ney engaged the duke of Wellington at Quatre Bras but with indecisive result. On the following day Napoleon massed his men before the English position, overjoyed to think that Wellington meant to face him though his troops were of a motley description, and confident therefore that he would deal the hated Englishman

Return of
Napoleon.
The "Hun-
dred Days"
campaign.

Battles at
Ligny, June
16.

Quatre Bras,
June 16.

a crushing blow. On Sunday, June 18, therefore, was fought the memorable battle of Waterloo. Napoleon hurled his troops against the British squares, but the matchless **Waterloo,** courage of the French was met by equally **June 18, 1815.** dogged courage and determination on the part of Wellington's men. For many hours the British resisted all the efforts of Napoleon to dislodge them from their position. At two points, the farms of La Haye Sainte and Hougomont, the carnage was awful, and the capture of La Haye Sainte seemed to make a gap in the English defence; the fate of the battle hung in the balance, but the English clung to their hillside, notwithstanding the terrific cannonade and repeated cavalry charges to which they were subjected. A charge of the famous "Union Brigade" relieved the tension; and at last towards evening, Blucher appeared, pouring a terrible fire into the French flank, and a general advance of the British line drove the French into headlong flight, the Prussians pursuing and inflicting severe loss upon them. The rout was complete, and Napoleon hurried back to Paris, unable to rally his men. Seeing that his chances were gone for ever, Napoleon once more abdicated, and **Napoleon** fled to the coast purposing to escape to America. **abdicates;** But the British fleet was watchful, and he surrendered **surrenders to** himself to the captain of a British man-of-war, the **England;** *Bellerophon*. He was conveyed to the English coast **sent to St.** while a hurried deliberation as to his disposal was **Helena.** held. It was felt that no half measures could be of avail with so unscrupulous a man; accordingly, although he protested against such treatment as a violation of the laws of hospitality, he was sent to St. Helena in mid Atlantic, and there kept prisoner till his death in 1821.

When the great struggle against Napoleon was finally ended, a profound peace fell upon Europe, and the energies of each nation were fully occupied in repairing the loss and damage resulting mainly from the French emperor's insatiable ambition. In England attention was at once turned to internal reforms. Before entering into a consideration of these, it may be well to take a survey of the actual conditions that faced the country. Though Napoleon had endeavoured to ruin our trade, the outcome of his commercial boycott of England was, that our blockade of continental ports had utterly destroyed the mercantile navies of all countries but our own, so that almost the entire bulk of the carrying trade of the world fell to us, and what was meant for our ruin built up our

**Mercantile
prospects in
England.**

commercial prosperity and supremacy. In manufactures, too, England outdistanced all competitors by reason of her application of the powers of steam to industrial purposes long before other nations perceived the time and labour-saving nature of the employment of steam and machinery. But at the same time the lower orders were very poor, and the population was increasing with yearly growing rapidity. The home supply of corn was proving inadequate to feed the population, and yet foreign corn was so heavily taxed as to make its import well nigh impossible. The famine that so often, therefore, threatened them during war time was the cause of several outbreaks of mob violence.

Growth of population and consequent problems.

Various poor laws that had been passed all tended to pauperise the agricultural labourers more and more, throwing their support almost entirely on the rates, till at last the burthen became insupportable to any but the wealthiest of the ratepayers. Discontent was rife, and many feared for a general upheaval such as had so recently been witnessed in France. And yet the earl of Liverpool, the prime minister, was averse to introducing any measure of reform. The whigs, who might have effected something, could now no longer count on support from the prince of Wales, since his assumption of the regency. The passing of corn laws, and the resistance to parliamentary reform, led to various tumults in London, Derby, and elsewhere: but the most serious occurred in August, 1819, at Peterloo, near Manchester, in which a regiment of cavalry was called out, charged the rioters, and, in the panic that ensued, four or five were killed and scores injured. This "massacre," as it was called, so roused some of the more violent mob leaders, that some determined on a wholesale assassination of the ministry. It was called the Cato Street conspiracy, from the place of meeting of the miscreants who were plotting it. They were betrayed, captured after violent resistance, tried and executed for treason. This was the last occasion when any of the ancient barbarities practised in the execution of traitors were carried out.

Poor laws.

Cato Street conspiracy.

The old king died on January 29, 1820, and the prince regent began to rule as actual king, as George IV. At this point it may be well to mention some of the names which shed lustre on the long reign of George III. Captain Cook, the navigator, made many geographical discoveries. Literature was enriched by the poets Goldsmith, Byron, Moore, Campbell, Wordsworth, and Cowper; by the prose writers, Southey and Scott; by the great

lexicographer, Samuel Johnson. Davy made his name in physical science. Parliament produced the orators, Burke, Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, O'Connell, Curran, Grattan, and Canning. Painting and sculpture found gifted exponents in Reynolds, Romney, Gainsborough, Chantrey, Lawrence, Flaxman, and other eminent artists.

George IV. commenced his reign by openly insulting his consort, ordering her name to be erased from the liturgy. He

George IV. had been separated from her for many years. She determined to assert her rights as queen, and prepared to return to England from the continent, where she had resided for several years. He accused her of immoral conduct, but she asked to be confronted with her accusers, and to be

**Royal
conjugal
scandals.** treated as queen consort. The king refused, and wanted parliament to pronounce a divorce. Lord Liverpool brought in a "Bill of Pains and Penalties,"

whose object was to secure the king's wishes, but the public feeling was so strongly in favour of the queen that the bill was withdrawn. At the coronation of George IV. in July, 1821, the queen was excluded by the king's order from Westminster Abbey, her entrance being forcibly barred when she endeavoured to assert her rights. This gross insult so preyed upon her that she fell into a decline and soon died. Riots occurred at her funeral, so strong was the feeling against the king. In 1821 a motion was

**Efforts in
favour of
catholics.** made in parliament in favour of granting the catholic claims for emancipation. A bill actually passed the commons, but was thrown out by the lords : it was not regretted by the catholics, as it contained some

clauses that were of an unsatisfactory and compromising nature. Canning was in favour of granting relief to catholics, and in 1822 proposed that the catholic peers should be allowed to take their seats in the house of lords. This measure passed the commons, but was rejected by the upper house. An amendment of the criminal law was effected in 1823, whereby capital punishment for many minor offences was abolished. The "Navigation Laws," dating from the time of the protectorate, were superseded by various free-trade measures, whose adoption was due to the enlightened policy of Mr. Huskisson, the president of the board of trade.

About this time many of the Spanish colonies in South America revolted from their mother country, and Great Britain acknowledged their independence : but, as a general rule, England abstained from meddling with continental politics and the squabbles

of smaller states. Exception should, however, be made in the case of Greece, which revolted against Turkey in 1824. Money to aid the Greeks was raised in London, and many English volunteers proceeded to Greece to render personal assistance. Lord Byron, the poet, was one of these, but he was before long prostrated with fever, and died at Missolonghi. The cause of the Greeks met with varying success. In 1827, England, France, and Russia interfered, and advised a cessation of hostilities; but Turkey would not listen, and prepared to renew its attack on the Greeks. The combined Turkish and Egyptian fleets were in the bay of Navarino. The allied fleets under admiral Codrington blockaded the Turks and Egyptians. **Battle of Navarino, 1827.** The Turks opened fire on the allies on October 18, 1827. A fierce encounter then ensued, which resulted in the total destruction of the Ottoman fleet. Admiral Codrington certainly exceeded his instructions in bringing on an engagement; but his action saved Greece, and was ratified by public opinion at home.

Earlier in the year lord Liverpool died, and Canning, who succeeded him as prime minister, fully purposed to push on catholic emancipation; but was deserted by his party on this question, and the responsibility so told on him that he sank and died in August, 1827. Catholics owe much to the memory of this great man, for though his views did not embody everything that catholics could wish on the one subject all important to them, yet he undoubtedly paved the way for the victory they won in 1829.

Lord Gooderick succeeded but soon made way for the duke of Wellington, whom the king called to the head of affairs in January, 1828, with Mr. (afterwards sir Robert) Peel **Duke of Wellington prime minister.** as home secretary. He was confronted by much agitation in Ireland, where discontent was openly expressed at the failure of the government to fulfil its promises of emancipation made as long ago as 1800. The foremost agitator in Ireland was a barrister of first-rate abilities, Daniel O'Connell, an orator of great power, an eloquent champion of civil and religious liberty, and a skilful party leader, whose efforts, crowned with success in 1829, and constituting the chief glory of the duke of Wellington's administration, must now be described more in detail.

George III. had repeatedly defeated the measures advocated in parliament for granting emancipation, even though the opponents grew smaller in numbers every time. In fact, so anxious were the ministers to give some relief to the catholics, and so to

secure quiet in Ireland, that a portion of the catholic claims would have been conceded long before they actually were, if only catholics would have consented to receive them clogged with the allowance to the English government of a right of veto in the appointment of catholic bishops. Such a right might have destroyed the freedom of the church, making it, so far, subservient to the state. A section of catholics, anxious only to secure their political freedom, were willing to make these and greater concessions, such as to allow themselves to be called "protesting catholic dissenters;" but Dr. Milner, vicar-apostolic of the midland district, violently opposed any sort of compromise or concession that would fetter the complete liberty of the church; and though he did not live to see the success of his efforts, that liberty was secured. In Ireland, where the number of catholics was large, boards and committees helped to organise and solidify the popular agitation, but these bodies could not bring sufficient weight to bear on public opinion in England. Thus affairs stood till the "Catholic Association," in 1823-4, under the guidance of Daniel O'Connell, Richard Sheil and others, began to make its influence felt. Monster meetings were held all over Ireland; and though O'Connell's agitation was meant by him to be strictly constitutional in its lines, wilder spirits began to utter vague threats of civil war. In 1825 the association was suppressed by act of parliament, but it continued its functions under another name, and was powerful enough to secure the return of O'Connell to parliament for county Clare, in defiance of the existing law. Wellington, fearing civil war as the greatest of evils that could befall a country, and being convinced that the agitation in Ireland would end in nothing less, determined to grant to catholics complete equality of civil rights with their protestant countrymen. The king now expressed himself reluctant to concede so much, but Wellington brought in his bill in the session of 1829, and carried it after long and stormy debates, and the king was at last brought to assent to it and make it law on April 14, 1829. O'Connell who had not hitherto taken his seat for Clare, refusing to take the old oaths, was refused admission on the terms of the new act. But he was again returned for Clare under the new conditions, and so entered parliament, whither he was soon followed by several of his co-religionists who attached themselves to the whig interest.

Emanicipation thus ceasing to be a vexed question, parliamentary reform came to the front, and during 1830 the sessions

were very stormy, reflecting the unrest that then prevailed on the continent, where at the moment the revolutionary spirit was rife. But before any definite conclusion could be arrived at, George IV. died on June 26, 1830. George IV. had an only child, a daughter, the princess Charlotte, who married Leopold of Saxe-Coburg in 1816; but to the grief of the English nation, with whom her popularity was great, she died the following year. The next heir was, therefore, George's brother Frederick, duke of York. But this prince died before king George, leaving no children; so that upon the king's decease, his second brother, William, duke of Clarence, succeeded to the throne. The death of the princess Charlotte caused a flutter in the bachelor royal family: and the sons of George III., then unmarried, hastily sought wives. William thus married Adelaide of Saxe-Coburg-Meiningen in 1818; Edward duke of Kent wedded Victoria of Saxe-Coburg, whose issue was Victoria, afterwards queen of England; Adolphus duke of Cambridge, and Ernest duke of Cumberland also took wives and had issue with now-living descendants.

The succession comes to William, duke of Clarence.

In character, William was a contrast to his brother: he possessed many good qualities; was easy and affable in his intercourse with others; and his practical pursuit of a naval career for some nine years of his early life gained him a popularity which he never forfeited. But his mental gifts were not of a high order, and his attainments were better suited for a country gentleman than for one called to rule over a mighty empire. He was merely a simple, patriotic, kindly old sailor, somewhat eccentric, and fond of making long speeches on any and every possible occasion. On the whole, his conduct, as compared with that of his elder brothers, might be called moral. In contravention of his father's family Act (1772), he had formed a connection with Mrs. Jordan, by whom he had a family of ten children whom, from the first, he recognised, and to whom he gave the surname of Fitz-Clarence. He regarded this connection as fully sanctioned by custom; and society made no difficulty about receiving the Fitz-Clarence family.

William IV.'s character.

The general election that followed William's accession was fatal to the duke of Wellington's ministry; and the king summoned the whigs under lord Grey to undertake the administration. Lord Brougham became lord chancellor, and lords Melbourne and Palmerston were included in the new cabinet.

A whig ministry.

The year of the new king's accession is memorable as having seen the opening of the first English railway, **First railway opened, 1830.** between Liverpool and Manchester; the ceremony, however, was saddened by an accident to Mr. Huskisson, whose death followed a few hours later.

As the king had no family by queen Adelaide, the heir apparent was princess Victoria, daughter of the duke of Kent, who had died shortly after her birth in 1819. When parliament met, a bill was passed vesting the regency in the duchess of Kent, should William die before the princess Victoria had attained her majority. In February, 1831, parliament re-assembled, and lord

Reform Bill agitation. John Russell at once introduced a Reform Bill, which was defeated. The parliament was dissolved:

an appeal to the country sent back the whigs with a large majority; and lord John Russell again introduced his Bill, which passed the lower house but was rejected by the lords. Discontent manifested itself by riots in London, Derby, Nottingham, Bristol, and other places. At Bristol the military had to be called out, nor was the disturbance quelled till many lives had been sacrificed. This explosion of popular feeling emboldened the ministry to bring in the bill a third time; and the lords, scared by recent events, also gave the bill a second reading; but the majority in its favour in the upper house was so small that lord Grey urged the king to create new peers who would support the third reading. On the king's refusal to do this, lord Grey resigned; but the duke of Wellington finding himself unable to form a ministry, lord Grey was recalled. The king took the

Reform Bill passed, 1832. extreme measure of personally writing to peers to urge them to withdraw their opposition; and by this means the Bill was passed, and received the royal assent on June 4, 1832. This most important measure of reform swept away "rotten" and "pocket" boroughs—constituencies of under two thousand inhabitants, or under the influence of individuals who practically held the seats in their gift. Representation was thereafter much more evenly distributed, as decayed towns lost their members, and rising communities received an addition of representatives in proportion to their population. It is only Ireland that is now over-represented at Westminster. The franchise was also equalised throughout England; but it did not extend below the middle classes, being confined to £10 householders.

The state of Ireland engaged public attention in 1833. O'Connell headed a movement for the repeal of the union of

1800. This movement was essentially the same as that now known as home rule. Disturbances took place mainly on the subject of the payment of tithes; for the catholics thought it an injustice that they should be forced to contribute towards the maintenance of the clergy of a religion with which they had no sympathy. To quell rioting, a coercion act was passed in 1833. The following year the questions of repeal and tithe-payments were debated in parliament; but any repeal of the union was negatived by large majorities. An attempt to renew the coercion act of 1833, which was intended to hold good for one year only, was defeated, and led to lord Grey's resignation. He was succeeded in office by lord Melbourne, who passed a less stringent coercion act.

State of
Ireland.

The year 1834 is remarkable for the coming into operation of an act passed the previous year for the abolition of slavery in the British colonies; also for a poor-law which put an end to the particular system of out-door relief which had pauperised the agricultural classes during more than a generation, and had caused the poor rates to rise to a ruinous figure. Henceforth, only the aged and the infirm were to receive out-door relief; able-bodied paupers had to enter the workhouses.

Abolition of
slavery.

Both houses of parliament were destroyed in 1834 by a disastrous outbreak of fire, which was with difficulty prevented from also involving Westminster Abbey and Westminster Hall.

Houses of
parliament
destroyed.

Nothing of great moment occurred during the remainder of William's reign, though some useful legislation was carried relating to the commutation of tithes for a yearly changing sum based on a seven years' average of corn rent-charge; the reduction of newspaper stamp duties; the registry of births, marriages, and deaths; and the marriage of dissenters by ministers of their own persuasion. This last measure removed another religious disability and grievance.

William IV. died on June 20, 1837, leaving a kingdom at peace internally and externally to his niece, Victoria, a girl of eighteen. She assumed the reins of government at once, having but a few weeks before attained her majority; and thus saving the kingdom from the inconveniences of a regency.

Death of
William IV.

CHAPTER XXXIV

QUEEN VICTORIA. 1837-1901

THE princess Alexandrina Victoria, the only child of the duke of Kent, fourth son of George III., succeeded her uncle William IV. on June 20, 1837, having but a month before attained her majority. (In the case of royalty this is at eighteen years of age.) The Salic law in force in Hanover precluded her from the succession to that kingdom, which therefore passed to her uncle Ernest, duke of Cumberland. The final separation of Hanover from England after a connection of one hundred and twenty-three years was readily acquiesced in by both countries; in England it has always been looked upon as an unmixed blessing, as henceforth this country has been freed from all necessity for interfering in the internal politics of Germany. At the time of the queen's accession lord Melbourne had been in office for two years at the head of a whig administration which lasted for another four years. Henceforth the whigs are known in politics as "liberals," and the tories as "conservatives." The term *tory* is still applied to this party; but the term *whig* is seldom, if ever, employed. These early days of the new reign were much occupied with an agitation called chartism, which got its name from a document called "the People's Charter." This political movement had for its object the attainment of several claims which, then looked upon as quite revolutionary in their tendency, have since been accepted as the law of the land, such as vote by ballot, and the abandonment of a property qualification for candidates for seats in the house of commons. Others of the demands have continued to be put forward at various times, as universal suffrage; the payment of members of parliament; and the summoning of annual parliaments. There was much rioting from time to time in connection with this agitation. At the same period popular discontent manifested itself at the continued enforcement of the corn laws, which served

Accession
of queen
Victoria.

Chartism.

Corn laws
and free
trade.

to keep up the price of bread. An anti-corn law league was inaugurated in 1838, and under its chief leaders, Cobden and Bright, worked vigorously in educating public opinion on the subject, until the adoption of the principle of free trade in 1846.

In June, 1838, queen Victoria was crowned in Westminster Abbey; and in February, 1840, was married to her cousin, prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg. Nine children were the issue of this happy marriage, of whom five survive: his present majesty, Edward VII.; Arthur, duke of Connaught; princess Christian (Helen); the duchess of Argyle (princess Louise); and princess Henry of Battenburg (Beatrice). Her other children were: her eldest child, the princess royal (Victoria), married to the then crown prince of Germany, afterwards emperor of Germany, and was the mother of the present emperor William II. Her second son, Alfred, duke of Edinburgh, became duke of Coburg; princess Alice, married the duke of Hesse Darmstadt; and prince Leopold, duke of Albany. The three last named predeceased their mother; the empress of Germany did not survive her many months.

An event of importance early in the reign was the opium war in China. The importation of opium was forbidden by the Chinese court, its use being deleterious to the Chinese people. England, however, considered its prohibition as a menace to the trade of India; and because the mandarins at Canton destroyed a large stock of the drug belonging to English merchants, an army was sent to China to chastise this act, and on the Chinese suing for peace, obtained it on paying a heavy indemnity and ceding Hong-Kong to England (1839-1841). There was also a small war in the eastern Mediterranean. Mehemet Ali, the pasha of Egypt, attempted to shake off the yoke of Turkey's suzerainty, but lord Palmerston looking on Turkey's integrity as essential to England's interests in that quarter, in 1841 sent a fleet to help to subdue the Egyptian rebel. Acre was bombarded. These measures were effectual in attaining their object.

The Melbourne ministry was defeated in 1841, and was succeeded by a conservative government under sir Robert Peel. His term of office was remarkable for the removal of protective duties on a very large number of imports; to balance his revenue, he imposed an income tax which was meant to be merely a temporary measure;

**Coronation
and marriage
of the queen.
Her family.**

**Chinese
opium war.**

**Sir Robert
Peel's ad-
ministration.**

but from that day to this it has never been removed, and has risen to very burdensome percentages on various occasions. His name will also be for ever bound up with the institution of the present splendid police force of this country, which is the admiration of the civilised world.

Ireland was, perhaps, the chief centre of interest during these years. In 1840, Daniel O'Connell commenced an active campaign for the repeal of the union made in 1800. The Irish people were at his back, and in the house he had a solid following of more than forty Irish members whose weight and influence in debate were too powerful to be any longer disregarded. It must be borne in mind that O'Connell never favoured anything but strictly legal and constitutional agitation. But in 1842, a party arose in Ireland which would not be content with O'Connell's methods, and calling itself the "Young Ireland party" it prepared for measures of a rash and dangerous nature. The leaders were Meagher "of the sword," Gavan Duffy, and Smith O'Brien. "Monster meetings" were held by O'Connell in many parts of Ireland in 1843; and at Tara in Meath, it is said that close on a million attended. At one of these gatherings appointed to meet at Clontarf, the government intervened, O'Connell was arrested, tried for sedition and imprisoned, but was ultimately released by a judgment of the house of lords. O'Connell continued his agitation for repeal, but his hold on the Irish people waned, and he died in 1847. He was Ireland's best and wisest friend, for he advocated the employment of moral force only. The repeal organisation was soon weakened, as a split occurred between the advocates of physical force and O'Connell's staunchest followers and disciples.

Ireland; and Irish aspirations. A fearful potato famine occurred in the winter of 1846-1847, and as the potato was the chief article of food for the Irish peasantry, the results were disastrous. Deaths from starvation were numerous, notwithstanding generous money contributions. Thousands also emigrated, and the population of Ireland was diminished by a third, or by more than two millions.

This led to the repeal of the corn laws. The prime minister wished at first only to suspend them in order to import a large quantity of corn from abroad at the cheapest possible rate, to feed the starving peasantry in Ireland. The opposition of the protectionists brought a young member of the house, destined later to hold a commanding place in politics, for the first time to the front. It was Benjamin Disraeli.

The year 1848 saw a revolution in France which drove king Louis Philippe an exile to England. There were also chartist risings in London which for a time gave great anxiety to the ministry, and "special constables" were enrolled to help to keep the peace, should any real outbreak occur. There was also great excitement in Ireland, and Smith O'Brien and others headed a partial insurrection which was soon quelled. The leaders were arrested, tried for treason and sentenced to death; but the final penalty was commuted to one of banishment. Some of the prisoners escaped; and the others were, after a few years, pardoned.

Rising in
Ireland, 1848.

Peel's administration can also be credited with useful educational measures. The annual grant to the catholic ecclesiastical college of Maynooth was increased, although great excitement was aroused amongst bigoted protestants in consequence. Queen's colleges, as they were called, were founded in Belfast, Cork, and Galway, and were formed into a university.

Maynooth
grant.

The revolution in France, in 1848, had not introduced any stable republican government; and the nation, terrified by several anarchical outbreaks, appointed Louis Napoleon, a nephew of the emperor Napoleon I, as dictator. At the close of 1851, this adventurer seized supreme power, and got himself elected emperor, taking the name of Napoleon III. Lord Palmerston, who was at the time secretary for foreign affairs, without any authority from the queen and without consulting his colleagues, wrote a letter to the French ambassador in which he committed the nation to an acquiescence in the *coup d'état* which had just taken place. The queen was so annoyed at this independent action that lord John Russell, then prime minister, dismissed him from office. But in revenge Palmerston engineered the downfall of lord John Russell's administration. The new coalition ministry included the earl of Aberdeen as prime minister, and Mr. Gladstone as chancellor of the exchequer, in which post he first gained his high reputation as a financier.

Louis
Napoleon.
The second
empire.

Lord
Palmerston
dismissed.

It is proper here to review the internal condition of affairs in Great Britain. The penny post introduced in 1840 has helped enormously in increasing communication and commerce. This measure was first suggested and carried out by Mr. Rowland Hill. Railways too covered the land with a network of lines. The rush of speculators for this form of

Penny post.

investment created almost a financial panic in the forties, and many persons were ruined in the depression which followed the period of over-speculation; but the invaluable aid of railways in increasing commerce has helped all the railway companies to emerge financially safe from the ordeal of the railway mania of 1840-1845. Steam navigation also brought the most distant lands into closer connection with England. The introduction of the electric telegraph, and the subsequent laying of ocean cables, has still further united the uttermost parts of the earth. Photography, too, the invention of a M. Daguerre, may certainly be ranked as one of the great improvements belonging to this period.

Means of rapid communication.

The profound peace that followed the disturbances of 1848, enabled a magnificent exhibition of the arts and industries to be held in England in 1851. A huge palace of glass was erected for the purpose in Hyde Park; and at the close of the "Great Exhibition" this structure was removed to Sydenham, and has since been known to all the world as the "Crystal Palace." Factory acts were passed for the protection of women and children, and trades' unions enabled the working and industrial classes to safeguard their own interests.

The Great Exhibition, 1851.

A few words are needed to explain some changes in ecclesiastical affairs which marked this period. With the advent of the Hanoverian dynasty there came over the established church a wave of latitudinarianism and socinianism which killed all spirituality. A sect of fervent reformers, however, arose within the pale of the establishment, whose leader was John Wesley. Although their preaching aroused fervour, it was distasteful to the court prelates, and the position of these enthusiasts in the English church was made untenable; wherefore they formed themselves into a sect apart. Early in the nineteenth century, the trend of opinion in the establishment was towards discarding dogma as much as possible, and giving scope to the widest freedom of opinion.

The established church.

The Oxford Tractarian Movement.

As a reaction against this there arose at Oxford, between 1830 and 1840, a new school of thought of the type of the old Caroline high churchmen. Its leaders were John Keble, Hurrell Froude, Edward Pusey, and John Henry Newman (afterwards cardinal). The followers of this Oxford Movement, as it is called, enforced their views in a series of "Tracts for the Times," and hence were also called tractarians. Their aim was to undo as far as possible

the apostasy of the sixteenth century, and to bring about the acceptance of their theory that the established church of England was the same as the pre-reformation church; and, with this object, insisted on doctrines which had long been foreign to the English national creed, and in support of their position appealed to the teaching of the Fathers and the authority of the early church. Newman even went so far as to endeavour to show that the teaching of the Thirty-nine Articles was compatible with that of the council of Trent. In the result he submitted to Rome, and was followed by large numbers both of clergy and laity. Newman's secession dealt a blow to the establishment, from which she "reeled," as Disraeli expressed it, for years after; but his teaching broke up the old indifferentism, and created a school which has since done much to revivify spirituality in the established church of England. While the nation was still in the turmoil of the religious controversies thus aroused, it was lashed to fury in 1850, led by lord John Russell, over what was termed the "papal aggression." Pius IX. issued a bull on September 29 in that year, restoring the hierarchy. It was a purely spiritual measure affecting catholics alone; but the press and the public did not stop to think; and public meetings were held in many parts of the United Kingdom for the purpose of protesting against the pope's act. Lord John Russell passed an "Ecclesiastical Titles Bill," as a set-off to the papal bull, but it was never enforced and was repealed in 1871. Cardinal Wiseman issued an appeal to the English nation, which had the effect of calming the excitement, and the religious animosity aroused by lord John Russell's rash letter soon died away.

Restoration
of the
catholic
hierarchy,
1850.
The outcry
of papal
aggression.

Thus matters stood in the middle of the nineteenth century, when the peace that had prevailed since Waterloo showed signs of coming to an end. The new emperor of the French feeling unsafe on his throne, and knowing that discontent at home would be best overcome by directing the nation's attention beyond its own borders, was restlessly seeking a cause for war. The czar of Russia too had eyes on the Turkish empire, for Russian diplomacy has always aimed at the entire control of the Black Sea and its outlet into the Mediterranean. The offer was actually made to England of Egypt and Crete, being her proposed share of the division of the Ottoman empire as a bribe to observe neutrality. The bribe was rejected; and since a cardinal point of British diplomacy has always been to guarantee the integrity of the Turkish empire as a check on Russia's power in the eastern Mediterranean, war against

Russia was inevitable. The actual cause of war was extremely trivial, arising out of a quarrel between some Latin and some Greek clergy in Palestine, respecting the guardianship of the holy places. Russia backed the claims of the Greek clergy;

Crimean war.

at once Louis Napoleon saw his chance, and by supporting the Latins upheld the French claim to protect the interests of catholics in the east. The sultan was threatened from both sides, and finally decided in favour of France and her *protégés*. Czar Nicholas demanded to be recognised as protector of all Greek Christians within the Turkish dominions. Such a preposterous request was naturally rejected, whereupon Nicholas invaded Turkish territory late in 1853; and shortly after, the Turkish fleet was almost destroyed by the Russians off Sinope on the Black Sea. Though England was not anxious for a war with Russia, the danger to Turkey assumed so great proportions, that on the strength of old treaties, England and France went to the sultan's assistance, and fleets from both countries sailed to the Black Sea and proceeded to blockade the harbour of Sebastopol in the Crimea, while a British fleet threatened St. Petersburg in the Baltic, although no really

Battle of the Alma, September, 1854.

serious operations were there undertaken. War was declared on Russia in March, 1854, but it was not till September 7 that the allied armies landed in the Crimea. On September 20, the river Alma was forced, mainly by the valour of the British troops, and the siege of Sebastopol was begun. The battle of the Alma was followed by

Battles of Balaclava and Inkerman.

that of Balaclava, in which occurred the memorable charge of the Light Brigade (October 25), and that of Inkerman, called the "soldiers' battle," because the Russians surprised the British camp, and the men fought almost without guidance, and won by sheer valour (November 5). In all these encounters the British troops had,

Siege of Sebastopol.

though at heavy loss to themselves, handsomely beaten the Russians. Had the leading of the allies been better, Sebastopol might have fallen: but

Totleben, an engineer of first-rate reputation, doggedly defended the town, and the winter, which was a peculiarly severe one, inflicted untold hardships on the investing troops. The whole of the commissariat department was a disgraceful failure; and sickness, death, want, and insufficient clothing decimated the British forces. The outcry occasioned by the revelations of newspaper correspondents brought about the resignation of lord Aberdeen and the duke of Newcastle. Lord Palmerston, who

succeeded, infused new vigour into the struggle; and at last, in September, 1855, Sebastopol was abandoned to the allies. The czar Nicholas had died early in the year; his son Alexander II. bowing to the inevitable, sued for peace; and early in 1856, the object of the war was attained by the treaty of Paris, which guaranteed the existence of the Ottoman empire. This war was remarkable for the share women took in nursing the sick and disabled soldiers. Miss Nightingale organised a body of lay-nurses; and catholic nuns took their share in the noble work of alleviating suffering. The Victoria Cross was instituted during this war as the reward of conspicuous bravery.

**Treaty of
Paris, 1856.**

**Institution of
the "Victoria
Cross" for
valour.**

The rejoicings which followed the conclusion of peace were disturbed by a small war with Persia, in which a diminutive British force brought the shah of that eastern state to reason. In China, too, trouble arose over the seizure of a trading vessel, and a British fleet seized Canton, and also the Taku forts commanding the road to Peking. The French aided England in this task, and an indemnity was extracted from the emperor of China.

**Trouble with
Persia and
with China.**

But internal peace in the British dominions was rudely disturbed by the great Indian Mutiny, which broke out in 1857. A brief survey of our history in the East will bring events in that quarter of the globe into one purview. There had been on the whole peace in the East since the Mahratta war at the dawn of the century, the dealings with native princes having been effected more by diplomacy than by the sword. In 1838, however, the policy of the then governor-general of India, lord Auckland, was to counteract Russian intrigue in Afghanistan, and to effect this purpose he determined on restoring Shah Sujah to the Afghan throne, from which he had been driven by Dost Mahomed, the tool of Russia. A British force pushed its way through the frontier fastnesses, took Candahar, stormed Ghuznee, and, entering Cabul (1839), reinstated shah Sujah. But the Afghans secretly combined against their conquerors, and in 1841 rose suddenly against the British, massacred many of them, forced the remainder to retreat, harassed and cut off stragglers in the Khyber Pass, and only one man, Dr. Brydon, managed to make his way to Jelalabad, and impart the tidings of the disaster which had destroyed an army. Shah Sujah was assassinated, and, with the exception of the fortresses of Candahar and Jelalabad, the whole

**Indian
affairs.**

**First Afghan
war.**

of Afghanistan was wrested from British occupation. A new army, however, forced its way through the dreaded Khyber Pass, and retook Cabul after defeating the Afghans. But Dost Mohamed was allowed to occupy the throne from which it had been our will, formerly, to eject him. When this war was ended, lord Ellenborough, who had succeeded lord Auckland, as governor-general, annexed Scinde. In 1845, the Sikhs attacked the British, and the Punjaub and Oude. battles of Ferozeshah, Sobraon, Chillianwallah, and Guzerat had to be fought before the Sikhs finally submitted in 1849. The Punjaub was then annexed; this event was followed by a war in Burmah, in 1852, and in 1856, lord Dalhousie, then governor-general, annexed Oude, deposing the king on account of his wretched misgovernment. This created great resentment amongst the Indians, and in 1857, the native soldiers of Bengal (generally known as sepoys) mutinied under the pretext that their cartridges had been greased with fat of oxen and pigs, which are an abomination to the Hindoo and Mahomedan respectively. The first outbreak was at Meerut (May 10, 1857), and several native regiments joined in the revolt. The mutiny quickly assumed alarming proportions, and Delhi, the ancient capital of India, was occupied by the insurgents. A fearful massacre of British, many of them women and children, was perpetrated by the sepoys at Cawnpore; but after heroic efforts the rebellion was quelled, not, however, till Lucknow had held out against the rebels investing it for nearly three months before it was relieved. Delhi, too, stood a siege of fourteen weeks at the hands of the British before it fell to their reckless assault in September. This mutiny made the fame of many British soldiers and civilians, as, Havelock, Outram, Hodson, and Nicholson, Henry and John (afterwards lord) Lawrence. It was in this struggle that lord Roberts, then a subaltern, won the V.C., and mounted the first rung of the ladder of fame. Sir Colin Campbell (afterwards lord Clyde) became commander-in-chief of the operations, and to his skilful dispositions the victory over the mutineers was finally attributable. When the mutiny was at last quelled, the East India Company was abolished by act of parliament in 1858, and the administration of India passed to the crown. Lord Canning, the last governor-general, became the first viceroy, and under him and his successors, India has grown really loyal to the British throne; disturbances have been rare, and prosperity would have been

continuous but for the scourge of the country—periodical droughts, which are succeeded by most fearful famines with their accompanying horrors and misery.

At home, our amicable relations with France were on the verge of rupture, as the outcome of Orsini's attempt, in 1858, to assassinate the emperor Napoleon. Orsini had made the preparations for his crime in London, and this violently incensed the French press and army. The outcry foolishly raised against England was met on this side of the Channel by the formation of numerous volunteer corps, whose strength has always since been kept up to about two hundred thousand men, and at periods of war-scares has invariably risen to a considerably higher figure. Lord Palmerston introduced a bill making it felony to conspire within the British dominions against the life of a foreign ruler. The country considered his action as an act of subserviency to the clamour in France, and rejected it, whereupon Palmerston resigned office, and lord Derby took his place. Fortunately the scare caused by the angry and menacing attitude of France quickly blew over, and the attention of the French was soon engaged elsewhere; for, in 1859, war broke out between France and Austria. In this war Austria suffered severe defeats at Magenta and Solferino, and peace was concluded on the condition that Lombardy was ceded to Sardinia; but Napoleon took Nice and Savoy from the Sardinians as the price of his interference on their behalf. Revolutions took place in many parts of Italy, and several smaller states were incorporated in the kingdom of Sardinia. Even some of the papal states were seized; and Naples, invaded by Garibaldi, passed to Victor Emmanuel, who now took the title of king of Italy. But Napoleon sent troops to guard Rome, and thus prevented Cavour, the Italian minister, from just then effecting the absorption of the whole of Italy into the new kingdom, which by open robbery he had manufactured for his master, Victor Emmanuel.

Another war with China broke out in 1860, and Pekin was captured. In 1861 the prince consort died. He had been whole-souled in his devotion to the queen and the best interests of his adopted country; but he never became a favourite with the English people, who, somehow, always distrusted him and his motives; for it was felt that the weight of his influence with the queen tended to the ascendancy of German interests in the guidance of our foreign policy: and this has at all times been distasteful to the sentiment of the nation.

**Formation
of volunteer
corps.**

**Second
Chinese
war.
Death of
the prince
consort.**

A great civil war broke out between the northern and southern states of the North American republic in 1861. The southern states seceded from the union, and proclaimed themselves independent under the name of the confederate states of America. The cause of quarrel was their desire to retain the institution of slavery, which the northern or federal states wished to abolish. The struggle ended in victory for the north in 1865, but it had a serious effect on British commerce and manufactures. English sympathy was at first with the south, and lord Palmerston, then in office, felt, moreover, bound to acknowledge the confederate states as a belligerent power. The northern states were bitterly offended, and war nearly resulted. In 1862, a northern cruiser stopped a British steamer, and forcibly took therefrom two confederate deputies on their way to Europe. This was a flagrant violation of the law of nations with regard to neutrals. Lord Palmerston threatened war if the prisoners were not given up, and troops were actually sent to Canada to be in readiness; but the American president gave way before it was too late, and war was thus happily averted. Another cause of dispute between the two countries was over the *Alabama*, a ship built in England, and which the federal government asserted was for the use of the confederates. Its detention was not effected, and the fears of the federals were justified, for it turned out to be a privateer, and did much damage to vessels belonging to the north. Claims for compensation to a large amount (three million pounds) were made against England on account of our slackness in the matter, and when submitted to arbitration, the award was adverse to us. The American civil war hit English industries very hard in another way. The Lancashire cotton mills were supplied almost wholly from the southern states. On the outbreak of war the federals blockaded the southern ports, and the supplies of raw cotton were cut off. As a consequence the mills were closed, and the operatives were reduced to the verge of starvation, till supplies could be procured in sufficient quantities from India and Egypt.

In 1863 the prince of Wales married princess Alexandra of Denmark. From her first landing on our shores she captivated the hearts of her adopted countrymen, and in the unequal struggle which took place between Denmark and Germany in 1864 over the duchy of Schleswig-Holstein, British sympathy was on the side of the smaller and weaker power. English diplomatists, however, did not meddle in the dispute, and Germany robbed Denmark of the

**Marriage of
the prince
of Wales.**

coveted territory, unchecked. The year 1865 saw the death of cardinal Wiseman. This great ecclesiastic had for a long time occupied a prominent position, not only amongst catholics, but in the estimation of all his countrymen. His courageous attitude during the angry outcry that followed the restoration of the hierarchy in 1850 had won him the respect of Englishmen of all classes and creeds; and when the animosity occasioned by it had died away, he was welcomed at the leading literary assemblies before which he was frequently invited to lecture. His funeral was one of the largest ever seen, being in fact second only in importance to that witnessed on the death of the great duke of Wellington in 1852; and his body was borne to its grave through seven miles of thronged streets amid every demonstration of universal respect. Lord Palmerston also died in 1865, after having filled during several years the office of prime minister. Earl Russell (formerly lord John Russell) succeeded to power, and had as his chancellor of the exchequer and leader in the house of commons, Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Gladstone introduced a new Reform Bill which was defeated, and the ministry resigned. Lord Derby became prime minister and Mr. Disraeli leader in the lower chamber. This government successfully introduced a Reform Bill which reduced the franchise qualifications both in towns and counties, and gave lodgers a vote. A small war in Abyssinia was undertaken in 1867, and brought to a successful termination. The following year nearly saw civil war in Ireland, where there existed an organisation known as fenianism, which was steadily gaining strength, not only there, but throughout Great Britain. Simultaneous risings all over the country were planned; and aid was looked for from the numerous Irish Americans who were expected to flock over and join in any insurrection. Even an invasion of Canada was projected; but want of unity amongst the leaders resulted in a series of fiascos. In an attempt at Manchester to rescue two fenian prisoners, a constable was shot. Three men accused of the deed were hanged, and have since been looked upon by their sympathisers as the "Manchester Martyrs." In London, a party of fenians attempted to release some of their number detained in Clerkenwell prison, by blowing down a portion of the wall; but the only result of the explosion was the loss of several lives in the neighbourhood. These events called English attention more particularly to Irish grievances, and Gladstone, seeing that the

Deaths of
Wellington,
Wiseman,
and
Palmerston.

Fenianism.

The "Man-
chester
Martyrs."

existence of a protestant established church in a practically catholic country was a real grievance, brought up that question,

Irish reforms.

defeated the government on it, and on coming into power as prime minister, passed the measure of Irish disestablishment, in 1869. In 1870 he also

carried a land act which removed some of the evils hitherto complained of, the peasantry being mere tenants-at-will, at rack rents; but the new act granted tenants a right to equitable compensation for improvements effected on their holdings; and facilities for purchase were also afforded. A further act was passed later to fix fair rents, and generally to adjust certain omissions which in the process of working were found to detract from the perfection

State-aided education.

of the former measure of reform. In 1870 public attention was centred on the question of state-aided education.

School Boards.

School Boards were established to supervise education furnished by a levy on the rates, but without

reference to religious distinctions. The Boards were bound to provide sufficient school accommodation wherever it was needed, and attendance at school was made compulsory. Such a system had its drawbacks from a catholic point of view, and the catholics, though forced to support Board schools by their contribution

Vote by ballot.

through the rates, continued to maintain their own schools unimpaired, though heavily handicapped by their rate-aided rivals. Another important measure

belonging to 1870 was the introduction of secret voting by ballot for parliamentary and municipal elections.

The absorbing event of this year, 1870, however, was the sanguinary war that broke out in July between France and

Franco-Prussian war, 1870.

Germany, in which Napoleon, after suffering several crushing defeats, was made prisoner at Sedan with eighty thousand troops on September 2. A republic

was thereupon set up, which has managed to subsist to the present day. The various German petty states banded themselves together under the leadership of Prussia, whose king has thenceforth borne the title of emperor of Germany.

A great reorganisation of the British army was effected in 1872; and the purchase of commissions was abolished. This far-reaching reform was due to lord Cardwell.

In 1873 Mr. Gladstone attempted to pass an Irish education bill, and on his defeat by a narrow majority, resigned. Disraeli refused to form a cabinet, and Gladstone resumed office. A successful little war in 1874 against the king of Ashanti on the Gold Coast, first brought sir Garnet (afterwards lord Wolseley)

prominently into notice. At the dissolution of parliament in that year, the general elections gave an overwhelming majority to the conservatives, whereupon Disraeli became prime minister, and continued to occupy that post for the next six years. The key note of his policy was the creation of the spirit which has since received the name of *Imperialism*, and which consisted in defending the honour and interests of Great Britain throughout the world, and laying the foundations of a federation between the mother country and her colonies abroad, which should be strong enough to be able to withstand the commercial and political jealousy of the rest of the world.

**Disraeli's
government.**

In 1875, the prince of Wales paid a highly successful visit to the great Indian dominions of the British crown; and in 1878 Disraeli added to the queen's style and titles that of Empress of India, and she was so proclaimed with every circumstance of pomp and state at a great durbar of native princes held at Delhi by lord Lytton, then viceroy of India.

**Prince of
Wales visits
India. The
queen
declared
Empress of
India.**

The journey to India which had formerly to be made by sea round the Cape of Good Hope, or by what was known as the overland route, had been shortened and revolutionised by the opening, in 1868, of the Suez Canal joining the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. The control of this waterway became of paramount importance to England on account of her vast interests in India and the east. Lord Beaconsfield (as Disraeli had now become) effected a great

**The Suez
Canal.**

coup in 1878, when the khedive proposed to sell the Egyptian shares in the Suez Canal company. Beaconsfield forestalled all buyers and secured them for England for £4,000,000; and their possession gives Great Britain that authoritative position on the board of management which her stake in the east demands.

In 1877 Russia once more attacked Turkey; and though England took no active part in that war, a naval demonstration in the Dardanelles made it clear to Russia that our government was prepared to do so should the necessity arise. Disraeli, now become the earl of Beaconsfield, went with the marquess of Salisbury to attend the conference of powers there assembled; they returned from it triumphantly, having secured "peace with honour" and a diplomatic success, inasmuch as Cyprus was ceded to England, thus affording a valuable naval station in the eastern Mediterranean.

**Russo-
Turkish
war, 1877.**

**Salisbury to
The Berlin
Conference.
"Peace with
Honour."**

At home Ireland once more became a source of trouble and anxiety, for during Beaconsfield's ministry there arose a party in the English house of commons desirous of reviving an Irish parliament in Dublin independent of that sitting at Westminster. A barrister named Butt was the founder of what came to be known as the "Home Rule" party; but the leadership soon passed into other hands.

The war against Russia, in Europe, which was with difficulty averted in 1878, nevertheless brought about a sharp struggle in the east. Shere Ali, the ameer of Afghanistan, was found to be intriguing with the Russians, so that lord Lytton, the Indian viceroy, tried to force on that potentate the signing of a treaty of alliance with Great Britain, and the admission of a British resident or advisory minister at Cabul. On Shere Ali's refusal, a force under general Roberts marched from India into Afghanistan, and the ameer fled, but died shortly after; and a treaty was made in 1879 with his son Yakoob Khan, who succeeded him, and a British resident was duly appointed. A mob-outbreak resulted in the massacre of the resident and his escort, and a second invasion for punitive purposes was at once undertaken. Roberts held his own at Cabul; but another force was cut to pieces at Maiwand, only half of it getting back to Candahar. This remnant was saved only by a rapid and masterly march made from Cabul by Roberts.

Another war, this time in South Africa, was waged against the Zulus under king Cetewayo, in which the British forces suffered some disastrous reverses, notably at Isandula. In the end, the Zulus were subdued. The Prince Imperial, son of the late ex-emperor Napoleon III., volunteered for service in this campaign, and, to the universal sorrow of the British nation, lost his life therein. These checks to British prestige weakened the power of the conservative ministry, which was also greatly harassed by the Irish party under its astute leader, Charles Parnell, who adopted obstructive tactics in parliament and nearly succeeded in bringing the government of the country to a standstill. Lord Beaconsfield accordingly dissolved parliament in the summer of 1880; and the general election that followed giving the majority to the liberals, he made way for Mr. Gladstone, who then entered on his second term of office.

The Boers of the Transvaal in South Africa, which country had recently been annexed to the empire, revolted and inflicted a

disastrous defeat on a small British force at Majuba Hill (February 27, 1880); whereupon Mr. Gladstone made peace with them and granted them their independence. This policy, interpreted as weakness by the Cape Dutch, fostered amongst them aspirations for a United States of South Africa; and—with the discovery of gold in the Transvaal, and more recent events—undoubtedly paved the way for the long and sanguinary struggle which began in 1899.

First Boer
war, 1880.

A military revolt also took place in Egypt in 1882, under the leadership of one Arabi Pasha, whose local influence was very great. The *emeute* aroused fears for the open navigation of the Suez Canal; and England's paramount stake therein made it imperative that instant action should be taken to secure its safety.

Revolt in
Egypt.

A fleet proceeded to Alexandria, and as Arabi refused to desist from his attempts to fortify that city, it was bombarded; and as the Egyptians began to pillage the place, a force was landed for its protection. A large body of troops was despatched from England under sir Garnet Wolseley,

who, after several minor engagements, finally defeated Arabi at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir. Arabi soon after surrendered with his entire army and expiated his rebellion by a twenty years' exile in Ceylon. France

Battle of
Tel-el-Kebir,
1882.

and England had had equal shares in the control of Egypt up to the period of this outbreak; but France declined to co-operate in the suppression of Arabi's rebellion, and England has in consequence refused her neighbour any further part in the subsequent administration of that country. Mr. Gladstone gave assurances that the British army of occupation would be withdrawn after a limited period; but circumstances have supervened rendering the fulfilment of this undertaking well-nigh impossible. England has in consequence been constantly accused of bad faith. The occupation seems likely to be permanent, is of the nature of a protectorate, and has conferred nothing but benefit on Egypt in every way.

The chief reason for the continuance of the occupation of Egypt after the term more than once defined, has been the trouble which arose in the Soudan, a vast tract of country lying to the south of Egypt. A fanatic in that district, taking advantage of the revolt under Arabi, proclaimed himself the *Mahdi*, a prophet whose advent had long been looked for by the Mussulmans.

Soudan war.
Attempted
relief of
Gordon.
Battle of
Abu-Klea.

A detachment under general Hicks was cut to pieces by this man's followers. General Charles Gordon was thereupon

sent to the Soudan as governor, having won a great reputation as a wise and capable administrator. When he reached Khartoum, unaccompanied by troops, he was there beleaguered by the Mahdist hordes. After much dilatoriness, Gladstone at last decided to send a small expedition to the Soudan to relieve Gordon. This force, under the command of lord Wolseley, made a magnificent march across a desert after pushing its way up the Nile in a flotilla of whale boats. It defeated the Mahdi in a severe engagement at Abu-Klea ; but all to no purpose ; just at the time of this battle, the Madhi's followers stormed Khartoum and massacred the British governor. This necessitated the retirement of the relieving force, and the Soudan was left unprotected to the unspeakable cruelties of the Mahdi's fanatics. The abandonment of Gordon to his fate—for the nation so interpreted the extraordinary delay in sending an expedition to his relief—cast a slur on Gladstone's ministry. The reputation of the liberals suffered so severe a blow that they have never till now recovered from it ;

**Unrest in
Ireland.**

and renewed trouble in Ireland still further weakened their prestige and their hold on the country. A bill to secure compensation for disturbance to evicted tenants, brought in in 1880, was thrown out in the house of lords ; but a land bill introduced the following year with the purpose of fixing the value of rents was carried. The discontent in Ireland began to find vent in violence. A "Land League" was founded ; and for the attainment of the objects aimed at, some more ardent spirits had recourse to terrorism and boycotting. Many of the parliamentary leaders, including Parnell, were arrested and imprisoned. At last, in June, 1882, the secretary for Ireland and his under secretary were murdered in Phoenix Park by some members of a secret society calling themselves "Invincibles." The whole country was alarmed ; and it was thought necessary to pass a crimes act rapidly through parliament in order to cope with the situation.

In 1884, another Reform Bill came before the country, giving the agricultural labourer a vote. The house of lords threw it out, as it was considered unwise to make any further change in the franchise

**"Redistri-
bution of
Seats" Act.**

without a revision of the representation. This amendment was adopted, and resulted in the creation of an extended franchise and the passing of the "Redistribution of Seats" act. In 1885, the balance of power as represented by the voting strength of the liberals and the conservatives was so even that the scale could be turned either way by the combination of one party and independent members. The Irish "home-rulers" quickly perceiving the advantage that

thus lay within their grasp, joined the conservatives on a budget vote and defeated the government. Gladstone resigned, and Lord Salisbury undertook the task of forming a cabinet. But as the balance of parties remained unchanged he dissolved parliament. The general election that followed still left the two parties very nearly balanced, and the Irish members were not slow to turn out the conservatives early in 1886. On his return to office, Mr. Gladstone attached the Irish members to his party by a promise of granting home rule to Ireland. Such a prospect proved too severe a strain on the loyalty of the liberal rank and file. Many of his followers seceded ; and the home rule bill which was then introduced into parliament was strenuously opposed, and voted against by scores of liberal members. Mr. Gladstone had no alternative but to offer his resignation ; and at the appeal to the country which ensued, a new party called "liberal unionists" came into being, which at once entered into close alliance with the older conservatives on the common ground of opposition to a grant of home rule to Ireland. Lord Salisbury was recalled to office, and remained in power till 1892. In 1887, queen Victoria attained her "golden" jubilee as sovereign of the British dominions, and the event was celebrated with great rejoicings throughout the vast empire, and with unexampled splendour in London. The year 1892 was marked by the death of the duke of Clarence (January 14), eldest son of the prince of Wales, and, therefore, in the direct line of succession to the throne. In June, 1892, parliament was dissolved after a life of just six years, and the general election which followed resulted in the return of a majority of members favourably inclined towards home rule. Lord Salisbury thereupon resigned, and the queen summoned Mr. Gladstone to fill the post of prime minister for the fourth time. In fulfilment of his pledges he passed a home rule measure in the house of commons after prolonged and stormy debates, but it was rejected in the house of lords on September 8, 1893, by the decisive majority of three hundred and seventy-eight. Mr. Gladstone resigned the premiership in March, 1894, owing to his advanced age and failing health ; from which time till his death on May 19, 1898, this great statesman lived in retirement, and was then accorded a national funeral in Westminster Abbey. The queen chose the earl of Rosebery as his successor. His short tenure of office—less than five months—was marked by a great change at the war office, whereby the

The "Home Rule" Bill.

Gladstone resigns. Formation of "Liberal Unionist" party.

Home Rule passed in the commons, rejected by the lords.

queen's cousin, the aged duke of Cambridge, was relieved of the commandership-in-chief of the army. The future tenure of this important post was henceforth to be limited to five years, thus destroying the hitherto accepted fiction that that official was the sovereign's permanent personal deputy. Lord Rosebery's government fell in consequence of a debate as to an insufficiency of warlike stores, (specifically of cordite); and the conservatives coalescing with the liberal unionists, a strong "unionist" majority

"Unionist" coalition cabinet. was returned at the general election then held, and has continued in power up to the present time.

This coalition has proved happy and harmonious, and has been specially marked by an immense increase of the imperial spirit both at home and in the colonies under the wise policy pursued by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in his control of the colonial office. A small punitive expedition to Ashanti became necessary towards the end of the year 1895. On

The queen's "Diamond" Jubilee. September 23, 1896, queen Victoria achieved the distinction of having reigned longer than any other English sovereign. In 1897, her "diamond" jubilee

was celebrated with great pomp, special emphasis being laid upon the extension of the empire during her long rule, now recognised as one of the most imposing characteristics of her reign. Representatives of the military and naval forces both of the British isles and of all the colonies and dependencies paraded in state through miles of London streets, preceding the queen who rode attended by the royal family, envoys from foreign states, and by Indian feudatory princes.

Between 1897 and 1899, several punitive expeditions became necessary on the north-west frontiers of India, where the robber

Small wars in India. bands infesting those mountain districts had been giving considerable trouble. It also now became possible, after long years of careful preparation, to

make a final effort to crush the Mahdi and restore peace and prosperity to the Soudan. A force composed of British and

The Soudan. Battle of Omdurman, 1898. Egyptian troops under the command of sir Herbert Kitchener advanced up the Nile, and after preliminary operations put an end to the long drawn-out

rebellion in the Soudan by inflicting a decisive defeat on the Mahdists at the battle of Omdurman on September 2, 1898, and thus restored to Egypt the greater part of the territory that had been lost in 1883. The event, however, that overshadowed the last days of the great queen was a war in South Africa. Gold had been found in large quantities in the Transvaal, and this

discovery, naturally, had brought to that country large numbers of British subjects and others, who worked the mines for the precious metal ; and vast sums of British capital were invested in these mining speculations. But the "outlanders," as they were locally called, were subjected to unfair and annoying treatment at the hands of the Boer government and its officials ; the taxation, too, imposed upon them was not only out of all proportion to that at which the Boer "burghers" were assessed, but carried with it no representation in the government. Various appeals were made from time to time to the home government with a view of securing more favourable treatment on its intervention ; but with no success. It was even alleged, with what truth has never been satisfactorily determined, that the outlanders' agitation for reform which brought down on them the displeasure of the Boer government, was not only endangering their own lives and liberties, but even those of their wives and families. At last, a body of irregular horsemen gathered on the Rhodesian and Transvaal borders under Dr. Jameson and other leaders, and made a dash for Johannesburg, hoping to secure the co-operation of the outlanders there, and with their help to seize the arsenal at Pretoria. This criminal "raid" failed ; and after a sharp fight, the raiders were defeated by the Boers at Krugersdorp, and the remnant of the force was compelled to surrender. Many outlanders, accused of complicity with the raiders were imprisoned and put on their trial for treason, six of whom were condemned to death, the rest being heavily fined. The six were reprieved, fined in £20,000 apiece, and banished. But the ill-feeling produced by this invasion was not calmed, and the foolish attempt gave the Boers an excuse for making extensive warlike preparations out of all proportion to the need of providing against any similar attack in the future, and evidently aimed solely at England ; for since their victory at Majuba Hill, the Boers had systematically despised the British and were determined to expel them from South Africa, dreaming of being able to create a united Dutch South Africa. The British government not only put the Raid leaders on trial and sentenced them to various terms of imprisonment, but also made long and patient efforts to secure by negotiation with the government of the South African Republic (the Transvaal) more equitable treatment for the very large population of outlanders, principally British subjects, there resident. It was clear that the Boers meant to engage in war : the conferences fell through ; and

The great
Boer war,
1899-1902.

The causes
that led to it.

The "Jameson
Raid."

after an insolent ultimatum issued by president Kruger, hostilities commenced by the invasion of British territory on October 11, 1899. The Orange Free State, with which up to that moment Great Britain had no shadow of quarrel, threw in its lot with the Transvaal, and the united forces of the two republics endeavoured to drive the British to the coast or entirely from the country. They invested Ladysmith in Natal, which was relieved only after months of arduous campaigning, during the course of which the British arms suffered several severe reverses, notably at Colenso and Spion Kop. Mafeking and Kimberley on the western side of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State were also besieged, but both were ultimately relieved. Great disasters occurred to the British forces at Magersfontein, Stormberg, Sanna's Post, and other places. So serious, indeed, was the outlook at one period, that it became necessary to send out lord Roberts as commander-in-chief, in order to restore confidence. After many vicissitudes the British arms began gradually to prevail. Lord Roberts made a magnificent advance through the Orange Free State; surrounded a force of four thousand men under general Cronje at Paardeberg, and reduced it to surrender; the same fate befell seven thousand men under Prinsloo; and the two capitals of Bloemfontein and Pretoria were successively occupied. Lord Roberts then returned to England, leaving the completion of the work of subjugation to his chief-of-the-staff lord Kitchener (ennobled after his victory at Omdurman). As a reward for his eminent services, lord Roberts was created an earl, and the queen also conferred a Garter upon him. This was her last public act; for a few days later her strength failed, and she died at Osborne in the Isle of Wight on January 22, 1901, after a long and glorious reign of sixty-three and a half years.

In accordance with a dominant sentiment of her life, the venerable queen was carried to her last resting-place with military honours. On February 1, the royal remains were borne from Cowes to Gosport through lines of battle-ships which fired a last salute. The next day they were removed to London and borne on a gun carriage from Victoria station to Paddington through dense crowds of her sorrowing subjects. In the military procession which preceded the funeral *cortège* every branch of the navy and army was represented, while immediately behind the coffin rode king Edward VII. supported on one side by his brother the duke of Connaught, and on the other by his nephew the emperor William II. of Germany. These were followed by the kings of Portugal and Greece, most of the late queen's grandsons,

Death of
queen

Victoria,
January 22,
1901.

and members of every royal family in Europe. The funeral service took place, in the afternoon, in St. George's chapel, Windsor, with imposing solemnity; and two days later the coffin was removed thence privately to the mausoleum at Frogmore, and there deposited in the sarcophagus which already held the remains of prince Albert, the consort of the late queen. No British sovereign has ever been more sincerely mourned, both for her own virtues and personal character; and the passion of loyalty with which she inspired her people was due partly to her venerable age, but was largely the outcome of a wider and nobler conception of the dignity of the British monarchy which has sprung from the development of the colonies and dependencies of the crown, and becomes one of the most precious heritages of her successors.

The new king, hitherto known as Albert Edward, prince of Wales, and always most popular with his countrymen, was at once proclaimed king as Edward VII. By Act of Parliament (1 Edward VII. ch. 15) the customary **Accession of Edward VII.** style and title of the sovereign was altered, and now runs: "King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the Colonies and Dependencies thereof, and Emperor of India." His marriage has already been referred to. The issue was three sons and three daughters. The eldest son, prince Edward, duke of Clarence, predeceased his father; prince George, who entered the naval service and was created duke of York by queen Victoria, succeeded his father; the third son died in infancy. Of his daughters, the eldest, princess Louise, married the earl of Fife (who was then raised to the dukedom). After her father's accession, he created her princess Royal; princess Victoria remained unmarried; and princess Maud was united in marriage with prince Charles of Denmark, who was elected king of Norway in 1907, and assumed the name of Haakon VII.

The king's advent to the throne was in the midst of war's alarms; but after further desultory fighting in South Africa, which continued for eighteen months after lord Roberts' return, lord Kitchener, who had succeeded to the supreme command, at last so broke up **End of the Boer war, May 31, 1902.** and starved out the Boers that they were induced to surrender, and, on May 31, 1902, the campaign which had lasted for nearly two years and eight months at a cost to the nation of 23,000 lives and 213 millions in treasure, was concluded by the peace signed at Vereeniging. The territories of

the two Republics were annexed during the war ; but the Liberal Ministry which came into office in 1906 granted the United Provinces of South Africa self-government in 1907. This measure met with much opposition as likely to forfeit all the hard-gained fruits of the late war ; but the subsequent course of events in South Africa gives hope that it was justified.

The king's coronation was fixed for June 26, 1902 ; vast preparations were made for carrying out the imposing ceremony with befitting pomp and circumstance ; representatives gathered in London from all the courts and from every corner of the wide-flung British Empire ; but on June 24, the greatest consternation was caused by the unexpected announcement that the king was seriously ill, and that a surgical operation of extreme gravity had become immediately necessary. The operation was entirely successful ; and as the king made a rapid recovery, the coronation of his most excellent majesty and of his gracious consort queen Alexandra took place on August 9, 1902, in Westminster Abbey, shorn, indeed, of some of the splendour that had been in contemplation in the previous June, but amid the most fervent expressions of enthusiasm, affection, loyalty, and gratitude.

The events of Edward VII.'s reign may be grouped under three heads : home affairs and politics ; relations with foreign states ; the sovereign's personal activities.

On his accession, the king found the Conservative party in power, with lord Salisbury at the head of the government. But the premier's health was failing, and in July, 1902, he handed in his resignation, being succeeded by his nephew, the right honourable Arthur Balfour. In the autumn session of 1902 an Act was passed whereby the Education Act of 1870 was so modified as to secure the equalisation of treatment of Board and Voluntary schools, either of which were henceforth to be supported out of the rates, and would, therefore, become equally subjected to local supervision and control. The Act has not fulfilled the hopes expected of it, a large section, principally the Nonconformists, opposing it as not meeting their demands for entirely undenominational teaching. A more successful Act, introduced by Mr. George Wyndham, secretary of state for Ireland, was that regulating Land Purchase in Ireland (1903). It at once brought renewed prosperity and the hopes of permanent peace to that distracted portion of the king's dominions ; but its beneficent operations were suspended by the succeeding Ministry.

Various resignations from the Conservative Cabinet brought about a state bordering on disruption : the long tenure of office of that party had induced all the signs of its being effete ; and on December 5, 1905, the king accepted the resignation which Mr. Balfour tendered. He entrusted sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman with the duty of forming a Liberal Ministry. The appeal to the country which followed resulted in the return of the Liberals to power with an enormous and record majority. The premier, in the reconstruction of his Cabinet, made the innovation of including in it Mr. John Burns, a Labour member of parliament. The first task to which the new government addressed itself was the granting of autonomy to South Africa, as already recorded. Much work was done in bringing the army and navy into a high state of efficiency, and the secretary for war, Mr. (later created lord) Haldane, abolished the old militia and volunteer forces, remodelling them into an amalgamated Territorial Force (1907). It is too soon to record the result of the experiment.

In less than two years sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman became so ill that he tendered his resignation, and was succeeded by the right honourable Herbert Asquith, who, in forming his ministry, offered the Chancellorship of the Exchequer to Mr. Lloyd George, and included in it Mr. Winston Churchill (son of lord Randolph Churchill), who had seceded from the Conservative ranks. The king was abroad at the time on account of his health, and Mr. Asquith went to Biarritz to take the oaths and to be admitted to office. This proceeding raised much adverse comment on constitutional grounds.

The main feature of the Liberal Ministry lies in the novel nature of the Budget introduced by Mr. Lloyd George in 1909, as it imposed new burthens on landed and other property. An indirect result was the withdrawal of vast sums of capital from home investments to seek greater security abroad, or in the colonies, and the consequent depreciation of Consols and the home market. The direct result, however, was an immediate conflict between the Houses of Lords and Commons. The Budget was rejected by the Upper House on the plea that it was not solely a money Bill, but that it contained tacked on to it certain features which the Lords were free, constitutionally, to traverse. The real point at issue, however, lay deeper than this, and it became clear that a contest was being forced on, to end the alleged anomaly created by the Conservative preponderance in the Upper House, which tended always to frustrate Liberal legislative measures. The outcry that was raised in the Commons

on the Liberal benches was met by a proposal from the Conservative peers themselves, to convert the Upper House into an elective body with only a restrictive power of veto.

As a result of the rejection of the Budget, the premier advised the king to dissolve Parliament on December 15, 1909. The general election which ensued, while it decreased its majority, nevertheless gave the coalition of Liberal, Labour and Nationalist members a majority adequate to carry out the policy which was in the forefront of the Liberal programme—Home Rule for Ireland, the Disestablishment of the Church of England in Wales, and, to content the Nonconformist supporters of the government, a revision of the Education Acts—none of which could be carried without the co-operation of a coalition of these three really distinct parties. Another general election became necessary before the end of the year 1910. The Liberals lost 75 seats; nevertheless, their majority was of such proportions (124) as to ensure the carrying of the proposed measures, once the opposition of the Lords could be crushed. On the reassembly of Parliament, the Cabinet, with a view to a future Parliament Bill whose object should be to end the power of veto exercised by the Lords, proposed certain resolutions whose purport was to debar the Upper House for the future from rejecting or even amending a money Bill; further, any Bill that was passed by the Commons in three successive sessions and was rejected by the Lords would nevertheless become law in spite of such rejection. The "resolutions" were carried, and a "Veto Bill" embodying them was introduced in the House of Commons. It was announced that the Cabinet were resolved, if the peers remained obdurate, to advise the sovereign to use his prerogative, in order to over-ride their opposition, by a wholesale creation of peers pledged to outvote the existing Upper House. The controversy stood thus, without further development, at the moment of king Edward's death.

During the whole of Edward VII.'s reign, relations with foreign states remained peaceful, though there were periods of considerable strain, mostly fostered by the newspapers of the countries involved. An arbitration treaty between France and England was signed on April 8, 1906, and a friendship between the neighbour nations, happily called the "Entente Cordiale," has since developed with the most satisfactory results. International complications in Morocco forced England into diplomatic conflict for a time. A defensive alliance was concluded with Japan on

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with foreign
states.

February 12, 1902, which was renewed and enlarged in scope on September 27, 1905. A war scare was raised owing to the vast and rapid increase of the German navy—a factor in politics which is being countered by a corresponding increase in British naval armaments and by a redistribution of the fleets and their bases.

Edward VII., after the period of mourning for queen Victoria was ended, was indefatigable in his activities, visiting foreign courts, and, by the charm of his personality, allaying the distrust of England engendered by the Boer war. Indeed, he earned the title of "Edward the Peacemaker." The sovereign's personal activities.

One of the first acts of the reign was the sending of prince George, now become duke of Cornwall, on a tour undertaken on behalf of the king to open the new Commonwealth Parliament of Australia. This tour, lasting from March to November, 1901, was extended to New Zealand, South Africa, and Canada. On the duke of Cornwall's return he was created prince of Wales.

The king himself constantly visited various parts of Great Britain and Ireland, and when in the sister island in 1903, gave great pleasure to his Catholic subjects by paying a visit to Maynooth College.

As heir apparent he had inaugurated "The Prince of Wales' Hospital Fund for London," to aid the hospitals whose finances were in a chronically precarious condition. After his accession this fund was renamed "King Edward the VII.'s Hospital Fund," and it does much to meet the calls on those philanthropic and well-conducted institutions.

At the time of his coronation the king made a gift of Osborne House, queen Victoria's Isle of Wight home, to the nation, and further instituted a very select Order, called the "Order of Merit." In 1907, he likewise instituted the "Edward Medal" as a reward for acts of heroic bravery performed by miners and quarrymen on occasions of accident. In 1909, the exceptional services of firemen and policemen was in a similar way acknowledged.

Ever since the illness that caused the postponement of his coronation, the king had deemed it wise to go abroad twice each year for change of air, rest, and medical treatment. In March, 1910, he went to Biarritz, and returned to England on April 27. He soon caught a chill, and, notwithstanding the remedies employed, succumbed on May 6. The shock to the nation was intense. The funeral ceremonies were rendered most imposing by the military pomp

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Edward VII.**

that accompanied them, and by reason of the unprecedentedly large representation of crowned heads and princes ; but the best and surest proof of the esteem on which he was held by his subjects was provided by the sorrowing crowds who lined the streets from Buckingham Palace to Westminster Hall, and from Westminster Hall to Paddington station on the route to St. George's Chapel, Windsor, where the body was laid to rest, and by the 350,000 persons who defiled past the body lying in state in Westminster Hall.

On May 7, 1910, the late king's only surviving son met the Privy Council, and took the oaths on his accession and was proclaimed as king George V., on May 9. The
Accession of king George V. succession is amply provided for. Born on June 3, 1865, he married princess Mary of Teck (now her most gracious majesty queen Mary) on July 6, 1893. By her he has issue five sons and one daughter. The heir apparent is Edward Albert, K.G., created prince of Wales in 1911, born December 14, 1895.

Between the king's accession and his coronation on June 24, 1911, an Act was passed abrogating the scandalous oath required of a sovereign on his accession or coronation, specifically to renounce the doctrine of Transubstantiation in terms insulting to 13 millions of his loyal subjects.

The ceremonies connected with the coronation were of an imposing character, surpassing those witnessed on the occasion of king Edward VII.'s crowning. An innovation which may be far-reaching in its consequences was introduced. The king determined to visit India personally, there to announce his coronation to the princes and people of his Indian empire. Amid scenes of unparalleled splendour an imposing durbar was held in Delhi on December 11, 1911, on which occasion that historical and royal city was declared to be the capital of India.

Since the late king's death a truce had been called in the strife between Lords and Commons. Immediately after the coronation of king George V., however, the Parliament Bill was passed in the Commons. To avoid the fulfilment of the threat to use the royal prerogative by flooding the Upper House with a creation of 500 Liberal peers, the Lords gave way, and, by a small majority, passed the Bill, which subsequently received the royal assent. They thereby divested themselves of effective power, leaving the country to a great extent at the mercy of a one-chamber government.

A Bill for National Insurance was brought into the House of

Commons and forced through all its stages without adequate discussion. The Lords decided not to oppose it, and it came into operation on July 15, 1912.

Great Britain is now drawn closer than ever into a federation of affection and mutual confidence with her colonies and dependencies. At the present moment her relations with foreign states are amicable. It is the wish and hope of all king George's subjects that his reign may be long and prosperous. He is held in high esteem by his people, and he has the untiring help of his gracious consort queen Mary.

Long live King George!

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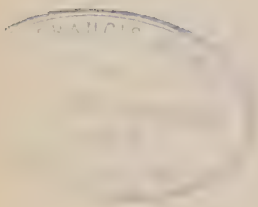
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